

In short, the guideline for our evaluation and summing up of the past must be the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which has evolved out of the ideological struggle taking place at the international level against the Chinese revisionists and the Albanian revisionists.

#### Evaluation of Naxalbari

Comrade CM tried to sum up this lesson in his article "One Year After Naxalbari" where he stated, "If the Naxalbari peasant struggle has any lesson for us, it is this: militant struggles must be carried on not for land, crops, etc., but for seizure of state power." From analysing the nature of the Naxalbari struggle itself we had already come to the conclusion that all the activities during that struggle were centred round establishing the revolutionary committees of the peasants as the real centres of people's political power. But this political power was translated into concrete reality by implementing the decisions of the committees on many basic economic issues like the distribution of land and other properties. Without such concrete measures the political power has no meaning; it would merely be an empty, abstract phrase. So the struggle for political power and economic demands are two fundamental aspects of any revolutionary struggle. The relevant questions is: out of these two aspects, which is the principal one? And the genuine Marxist-Leninists would unequivocally assert that the struggle for political power is the principal aspect as long as the class struggle is continuing. In the history of the Indian communist movement confusion on this question has always been utilised by the revisionists to subvert revolutionary struggles, as has already been pointed out above with regard to the Telengana struggle. In this context it was absolutely essential to smash the revisionist view and firmly establish the primary importance of the struggle for political power. And the greatness of Naxalbari consists precisely in the unequivocal stand taken by the revolutionaries

under comrade CM's leadership on this question. But, even so, instead of presenting the relationship between the struggle for political power and for economic gains dialectically, comrade CM counterposed one to the other and gave one-sided emphasis to the struggle for political power. The mistake persisted and took on even greater proportions in later years and became a basis for the dogmatic understanding of the question of political power and for one-sided rejection of other forms of struggle and organisations. The

proper summing up should be that "militant struggles must be carried on not merely for land, crops, etc., but mainly for the seizure of political power," for only this gives us an accurate view of the actual struggle in Naxalbari.

#### Weaknesses

In spite of the correct political guideline, the Naxalbari struggle suffered a temporary setback in that area, though its politics triumphantly spread all over India. What were the reasons for this temporary set-

# On the Twentieth Anniversary of Naxalbari Struggle

By the Central Reorganisation Committee, Communist Party of India

It is now twenty years after the historic Naxalbari struggle broke out, leading to the formation of the CPI(ML) on April 22nd, 1969 under the leadership of comrade Charu Mazumdar. When we look back into the rich experience of these past twenty years assimilated by the Marxist-Leninist movement in India we can see positive as well as negative experiences, a correct understanding of which will help us in advancing the cause of revolution in India.

The Naxalbari struggle and the consequent formation of the CPI(ML) dealt a heavy blow at the forces of revisionism and parliamentarism which had already been well entrenched in the Indian communist movement and thus gave an impetus to the development of revolutionary forces all over the country. The CPI(ML) under the leadership of comrade Charu Mazumdar established Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as

the guiding ideology of the communists in India, determined the stage of Indian revolution as that of New Democratic Revolution and the path of revolution as Peoples' War, brought forth the role of peasantry as the motive force of revolution, and strove to integrate the lessons from Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution with the concrete tasks of Indian revolution.

The emphasis given to the anti-feudal tasks in the political line of the Party, as established by the Party Congress of 1970, gave birth to many militant peasant struggles in different parts of the country during the past two decades. Yet repeated experiences show that these struggles could not break out of the comparatively small pockets where feudal forces were dominating locally and the struggles could not develop to higher levels even in these areas. On the other hand, during the recent years, vast areas of Indian countryside witness-

back? The *Terai Report* itself had summed up the reasons thus: "lack of a strong party organisation; failure to rely wholeheartedly on the masses and to build a powerful mass base, ignorance of military affairs, thinking on old lines and a formal attitude towards the establishment of political power and the work of revolutionary land reform." In general this is a correct evaluation of the weakness of the movement at that stage which led to the temporary setback. Here it is to be pointed out that the lack of the

very concept of protracted war also contributed to such a setback. But now we can go deeper into the matter as we have accumulated more experience during the last few years. When we look back, we can see that communist revolutionaries who were leading the Naxalbari struggle could not chalk out a thorough, concrete programme for establishing parallel power centres and continuing it for a long time because they did not think seriously about the possibility of the existence of dual power centres in the coun-

tryside for a long time. Without a political line of setting up people's power centres in parallel to the enemy's existing power centres and gradually overcoming the latter through a long drawn-out struggle, the concept of establishing political power at the local level can never be realised and lead ultimately to the countryside seizure of power.

During a period of historic turning points in any country there emerge some historic personalities who play a leading role in the historic development of that period. It is true that masses create history.

The same masses choose their leaders who can represent their will and wishes and lead them in carrying out their determinations. That means they create their leader also. Then that leader becomes the symbol of the social consciousness of the majority of people in that period who are actively involved in the revolutionary changes of that period. To the extent that this leader can represent and articulate the political will of the majority of the people, he will naturally be recognised as the authority of the movement which is leading the people at that critical juncture. The revolutionary authority of Lenin and Mao had emerged and got established in this way. Of course India has not yet passed through such a critical historical turning point in which a revolutionary change swept the whole country. Still, we have to recognise the fact that with the Naxalbari struggle, India was entering such a historical period. Though the further development of the movement faced many obstacles and was hampered to a great extent, we can't deny the fact that the Naxalbari struggle brought forth a qualitative change in the development of the whole history of India. That is why comrade CM who played the leading role in guiding that struggle was considered to be a historic personality and an authority as far as the Indian revolution is concerned. Up to this extent comrade CM's authority was not created artificially, but had evolved historically. □



## and Party Day

(Marxist-Leninist)

ed the emergence and spreading of a different type of farmers' and peasants' struggle mainly directed against the Centre.

Struggles against national oppression spreading to different areas has become one of the most important political developments of the past few years in India. Even the Darjeeling area which gave birth to the Naxalbari struggle is now witnessing the struggle of Gurkha national people. Some of these struggles have thrown up open challenges to the all-India ruling classes and the very existence of the imposed central state has been seriously threatened leading to the increased fascistisation of the central state machinery.

All these developments compelled our organisation to reformulate our political strategy leading to the adoption of the new political orientation at the all-India Plenum held in May 1985. Characterisation of India as a neocolonial country and

the recognition of the significance of the national question with the conclusion that New Democratic Revolution in India can be completed only as an ensemble of New Democratic Revolutions of different national formations by the Plenum have been getting established day by day by the developments taking place all over India.

Under these circumstances, the task of carrying forward the cause of Indian revolution can be accomplished only by deepening our understanding of the Indian situation and establishing it at the political and ideological level and translating it into revolutionary practice. Rebuilding of the Party and unification of revolutionary forces can also be achieved only by advancing along this path. Let us resolve to go ahead steadfastly and take up the challenge with added determination.

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