

MAO AND PEOPLE'S WAR

Central Committee (Provisional)
CPI (ML) [People's War]

On this the 105th birth anniversary of Mao, it is a fitting tribute to this great Marxist teacher, to re-assert one of his fundamental contributions to proletarian tactics - that of people's war. This is all the more relevant, as it pertains to an immediate necessity in our battle against world imperialism. The strategy of people's war is one of the fundamental and necessary ingredients in the Marxist arsenal to win the war against the bourgeoisie.

While the principle of "seizure of power by armed force and the settlement of the issue by war" holds good universally it finds varying expressions in varying conditions. As comrade Mao pointed out, the path before the colonies and semi-colonies is the path of protracted peoples war; the path before the people of capitalist countries practising bourgeois democracy, and not under fascism or war, would be that of going through a long period of legal struggle in preparation for insurrection and war. The principles outlined by Com. Mao in his concept of People's war are universally applicable, whether one adopts the path of insurrection or that of protracted people's war.

Today, a most severe crisis looms large over the horizon. A crisis that may turn out to be more intense than the Great Depression. At this crucial point in history an international seminar on "Mao and People's war" is most appropriate. People's war is the key link to determine whether revolutions will advance or not; whether revolutions can seize the opportunity generated by the crisis; whether they will be able to hit effective blows at a crisis-ridden imperialist system and, whether proletarian parties will act as the real vanguards for change.

In this paper we shall first present the universal significance of Mao's thought; then, the essence of People's war; next, we shall deal with the necessity of People's war in the current world situation, and finally, People's war in the concrete conditions of India.

PART-I

1. UNIVERSAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

Without utilising the science of Marxism-Leninism as developed and enriched by Com. Mao, revolution and socialist construction would be impossible. It would be like a scientist conducting research based on Newton's discoveries, without considering the later developments by Einstein and others. Mao enriched Marxism-Leninism in all spheres - in the realm of philosophy, political economy, socialism and proletarian tactics. Mao's writings and experience provides a rich arsenal, not only on how to carry forward the revolution to success, but also for the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction.

In the realm of Marxist philosophy, Mao's path-breaking writings, 'On Contradictions' and 'On Practice', developed the understanding of dialectics to a higher plane. What is more, Mao, in all his writings, emphasized the importance of developing the proletarian world outlook that is, taking Marxist philosophy deep amongst the masses. His concepts of 'Serve the people' and 'Mass Line' are important aspects of an approach in all work and activity. It is a living form and method to remould one's outlook, and also the basis for mobilising the masses to build a new man and a new society. His concept of 'Mass Line' is not only a brilliant organisational methodology, it is also a clarion call to put the masses before oneself, and thereby practically fight the bourgeois values of selfishness, individualism, greed, possessiveness, etc. This methodology was further developed in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which was a gigantic class struggle to fight feudal and bourgeois values, to target the bourgeois headquarters

within the party and to remould the party and entire society. It was a mass upheaval to create a new man-- the socialist man, to take society forward towards communism. The GPCR's main slogan, to 'fight self and criticize revisionism' brings out the essence of the attempt to build the proletarian world outlook deep within the party and masses. Marx's concept, that philosophy must be used to change the world, was made a living reality for the masses of China, by Mao Zedong.

In the realm of political economy, Mao greatly developed the understanding of the economic laws that govern socialist construction. Learning from some of the errors made in the first ever experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, Mao evolved a far more scientific insight into the development of a socialist economy. The concepts of : 'grasp revolution and promote production'; 'keeping politics in command'; 'walking on two legs', i.e. taking agriculture as the base and industry as the leading factor; maintaining a judicious balance between the growth of the productive forces and the relevant change in the relations of production; the Great Leap Forward, or taking industry to the countryside; learning from Tachai and Taching-- as two models for agricultural and industrial development; the methods of management in factories under socialism; the step-wise organization of the communes and cooperative farming; the system of education, involving the learning from experiences in factories and agriculture; methods for restricting bourgeois right; methods for reining in the 'law of value'; restricting the bureaucracy, by developing local initiative; maintaining a proper balance between the national plan and decentralised economic planning; the role of the people's army, not only in defence, but also in production; evolving the barefoot doctors scheme, taking medicine to the masses; and most important, developing a mass line in all economic activity, such was Mao's gigantic contribution to developing an all-sided political economy for socialist construction.

In the realm of scientific socialism, Mao not only developed Lenin's concept of two-stage revolution, but also the principles for the transition to socialism. First, he clearly outlined the class

content of the New Democratic Revolution and the establishment of a people's democratic dictatorship. In a more profound analysis of Lenin's two-stage revolution, Mao's 'New Democracy', targets not only feudalism but also imperialism; it propounds that in the present era, the bourgeois democratic tasks can only be completed under the leadership of the proletariat and as part of the world socialist revolution. He also established the concept, for the first time, of a transitional state, a people's democratic dictatorship of four classes as a first step in the transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then, Mao also established the ideological, political, cultural and economic basis for the transition from the democratic stage to the socialist stage. And finally, Mao greatly enhanced our understanding on how to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e. how to develop socialism from its primary stage to its higher level towards communism.

In the realm of proletarian tactics, Com. Mao has contributed phenomenally to the revolutionary arsenal, without the utilisation of which, effective battle today against the enemy would be blunted. Not only has he brilliantly evolved the concept of 'mass line' to mobilise the masses; he has made major contributions to the strategy and tactics of revolution. He further developed the Leninist understanding of the proletarian party, and evolved the party of a new type—a party, not only built on the basis of democratic centralism, but conducting criticism and self-criticism and rectification campaigns, and developing through two-line struggles. Then, it was Mao who, for the first time, developed a complete theory of the United Front and established its laws—a front of social classes based on the worker-peasant alliance and under proletarian leadership. Lenin's concept of alliances, developed in works like 'Two tactics of social democracy in the democratic revolution' has been raised to a new plane by Mao giving the general approach to alliances an organised form in his concept of United Front. What is more, Mao linked the four class united front with the question of the seizure of power and the establishment of a joint dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisies under the leadership of the proletariat. And, finally, and most important of all, it was

with Mao, that the international proletariat attained its military theory. With his concept of People's war, Mao raised the theory and practice of revolution, of the science of a weaker force defeating a stronger force-- to a new and higher plane.

2. ESSENCE OF PEOPLE'S WAR

What is the essence of People's War ? The heart and soul of the people's war strategy is total reliance on the vast masses of the people who comprise the overwhelming majority of any country --over 90% in India--to defeat the class enemies, protected by the mercenary armed forces of the state that constitute a tiny minority. The concept of people's war is internationally applicable.

In his concept of people's war, it is essential to grasp the fundamental fact that, on the one side you have the vast majority of a country's population oppressed by the ruling classes, while on the other side of the barricade stand a handful of exploiting classes protected by mercenary armed forces, ensuring the rapacious rule of the oppressors. Strategically speaking, the armed might of the state can be defeated by relying on this vast reservoir of deprived humanity--an eternal source of recruitment to the people's army and an impregnable fortress that provides real protection to the party and guerrilla fighters--provided they are imbued with revolutionary theory and pre-organised.

The party of the proletariat, should keep in mind an important principle of people's war : strategically the enemy is weak, is a paper tiger, and can be defeated by the armed might of the people; tactically however, the enemy is strong and should not be taken head-on by the people's forces. As Mao said "From the point of view of strategy, treat the enemy as a paper tiger, but from the tactical point of view, treat him as a real tiger." And it is this specific feature, wherein the tactical strength of the enemy, can only be effectively met by people's war in which guerrilla warfare is its chief component.

Guerilla warfare is the only method in which a relatively weak force can effectively confront the armed might of the state. To allow the more powerful enemy into one's territory and to besiege him with guerrilla warfare from all sides is the only effective method

of crushing a bigger force. By relying on the masses, and arming them to face the enemy, the enemy is made to continuously function in hostile territory. Thereby isolated, he can be smashed piecemeal by concentrating large forces in each tactical battle. Applying Mao's principles of guerrilla warfare - when the enemy attacks we retreat; when the enemy camps, we harass, and when the enemy retreats we pursue — even a big force can be effectively combated.

Mao developed in detail, the laws that govern guerrilla war and its relationship to mobile and positional warfare. He pointed out that though the people's war is protracted, in campaigns and battles, operations of quick decision must be the principle. 'Surprise', is an important factor in guerrilla actions. He also developed a new style of command structure for guerrilla warfare, involving a centralised strategic command and a decentralised command in campaigns and battles. In his concept of people's war, Mao enumerates minute details of conducting the war, such as : questions of offence and defence; tasks of annihilation and tasks of attrition; questions of flexibility in dispersal, concentration and shifts in position; questions of the political mobilisation of the masses; the relations between the officers and soldiers, and between the army and the people, etc. etc. In this the establishment of the People's Army, as the main organization al form, is a preliminary prerequisite.

These principles of people's war are universally applicable, whether the revolution follows the path of protracted people's war or of insurrection. In the first, armed struggle can be unleashed from the very beginning, and due to uneven development, guerrilla zones and base areas can be established, and finally power seized by surrounding the cities from the countryside. In the second, the masses are gradually aroused for armed struggle culminating in the insurrection for the seizure of power.

The seizure of power by armed force and the smashing of the existing state-machinery is the central task of any revolution. All activity should be built around the armed struggle, or should be geared to making the preparations for it. As Lenin said, in 'The State and Revolution' : "the necessity of systematically educating

the masses in THIS and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of the ENTIRE teaching of Marx and Engels." Many parties tend to delink their immediate tasks from their long-term goals. Tactics thereby gets divorced from strategy. Struggles on partial demands, revolutionary propaganda, etc. gets delinked from the strategic tasks of revolution, which is, in effect, turned into an abstract, incoherent concept. It is only by treading the path of people's war that a link can be drawn between the immediate and the long-term, between tactics and strategy. Unless the party of the proletariat prepares, step by step, politically, organisationally and militarily for its strategic task, it can never seize the initiative, and even in times of a crisis, could find itself caught unawares, ill-equipped to face it, or utilise it to its advantage.

People's war is the most comprehensive method developed till now to defeat the enemy. It is a summation of the concrete experiences of China's revolutionary war. It has generalised these experiences into principles and laws that are of universal significance. Just as all knowledge, all theory, grows out of concrete practice, so has people's war grown into a universal theory out of the concrete revolutionary practice of the Chinese revolution. It is the most scientifically developed principle of war in the hands of the proletariat by which to crush the bourgeoisie. It is the chief weapon in the battle against imperialism, worldwide.

PART-II **NECESSITY OF PEOPLE'S WAR** **IN THE CURRENT WORLD SITUATION**

Here, we shall divide this section into two parts. First, a brief account of the present world situation. Next, the application of people's war, to that situation.

(1) Current World Situation

As we come to the end of the millennium the world capitalist system is not only severely crisis-ridden but has reached the epitome of its decay. Slowly but surely the economic system is

heading for one of the worst financial crisis ever, bringing in its wake unbelievable destitution, fascist brutalities and genocidal wars.

With speculative capital having reached such gigantic proportions, and the productive sector of the economy having been relatively marginalized, capitalism has turned a hundred times more parasitical, more rapacious and more ruthless. With a voluptuous, bloated elite living like a leech off the productive economy, finance capital has turned so fragile, that the smallest crash in one corner of the earth sends shock-waves throughout the globe. And with each passing day the putrefaction deepens, the stench intensifies. Oppressed countries are being pushed back to the dark ages, and the loot is fast surpassing even that of the colonial era. In the capitalist countries too, conditions reminiscent of the days of the Great Depression are fast enveloping the masses.

The world of finance capital is more complex, the quick speculative movements of capital cannot be overtly seen; certainly their characteristics, the insidious manner in which they eat into the very vitals of an economy, are not generally understood. With dwindling markets, due to consistent onslaughts on the conditions of the lives of the people throughout the world, the massive surplus (profit) sucked out from back-breaking toil, is unable to find lucrative outlets for re-investment, resulting in severe crises of over production. This is sought to be diffused by a frantic restructuring of capital: through a frenzied wave of mergers and acquisitions, leading to even more gigantic monopolies; through speculative re-investments, leading to an even more fragile economic system, through re-location of capital to low wage areas, leading to massive unemployment; through a leap in the level of loot from oppressed countries, leading to mass destitution; and through aggressive attacks on the working-class of even the capitalist countries, leading to world wide turmoil.

Today, the economic crash in East Asia and the deep recession in Japan has been followed by a massive collapse, both economic and political, in Russia. In this dominoes, the next to fall will be Latin America. The relative recovery in the USA has already

reached the end of its tether. The captains of finance capital are panicky, not knowing when and where they will be hit next. The anarchy of the market, termed 'market reforms', have been taken to such extremes-- encompassing not only goods and services, but also currencies, interest rates, credits, stock exchanges, etc - that it has wrought havoc on the system.

In their maniacal drive to commodify everything nothing is being spared - sports, music, culture, art, have all become high-profile marketing strategies. Consumerism has eaten into all aspects of one's life, including our very thought process. Every action, every value, and even every idea results from a pre-conditioned robotic programming by a consistent onslaught of a blaring media. Leaps in information technology are, ironically, creating a generation of Zombies, culturally, aesthetically and socially debilitated-- numbed by a TV/computer/internet combine. And with this, social interaction too is further reduced, taking alienation of man to its extreme. Already seeped in a ruthlessly competitive atmosphere, in a maniacal drive to survive and succeed; greed, selfishness, one-upmanship and extreme individualism, now engrained from childhood, push man to a cruel, insensitive and anti-social existence. Individuality is replaced by the cult of the individual; happiness is sought in goods and self-centered pleasures; love and affection is a commodity whose use-value is only in its exchange value - to be given only when a return is guaranteed; and friendship is only of value, if it serves ones self-interest. The spurt in 'spiritualism' throughout the world, is merely a safe release from the stress and strains of present-day life - an escape from the insecurities, the alienation and loneliness created by a decadent order.

Socially and culturally, never before has the system so reduced the human species to such a condition of atrophy--destroyed its individuality, emasculated its physical capacities and numbed its mental faculties. Even ecologically, the greed for maximisation of profits has reached such proportions, that not only our land, water and forest resources are being destroyed, but also the very atmosphere, stratosphere, oceans, temperature and rainfall patterns are being effected. A quantum leap in diseases is

sweeping the globe-- with drug-resistant old ones being coupled with environmentally induced modern ones.

And at each point in the deepening crisis millions more get thrown into the abyss of poverty. The number of absolutely poor — living in conditions of poverty, and semi-starvation-- are reaching frightening proportions. The horrifying pictures from Sudan are the mere tip of the iceberg. And each day millions more get pushed down the ladder, with even large sections of the middle-class being pushed into the poverty syndrome, through unemployment, inflation, disease and 'natural' and financial calamities. And this is no longer restricted only to the oppressed, even a large number of capitalist countries —like Russia, East Europe, Balkans — are facing similar conditions. Also, in the advanced capitalist countries, the unemployment figures have surpassed those of the 1930s.

Lastly, the economic crisis is resulting in fiercer contention amongst the major imperialist powers, for a dwindling market, and for spheres of influence. The sole superpower, US imperialism, is fast losing its economic clout, to the rising economic powers of Europe and Japan. Though the US still leads, the gap between these three power centres is narrowing. Already, in financial power, Japan leads, notwithstanding its deep recession. Its MNCs, though temporarily weakened, comprise some of the largest in the world.

Though its recovery may take a couple of years, once revived, it will act as a strong challenge to the US. As far as Europe is concerned, it is already becoming an economic match for the US. Since 1997, being the only major growth centre in the world -- with the US growth now in decline and Japan in recession -- it is poised for further domination. And as the economic and political union of Europe strengthens, it will act as the major rival to the U.S. Already the contention is deepening. The assertion of some of the oppressed countries against the US, is due, not to their independent policies, but due to their closer economic and political ties with Europe and Japan, particularly Europe. Infact, France, at a diplomatic plane, is now consistently opposing US policies throughout the globe. Europe's major stumbling block lies

in its lack of homogeneity (witness Britain) and its lack of an independent military prowess, compatible to that of the US. Yet, a more closely united EU allied to a crumbling but militarily powerful Russia, can become a serious threat to the US.

Today, this growing contention is being reflected in the ongoing proxy wars, greater militarisation throughout the world, and increasing world tensions. The US, weakened economically, will continue to flex its military muscle in order to maintain its spheres of influence.

The crisis in the world today is intensifying all contradictions, creating objectively favourable conditions for a new round of revolutions. Never before has the decay in society been so all-encompassing as it is today. Never before has the need for an alternative been so acute, so urgent. Unfortunately, no socialist state exists, that can act as a source of inspiration to the world's people. Yet, the answer to all the ills of society, whether economic, political, cultural or spiritual, is to be found in communism alone, particularly, that enriched by Mao and the GPCR. And the only force that could effectively strike the imperialist system down, is that built on the basis of People's War

(2) Application of People's War to the World situation

With the growing crisis in the imperialist system, fascism is once again raising its head throughout the world. On the one hand, fascist gangs and parties are growing, and on the other hand the State and governments are moving further to the right, and becoming more fascist. The instruments of coercion are being upgraded; the intelligence web, with its high-tech methods, is converting countries into police states; and racism, ethnic superiority, casteism, communalism, etc. are fertile grounds for the fascist hordes. In such a scenario, with the rulers, utilising a highly centralised state machinery, with the latest in weaponry, communications and intelligence gathering, it is principally through guerrilla warfare, the chief aspect of People's War, that the enemy can be effectively combated. This has been understood for many years now, not only by the communists, but also many other forces.

In fact, it was from the days of the Second World War and the rise of fascism, that the armed people began resisting, using guerrilla warfare urban and rural. Throughout Europe, and particularly in France and Spain, the partisans effectively harassed the fascist forces through guerrilla methods. In this, not only communists but also patriots participated. Even in the post-war period, we find only those national liberation movements were able to sustain their struggle, that adopted guerrilla methods and relied on a people's war strategy. Some of them as in Eritrea, Somalia, Nicaragua, El Salvador, or even of the IRA against the British rulers, or the Afghan people against Soviet aggression, sustained their struggles for decades, by arming the people, and utilising guerrilla tactics.

Whenever these movements failed, it was not because of the incorrect military tactics, but because of their non-proletarian and capitulationist political line. As Mao said, in the present era, no bourgeois democratic revolution will be successful unless led by the proletariat. Yet, using guerrilla tactics and people's war they effectively sustained resistance to imperialism for decades. So also is the case in India, with the struggling nationalities of the North East and Kashmir; and in Sri Lanka with the LTTE sustaining their armed struggle for decades.

Not only did the success of the Chinese revolution prove the validity of people's war; but all experiences since then have shown that it is the most effective means to deal decisive blows against the ruling classes and the imperialists. Conventional methods of war or terrorist actions divorced from the people are easily crushed. Today, if the sophisticated state apparatus is to be fought and smashed, it is essential to rally the masses through a people's war, utilising guerrilla methods.

In recent years it is the people's wars that have instilled mortal fear in the heart of the imperialists. After the humiliating defeat in Vietnam and Afghanistan, no imperialist power today dares to commit its armed forces to direct occupation of even the smallest and seemingly helpless country. This was most strikingly seen in the hasty flight of American forces from Somalia. Despite all their techniques of high tech missile warfare, the most sophisticated

modern armies have in the long been only proved to be paper tigers before the strategy of the people's war.

PART-III
PEOPLE'S WAR
IN THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS IN INDIA

It was with Naxalbari, and the formation of the CPI (ML) led by Com. Charu Mazumdar, that the Indian people achieved its first revolutionary programme. Fighting decades of revisionism of the CPI and CPI(M), the CPI (ML) outlined the class character of Indian society as semi-feudal, semi-colonial and the path of revolution as the Chinese path.

The Indian revolution has certain similar characteristics with that of China and it also has certain dissimilarities. In this section we shall first look at the basic characteristics of the Indian revolution, then the specific feature of the Indian parliament, then, we shall take a broad purview of the revolutionary camp in India before recounting a brief history of our experiences in conducting people's war in India, and finally look at the potentialities for growth in the present crisis-ridden Indian state.

(1) Characteristics of Indian Revolution

Like China, India too is a vast semi-feudal, semi-colonial country, with uneven economic, social and political development. And like China, it has an over-whelming agrarian population which needs agrarian revolution. The unevenness of development in India renders it impossible to stage a simultaneous revolution (i.e., an armed insurrection) throughout the country and brings forth the line of areawise seizure of power. It also has several strategic regions with favourable terrain suitable for conducting guerrilla warfare. Thus revolution in India too will traverse the path of protracted people's war, of establishing guerrilla zones and base areas and finally surrounding the cities from the countryside.

But, besides these similarities, India also possesses certain dissimilarities with the Chinese situation. A major point of difference is the existence of a powerful centralised state

machinery and a well-equipped modern army which makes it impossible to achieve quick victory in the revolutionary war in India. This characteristic also shows that the establishment of base areas in India cannot proceed with the same rapidity as in China and that base areas cannot generally survive for prolonged periods under normal circumstances. Unlike in China, the guerrilla zones in India will take a long time to become transformed into base areas and several guerrilla zones have to be built so as to force the enemy's armed forces to scatter over an ever wider area. The nature of the base areas too will be more fluid or mobile in India. Our failure to grasp this reality will only lead to a defeat of our forces at the hands of the far more militarily superior enemy. Another important difference between the revolutionary war in China and India is that right from the start the Chinese communists had their people's army, wherein armed revolution confronted armed counter-revolution from the very beginning.

But in India, the communist revolutionaries do not have a people's army from the beginning as in China, but have to gradually build it up from scratch. In our document entitled 'Strategy and Tactics' (Nov. '95), the party has charted out the course that will have to be traversed by the Indian revolution thus : *"The communist party has to build the people's army while facing the severe counter-revolutionary offensive. The weakness of the revolutionary movement as a whole does not permit the speedy formation of a powerful people's army. The people's army has to be built up step by step starting from scratch. It has to proceed from small guerrilla units conducting decentralised operations to more centralised people's army units over a prolonged period of time."*

This document further elucidates the path of growth of the revolutionary movement, saying : *"This characteristic thus has a profound influence on the nature of the revolutionary war in India. It shows that the guerrilla units that are built from among the peasantry in the course of the anti-feudal struggles have to gather strength over a long period of time, before being transformed into a people's army, and that we have to prepare the party and people for a long phase of guerrilla zones prior to*

the transformation into base areas. It also warns us, that we should accumulate our forces considerably before entering into decisive engagements with the enemy forces and should build a stable underground party mechanism from the very beginning." Such then is the path that people's war in India will traverse.

In India, of specific significance to the revolution, is the existence of a parliament and other legislative bodies standing over a semi-feudal and semi-colonial structure. Let us look into this briefly.

(2) Rejection of Parliament

The Second Congress of the Comintern had pointed out that the parliament had served as a progressive institution in the period of rising capitalism (i.e. in the era of pre-monopoly capitalism) but, in the period of imperialism it said "parliament has become a weapon of falsehood, deception and violence, a place for enervating chatter." Yet, in the imperialist countries where it is not possible for the proletariat to commence armed struggle before the objective conditions attain maturity and where a long period of propaganda, education, agitation and training of the toiling masses becomes a prerequisite for staging an insurrection, the parliamentary form of struggle becomes a tactic until the development of a revolutionary crisis. But in countries that have not gone through a democratic revolution, where, consequently even bourgeois democratic consciousness is characterised by extreme uneven development and where the revolutionary situation is excellent and permits the commencement of a protracted people's war, the parliamentary form of struggle has hardly any significance.

In India, the parliament was imposed on the existing semi-colonial/semi-feudal edifice, in order to dupe the masses of a fake democracy. While the entire autocratic machinery of the colonial period, not only remained intact, but has been further strengthened, the parliament is used as a safety valve to diffuse discontent. Besides, the parliament has no real power with all decisions being taken by the executive and passed through ordinances. Moreover, even this farce is today discredited, with

money power, muscle power and caste, religion and regional politics calling the tune. So today, participation in such an institution is tantamount to dancing to the tune of the ruling classes, whereby dissident activity in the streets and fields is sought to be shifted to the elegant confines of the parliament and legislatures. Recent history has also proved this to be so.

Even those revolutionaries who thought of utilising the parliament while carrying on some armed struggle met with disastrous results. Instead of their utilising parliament, the parliament itself began to utilise them. They had to tone down the tempo of their armed struggle, open up a considerable part of their underground organization, strike alliances with opportunist parties, and even sections of the local vested interests, to win a few seats - in short, to "fine tune" their organization to suit the parliamentary form of struggle. While those elected have got corrupted; those parties that have been consistently boycotting elections, and, have been concentrating on developing the armed struggle, could extend the struggle to extensive regions, as well as raise the struggle to a higher stage of confrontation with the state.

Now, before turning to the experiences of our party, let us take a brief look at the 'Left' scenario in India.

(3) 'Left' in India

In India only those who actually traverse the path of people's war, not merely in words, can hope to advance revolution. There are various categories of the 'Left' who seek to divert people from this path, and thereby act as the last refuge of reaction. The traditional revisionists of the CPI and CPI (M) variety differ little from their social-democratic counterparts in Europe. Then we have some so-called CPI(ML) outfits like the Liberation party, whose basic line differs little from the CPI (M), but uses the name of CPI(ML) as a revolutionary mask to hide their dirty deeds. Finally, there are those who make all the right revolutionary noise, but refuse to tread the revolutionary practice. They confine their activity around partial demands; stay within grounds of the legality set by the ruling classes; some dabble in parliamentarism, others

do not, conduct revolutionary propaganda; bring out magazines etc., but refuse to either intensify the class struggle or link their daily activity to their supposed strategic tasks. In reality, they too neglect the path of people's war and are on the verge of the morass of revisionism. Besides our newly unified party, CPI(ML)[PW], there are very few others such as MCC that are serious about advancing people's war in India.

But if people's war is to advance in the country, it can only do so if led by a genuine proletarian party guided by MLM Thought — a highly disciplined party, built along the principles of democratic centralism, pursuing mass line and practising — criticism, self criticism — a party of a new type with professional revolutionaries as the core.

Many of those so-called revolutionary groups and parties are nothing but petty-bourgeois liberal formations, some of which even maintain a philistine legal existence. In a country like India, where not only communist revolutionaries and the struggling nationalities are being mowed down by the thousands, but where even human rights activists, trade union leaders, social activists are being massacred, and where even legitimate trade union activity is declared illegal, such liberal political formations are bound to be doomed to impotency. And as the class struggle intensifies, as the armed struggles in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Dandakaranya grow, many of the fence-sitters will either pass into oblivion or cohabit with the revisionists and, of course, a considerable section of the ranks will join the revolutionary camp.

(4) Advances of People's War in India

People's war has been advancing primarily in AP, Bihar and Dandakaranya, being led by the Central Committee of the CPI (ML) [PW]. MCC too has been advancing people's war in Bihar. The following is our party's experience in conducting people's war in India.

Though we are one party today, the past two decades have seen an independent growth of the movements in AP, Dandakaranya, led by the erstwhile CC of the CPI (ML) [PW];

and in Bihar led by the erstwhile COC of the CPI (ML) [PU]. So we shall recount the two experiences separately.

(i) AP/ Dandakaranya

After the grave set-back to the revolutionary movement in 1972, the AP State committee (or what remained of it) re-built the party in Andhra Pradesh. Over the next five years, the scattered revolutionary forces were reorganised, the political line was effectively defended from attacks from both the right opportunists and left adventurist line, a powerful revolutionary student movement was developed that was to provide a large number of cadre for the party, and the seeds of a peasant movement had been sown in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts. A powerful cultural movement - of song and dance, poems, short-stories, novels - helped catalyse the revival.

By late 1977 a powerful anti-feudal peasant upsurge shook the two districts of Karimnagar and Adilabad. Strikes by agricultural labourers, social boycott of the landlords, people's courts, etc. culminated into a massive rally in September 1978. The landlords fled to the cities, but swarms of police spread to every village beating, arresting, looting and torturing activists and villagers. The people resisted, and the movement spread to newer areas. The movement in AP by 1979 had reached a critical stage. To advance, now meant, making necessary preparations to take on, not only the landlord class, but also the police and para-military forces. Preparation for such an eventuality, meant not only adoption of new forms of struggle, not only new methods of organization, but also the military preparation of the party.

To take a correct decision at such a crucial moment was a key factor to determine whether the movement would advance or stagnate. It has been, in fact, at such crucial moments that the Indian Communist movement had faltered. On a number of occasions in the past, the anti-feudal struggles had reached a high pitch, but when the Indian state machinery intervened, they were either crushed, or, the leadership beat a hasty retreat instead of taking the struggle to the next higher stage. During the earlier

Telangana movement (1946-51) the leadership betrayed the movement; so also in Bhojpur (Bihar) the Liberation group leadership betrayed the struggles. So also many other ML groups had retreated in the face of state attacks.

At such a historic juncture the AP unit of the party decided to advance the struggle by putting forth the path-breaking document 'Perspective of Guerrilla Zone'. In 1980 a central committee was formed and the CPI (ML) [PW] took birth. Local organisers were now organised into mini-squads [1 central organiser (CO) + 2 members] armed with country-made weapons in North Telengana. The first armed squads further were formed to extend the movement into the forests of Dandakaranya in order to build a rear for the guerrilla movement in North Telengana. The long-term perspective was to develop it into a base area.

In the 1980-84 period the first step was taken towards formation of a guerrilla zone. The period saw a mass upsurge in North Telengana, and widespread militant mass movement in Dandakaranya. It also witnessed the birth of the powerful union, SIKASA, amongst the over hundred thousand coal miners, and the spread of the student movement to every corner of Andhra Pradesh. It was then that the government launched an all-out attack on the movement. Earlier, repression was mainly focused on the struggling sections; now it was an all-out attack on the party and the movement.

The 1985-89 period witnessed the first round of suppression. Terror was unleashed in the villages, even party sympathisers were caught and shot in fake 'encounters', publication offices were raided, thousands were arrested and tortured, local elite and lumpens were organised to resist the movement, and 'rehabilitation' schemes were offered to wean away the village level mass activists. The massive onslaught called for new political, organisational and military initiatives on the part of the party.

A call was given by the party for a war of self-defence - the CO structures were more effectively built, the combat preparedness of the squads was increased, mass organizations were now built in a clandestine manner, and a decision was taken to take up armed actions against the state's repressive forces in both North

Telengana and Dandakaranya. Thereby a movement that was forced into the defensive in 1985/86 was able to regain the initiative in 1987. In the process the party consolidated itself and from 1987 to 1989 saw a renewal of mass upsurge, involving newer forms of struggle : land occupations, anti-liquor movement, famine raids, miners strikes, etc reached new heights. Political mobilisation was enhanced with the celebration of Martyrs' Day (July 28) and the movement to build Martyrs' columns; the 'Work Day' in Dandakaranya and the black day observation of August 15 and January 26 — the so-called Independence Day and Republic Day of India. And when in 1990, there was a brief reprieve, due to the internal contradictions in the AP ruling classes, huge rallies finally culminated in the over one-million-strong rally of the peasant organisation at Warangal in May.

But, from the end of 1990 itself, the government unleashed a new round of repression, on a scale far surpassing the earlier period. What was earlier an undeclared war, was now turned into full-scale counter-insurgency operations. Mass-scale horrors, encounter killings and forced 'surrenders' became the dominant feature of the suppression campaign. In just under a year over 200 persons were killed in fake 'encounters'. Thousands of people were arrested and tortured, houses were ransacked and crops and properties worth millions destroyed.

Yet again, new tasks had to be formulated to face the new offensive. The party had already declared that North Telangana and Dandakaranya had reached the primary stage of guerrilla zone. To face the present offensive the party called for the consolidation of the guerrilla zones, raising them to a higher stage, by : organising the guerrilla squads into platoon formations, with 2 to 3 local guerrilla squads under a central one; developing independent political and military leadership in the squads; developing a centralised military command at various levels; consolidating the party organization at the village level; establishing the organs of people's power (Gram Rajya Committees) at the village level, and building village development committees, Nyay (justice) committees, village defence squads, etc. under the leadership of the GRC.

From 1992 till today, the movement has intensified in the face of growing repression.

More and more masses are gradually being drawn into the armed struggle. Unfortunately, in India, which had not gone through a democratic revolution, the masses never experienced a consistent participation in armed struggle. Though extensive armed revolts took place during the anti-British struggle, they were soon suppressed. The armed struggle of Telangana lasted about five years from 1946-51 and that of Srikakulam about 3 years from 1969-71. To draw the masses in a big way into the armed struggle is a major and necessary task for the Indian revolution.

Today, in vast areas of Telengana and Dandakaranya the political authority of the peasant committees is growing; developmental works are being undertaken through mass mobilisations, village defence squads and militias are developing; the party organization, both at the village level and within the squads, are being consolidated, and militarily, the party is gaining experience and strength. During these last five years, in raids and ambushes, the guerrilla forces have seized 300 weapons from the state's armed forces apart from several more from landlords and other class enemies. In November 1995 - a full quarter century after the holding of the 8th Congress (founding) of the CPI (ML) - the party held its All India Special Conference that has the status of a Congress.

(ii) Bihar

After the setback of the early 70's the Party reorganised in the name of CPI(ML)[Party Unity] and initiated activity in Bihar in 1978-79.

From the very beginning the politics of people's war and armed struggle were propagated and armed squads played a commendable role in building up the armed peasant movement. While Palamau (Koel-Kaimur region) had been chosen as the target area for beginning our work for strategic reasons, we were not able to make headway in the beginning in this region. Our work in Jehanabad (Magadh region) took off expanding rapidly, and the revolutionary peasant movement surged forward from 1981. In no

time, it extended to Patna district in the north and Gaya district in the south.

Initially we carried out secret political propaganda among the land less and poor peasants, with the view to winning their confidence and motivating them to mass actions, gradually building the political organisational base for launching struggle and confronting the reactionary forces.

Rural society of Bihar is dominated by the landlords and reactionary elements who are severely exploiting and oppressing the poor and land less peasants, largely dalits and also backward castes, applying authoritarian, brutal, casteist, feudal and coercive methods. Criminalisation and lumpenisation charterise rural Bihar society; violence and brute force is a routine method of asserting power and cruel exploitation and oppression by landlords who often possess private armies. While organising the masses for the class struggle against exploitation and oppression of the land lords, we recognised the objective necessity of the armed resistance squads from the beginning and took necessary steps to prepare for this so as to ensure maximum mobilisation of the masses against the reactionary class enemies. Collection of arms was an urgent need, so arms were snatched from the feudal lords who possess plenty of legal and illegal arms as well as from the state police and para-military.

Initially the movement expanded and struggle was built against feudal oppression, for the occupation of the waste lands and recovery of lands forcibly occupied by feudal lords; against the bonded labour system for increased wages, for an increased share of produce; against the evil gentry and, above all, against the organised private armies of landlords.

As the mass movement started, organised repression by the feudal lords and their private armies began. Many of the landless and poor peasant houses were destroyed making them homeless, and even murduring activists with the backing of the police.

In August 1982, three comrades were martyred by the landlord's army, marking the begining of a glorious tradition of heroic resistance in the area, against feudal repression. Militant mass movements of the broad masses were organised, combined

with the economic blockade of targeted reactionary landlords. Along with this, red defence squad was deployed to destroy the military power of landlords and in defence of the masses, selective annihilation of the reactionary enemy was also taken up with the development of the resistance movement. As a result by 1984, in Jehanabad, local leaders of one of the landlord armies (Bhumi Sena) surrendered to the organization.

With the growing upsurge of the armed peasant movement, landlord armies were unable to suppress the movement, and hence state repression started increasing. A police crackdown disrupted the peasants conference in 1983.

As our strength was too small to combat the state forces militantly, we decided to preserve our armed forces and gave a call of mass resistance against the state repression. On the other hand, we decided to broaden our mass base by uniting with the middle peasants, through launching struggles on socio-economic issues of middle peasants and expanding our area of operation to adjacent areas of Patna, Gaya, Nalanda and Nawabs districts.

In 1986, the brutal Arwal massacre was perpetrated by the state's armed forces, in cold blood killing 23 men and women by encircling and indiscriminately firing on a mass meeting.

In Bihar and many parts of India anti-state protest movements took place culminating in the Gherao of the legislative assembly of Bihar against this massacre. The Mass organization was banned, and Jehanabad was made a police district.

As a result armed squad activities were intensified along with legal and illegal mass movements. The movement was expanded to newer areas. It was the heroic martyrdom of comrade Krishna Singh, Gen. Secretary of Mazdoor Kisan Sangram Samiti (MKSS) and a beloved leader of the peasant movement, on June 17, 1984 that led to the wide spread reaction of the masses and gave momentum to the resistance struggle in Palamau. Palamau is one of the most backward districts of Bihar, a large district, starting from the central plains of Bihar and covering part of the Chhota Nagpur plateau.

The favourable geographical position and terrain, the acute

poverty of the people, the relative political vaccum and intense contradiction between the landlords and state bureaucrats carrying out ruthless exploitation and oppression on the one hand and the vast masses of impoverished peasantry, mostly adivasis (tribals) and dalits, on the other, provides favourable conditions for developing resistance struggle to the higher stage of guerrilla zone and protracted people's war. The strategic importance of palamau in the perspective of developing the peasants movement to a higher stage of guerrilla zone prompted the party to develop work there fight from the beginning.

The mass upsurge demanding punishment to Com. Krishna Singh's killer saw thousands of villagers marching to Daltonganj defying police threats. Within the next six months mass struggles on the issue of wages for agricultural labour, for abolition of bondage and against feudal oppression, demand of land and right over forest produce spread rapidly. The mass movement under our leadership which stirred a considerable part of Palamau was the result of the correct immediate tactics taken by the party i.e. building a massive protest movement against Com. Krishna Singh's killing and developing armed squads.

Quickly the movement spread throughout Palamau, fighting militantly against the repression of the landlord army and state. Militant struggles took the shape of fearless resistance to the police, such as, gherao of Chhatarpur P.S. to secure the release of arrested comrades (May, 1986), enraged women fighting for the right to collect Mahua (forest produce), snatching rifles from policemen, deployed to thwart their struggle (April, 1988).

Massive repression of the state in collaboration with the landlord's private armies and banning of mass organizations caused the desertion of some opportunist leaders of the mass movement. All these had some negative effects and the movement went into temporary stagnation.

The Party concentrated on consolidation work and intensified political campaigns and took up a rectification movement. After consolidation, the movement expanded to other sections of the oppressed, and on the military front, the smashing of landlord's army, Sunlight Sena, was taken up.

Recognising the need to develop the armed struggle in order to combat the state's forces, special task was taken to develop and increase the armed guerrilla squads. Commanders' committees were formed at Magadh Regional level to co-ordinate military activity. Later this committee was further developed as Sainya Sanchalan Team (SST) or Military Operational Team, at regional level under the leadership of the Regional Party. This is to develop a military command of the party, which will look after the requirement of the squads, recruitment, training and plan for centralising and decentralising its force according to the necessity of military operations.

With the intensification of class struggle and state repression, armed combat became primary. In these armed confrontations with the state forces many arms were snatched from the enemy forces. Several comrades became martyrs in the course of this armed struggle. Concrete planning was done to develop guerrilla Zones. Priority was given to Koel-Kaimur region comprising five districts with an adjacent area as a rear zone.

Apart from Magadh another third zone is chosen in North Bihar. According to plans drawn out, political education was conducted, mass organizations are re-organised and armed guerrilla squads are trained and re-organised as Village Defence Squads in the village level; Temporary squads, Permanent squads and regular Guerrilla squads. With the intensification of mass struggles village level committees of the mass organizations began to exercise authority and Panchayats (People's Court) are being held to punish the evil landlords, bad gentry, sur-rendered landlords and private armies, dacoits etc. and also resolving contradiction among the people.

Organisations, both mass and military, are being developed with the aim of transforming the area into a guerrilla zone - where our power will be established (dual power) through the People's Revolutionary Committee (People's Government) gradually from the village level to the Zonal level taking People's War to the next higher stage.

(5) The Guerrilla Zones

An important aspect of Mao's concept of people's war is to conduct the armed struggle with the perspective of the area-wise seizure of power i.e. setting up the organs of power, the revolutionary peasant committees and developing these towards the formation of guerrilla zones and base areas. About the guerrilla zone, our 'Strategy and Tactics' document (Nov. '95) has

said,

"In the course of the peasant armed struggle advancing further, the struggle against the government armed forces also gradually develops into the main task, which brings a change in the whole situation leading to the formation of a guerrilla zone. In this stage, on the one side whatever efforts the government makes to continue its power, it cannot carryout its administration with stability and on the other, to whatever extent the guerrilla war develops and intensifies, the revolutionary forces also will not be in a position to establish their stable political power. An area where such a situation exists is called a guerrilla zone. It means both the reactionary government and the revolutionary forces compete for total power on that region, but neither side can carry on their administration with stability."

In the course of our present movement we have defined some areas as having reached the level of primary stage of guerrilla zone; and some other areas as having reached the preparatory stage for the formation of a guerrilla zone. In the former the organs of power and village militia have begun to grow; economic developmental activities are increasingly taken up; rights over the forest produce are being trans-ferred to the local tribals and the land of the landlords is being confiscated and distributed to the poor peasants; people stop paying debts and interests to the landlords and moneylenders; and gradually stop paying taxes and levies to the government. In the 'preparatory stage', conditions are ripening for such a transformation. Accordingly, two areas have been defined as at a primary stage of guerrilla zone, and five, at the stage of the preparatory level of guerrilla zone.

These are :

Primary stage : (i) North Telangana comprising five districts

of AP and (ii) Dandakaranya, comprising two districts of Maharashtra and three of Madhya Pradesh. This entire region has a population of 20 million, a good proportion of which is in the guerrilla zone areas.

Preparatory stage : (i) The Eastern Region, covering four districts of North AP and two of Orissa, (ii) South Telangana, comprising 4 districts of AP, (iii) the Nallamala forest region, comprising parts of another three districts of AP, (iv) the Magadha region of Bihar, comprising four districts and (v) the Koel-Kaimur region of Bihar, comprising four districts.

With the party firmly entrenched in two states of India, as well as in the central forest region, and also with a presence in another six states, it has the ability to make rapid advances in a situation of deepening economic and political crisis in the country.

(6) India's Economic and Political Crisis

India, with a population of nearly one billion - about 17% of the world's people - is a bulwark of reaction, not only in South Asia, but internationally. If the imperialist chain were to be broken here, it would have an enormous impact, not only on Asia, but also for the world revolution. Earlier it was considered as the jewel in the British imperial crown, today it continues as an important outpost for imperialism —economically, politically and militarily. Ravaged by two centuries of colonial rule, followed by half-a-century of neo-colonial domination, India, inspite of its vast natural and human resources, is one of the poorest countries of the world with living conditions of two-thirds of the population similar to that of sub-Saharan countries.

Inspite of being such a huge country, it has a total GDP of just over two-thirds that of a small country like South Korea - India's GDP in 1995 was \$324 billion, to South Korea's \$456 billion. Worse still, its poverty levels were so acute, that according to the UNDP listing (ranked by Human Development Index), India stood 139th out of 174. To get an idea of how bad conditions really are, this may be compared to other third world countries: Argentina was 36th; Mexico 50th; Brazil 68th; Sri Lanka 91st; Indonesia 99th and even a country like Kenya was better at 134th.

India's ruling classes have always been subservient to imperialism. First it was of the British, then, after the transfer of power in 1947, they have been dancing to the tune of various imperialist powers. But, due to a high anti-imperialist sentiment amongst the masses, the rulers have always resorted to demagogic and hypocrisy to dupe the world and Indian people. M.K. Gandhi's so-called non-violent anti-British struggle, was in fact nothing but a British ruse to diffuse the militant anti-colonial struggles. Nehru's and Indira Gandhi's fake socialism, was a ruse to divert attention from their role as compradore imperialism. And the present nuclear explosions and anti-West rhetoric against CTBT etc. is nothing but a method to divert Hindu nationalist sentiment away from BJP's total capitulation to the MNCs, and their attempts to gain an Israel-like status in Asia.

Since 1991 each successive government has capitulated to IMF dictates, opening out the economy fully to the imperialists. The already servile bourgeoisie has capitulated even further, either by selling out - and becoming, defacto, managers or salesmen for the MNCs; or by forging stronger ties through allowing majority control for the foreign 'partner'. There is a misnomer that the Indian bourgeoisie, because of its size, could have national characteristics. But, it is quite the opposite, the biggest (like Tata, Birla, Ambani) are the most servile vehicles of foreign capital and their most faithful lackeys. In these eight years of 'globalisation' : the foreign debt has increased from \$82 billion in 1990 to roughly \$100 billion today (Rs. 4 a lakh crores); the FIIs defacto control our stock exchanges, with 20% volume traded at the Bombay Stock Exchange being accounted for by FIIs; the value of the rupee has dropped from Rs. 18.4 to the dollar in 1991 to Rs. 42.4 to the dollar today, a drop of 130%, and continues to decline; FDI inflows into the country have increased from Rs. 351 crores in 1991 to Rs. 8,441 crores in 1996; the trade deficit has increased from Rs. 11,000 crores (\$2.8 billion) in 91/92, to Rs. 49,000 crores (\$14.3 billion) in 96/97. Besides, the bulk of the FDI is used to swallow up Indian industry; imports have been sky-rocketing due to a reduction in customs duties; trade deficits

have been systematically rising each year and is threatening to reach a gigantic figure of \$20 billion this year; Public sector units are being systematically sold off to MNCs; foreign capital is now freely allowed (and encouraged) in core sectors like minerals and mining, power, oil and oil exploration, agriculture, and even in finance, housing, brokerage and insurance; the rupee has been made partially convertible and is heading towards capital account convertibility; massive tax concessions, subsidies and benefits are being handed out to foreign capital and their local comprador bourgeois agents, while at the same time expenditure on social welfare has been slashed; basic agriculture is being neglected, while export-oriented agro-industries are being pampered. Yet, for all this, since the last two years the economy has been stagnant going into one of its most serious recessions ever, this year. Besides, in the current year, India is heading for a Balance Of Payments crisis, which at best may be temporarily postponed, due to the \$4 billion NRI deposits received at enormous costs with all sorts of tax concessions, allowances, etc and an effective interest rate as high as 17%; unheard of in international lending.

What is worse, due to the onslaught of foreign capital, it is estimated that the minimum drain of wealth from India to the imperialists is roughly \$36 billion yearly - i.e. Rs. 1,50,000 crores, a massive 11% of our national income is drained out by the imperialists.

With this economic crisis, the country is going through a severe political crisis where it is becoming more and more difficult for the ruling classes to establish a stable government. At the centre the government has changed three times in the last three years, and the present BJP government, from its very inception has been on oxygen, with its coalition 'partners' creating more problems than the opposition. It itself is deeply faction-ridden as can be witnessed in Delhi, UP and Gujarat. The Congress (I) is in a state of atrophy, with even the autocratic Sonia Gandhi unable to stem the warring factions. The so-called third alternative has disintegrated with the various regional factions and revisionists switching policies overnight to protect their sectarian interests. Talks of constitutional amendments, presidential form of

government, etc are being put forward to stem the rot. Elections have become an open farce, with not only money power and muscle power determining votes, but also elected parliamentarians and legislatures immediately switching parties for money and posts. The masses are disgusted, and more and more are staying away from the electoral process, notwithstanding the enormous funds expended to legitimise it. And as 'liberalisation' proceeds apace, the political free-for-all intensifies, with each faction seeking to grab the maximum.

With these economic reforms, the people of the country are being pushed even further into horrifying conditions of poverty and destitution. Large labour cuts, wage-freeze, cuts in social expenditure, inflation, agricultural stagnation and crop failures are taking their toll. In this situation the people of the country are rising in protest. While, the parliamentary parties, whether 'Left', Right or Centre, follow the same policies of 'economic reforms', the masses are now breaking free of the trammels imposed upon them by these parties. In the months of June to August 1998, over two million employees of various government departments went on long drawn-out strikes, many of which resulted in confrontations, of course, most were betrayed by their revisionist leaders. In addition, more and more of the oppressed nationalities are breaking out into armed revolts.

The main leadership to this discontent is of course, being given by the communist revolutionaries, utilising Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and traversing the path of people's war. The CPI (ML) [PW] has been steadfastly pursuing the path of people's war in India, while the bulk of the other so-called Maoist groups and parties' practice is in no way linked to people's war. The Indian government and state machinery, for all its 'democratic' pretensions, is highly autocratic, fascistic and in no way inferior to any of the tin-pot dictators. The massacres of Naxalites, the butcheries of the struggling nationalities, the ruthlessness of the anti-muslim, anti-Sikh pogroms, the suppression of even legitimate trade union struggles and the murder of popular trade union leaders, the increasing attacks on scheduled castes (dalits), the systematic creation of armed fascist stormtroopers,

particularly in the struggle areas, are all indications of the futility of pursuing a path delinked from people's war in a country like India. Added to this is the feudal tyranny, where big landlords continue their domination in certain parts of the country; and even where it does not exist, feudal oppression, with its patriarchal domination over women, its humiliation and discrimination of the lower castes and its total intolerance towards any democratic institutions makes a mockery of the so-called democracy within the country. It is only those, pursuing the path of people's war as shown by Mao and acting as the true communist vanguard of the Indian revolution, who will be able to utilise the growing crisis in the interests of revolution, and be equipped to face the increasing fascist onslaughts.

PART-IV
INDIAN REVOLUTION AS PART
OF WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

As the Indian Revolution advances as part of the World Socialist Revolution, it acts as an important component in the worldwide struggle against imperialism. The great revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the Philippines, Peru, Nepal and other countries, as also the growing proletarian movements in the developed countries, assist and facilitate the growth of the Indian revolution. A deeper coordination of all these revolutionary movements of the world will not only assist each other, it will also further the worldwide anti-imperialist movement. It is therefore of great urgency for all those genuine communist parties the world over—those parties following, in theory and practice, the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and traversing the path of people's war - to draw closer, coordinate their activities, share their experiences and assist each other. Also, a more cohesive political centre at the international level, will help crystalise the other genuine anti-imperialist forces in a direction that will more definitely guarantee the victory of socialism.

This Seminar is, no doubt, a step in the right direction—a step

towards greater cohesion of the international proletarian forces based on the principles of Mao and People's War. The CPI (ML) [People's War] will make every effort to undertake its international duties, ally with all revolutionary forces the world over, and support the just struggles of the oppressed masses against imperialism and all reaction. We take this occasion to pay our red homage to all those heroic sons and daughters of the toiling masses all over the world who fell while valiantly fighting the reactionaries in the revolutionary struggle for a new society, free of exploitation and oppression.