

A CONSOLIDATION OF THE
PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY TREND - -

AN ADVANCE TOWARD THE RE-ORGANISATION
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

*Essentials of the
ideological-political-organisational
line of the C.P.R.C.I. (M.L.)*

Supplement to Comrade no. 1

Rs. 5.00

PREFACE

Initially, the document, "A Consolidation of the Proletarian Revolutionary Trend -- An Advance towards Re-organisation of the Communist Party of India", was adopted as the "Unity Resolution" of the four merging communist revolutionary organisations, by a multilateral unity meeting of the central delegations of the C.C.R.I., C.P.I. (M.L.) - C.T., M.L.O.C., and C.U.C.I. (M.L.), in December 1993. Subsequently, the Preparatory Committee constituted by that meeting prepared the drafts of the "Programme for People's Democratic Revolution in India", the "Path of the Indian Revolution" and the "Organisational Line -- Constitution". These drafts of the basic documents were prepared in line with this unity resolution. They will be finalised through the accepted inner-party organisational process in due course of time.

Meanwhile, under a process of merger initiated by the Preparatory Committee, the respective central leadership committees of the four organisations, circulated this Unity Resolution for discussion and approval by all their ranks. They also sought the approval of all their respective ranks for the immediate merger of the four organisations on the basis of the Unity Resolution. And, in August 1994, a multilateral merger meeting of the representatives of the four merging organisations deliberated upon the merger process hitherto undergone. The multilateral merger meeting resolved that:

-- The four organisations -- C.C.R.I., C.P.I. (M.L.)-C.T., M.L.O.C., and C.U.C.I. (M.L) -- be merged into a single unified organisation, on the basis of the Unity Resolution, "A Consolidation...", as approved by all the ranks of the merging organisations;

-- The name of the unified organisation shall be "THE COMMUNIST PARTY RE-ORGANISATION CENTRE OF INDIA (MARKIST-LENINIST)" -- the C.P.R.C.I. (M.L.);

-- The earlier separate identities of the four organisations be dissolved.

Thus the Unity Resolution, containing the salient features of the proletarian revolutionary line, constitutes the essentials of the ideological-political-organisational line-basis of the CPRCI (ML).

-- Editor.

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A CONSOLIDATION OF
THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY TREND.

AN ADVANCE TOWARDS:
RE-ORGANISATION OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

(UNITY RESOLUTION OF FOUR MERGING
COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATIONS)

Unification is to take place on an equal footing of the four communist revolutionary organisations -- namely, CPI (ML) - C.T., MLOC, CUCI (ML), and CCRI. This unification is the outcome of a principled and sustained ideological-political dialogue, held bilaterally between the CCRI and each of the rest (over a period ranging from two to five years) and subsequently among all four of them. Before entering into multilateral discussion among the four organisations, bilateral discussions between CUCI (ML) and MLOC, and ideological-political exchange among these two and CT, CPI (ML) also took place.

To begin with, each organisation's adherence to the proletarian revolutionary trend, as distinct from the wrong trends in the communist revolutionary camp, was mutually ascertained through bilateral exploratory talks. This phase specifically covered the examination of the respective understandings that are being practised by the concerned organisations on certain

questions related to the tactical line. Among such questions were: the relation between the party organisation and the mass organisations; secret party and the utilisation of legal opportunities; role of different governments, parliamentary parties (including 'left fronts') and the target of communist revolutionary propaganda and agitation; criteria for joint activities of communist revolutionary forces; the line and the basis for principled unification of communist revolutionary forces, etc. Along with the common understanding ascertained in these exploratory talks, the accompanying practical-political cooperation in mass revolutionary work in the states where they have work, contributed to strengthening their mutual appreciation and confidence in each other's basic commitment to the proletarian revolutionary trend.

With such assurance, the organisations entered (with varying time lags) into the phase of formal bilateral unity talks. This phase covered the examination of the main body of the proletarian revolutionary line articulated in their respective documents, or orally explained as it is being practised by the concerned organisations. While acknowledging the proximity of their respective views and application/practice on various aspects of the ideological-political-organisational line (national and international), the two sides involved in each of the bilateral unity talks, identified and discussed concretely those aspects or questions of line on which there appeared to be some differences. These needed to be specifically clarified and resolved mutually, in order to arrive

at a final conclusion on the basic agreement of the two organisations on the proletarian revolutionary national-international line.

After arriving at a mutually convincing conclusion of each of such formal bilateral unity talks, four corresponding bilateral resolutions -- three between CCRI and each of the other three organisations, and one between the MLOC and the CUCI (ML) -- were adopted. Each of these resolutions -- reported to the respective ranks of the two organisations involved -- contained: the specific course and method of discussion followed in the concerned bilateral talks; the essence of the basic agreement as well as the residual/secondary differences that are to be resolved in the unified organisation, on questions particularly discussed in the context of the whole line; and finally, the bilateral conclusion that there exists basic unanimity on the proletarian revolutionary line and hence principled basis for the unification of the two organisations into a single organisation.

As evident from the conclusions of the bilateral unity talks, all four organisations belong to the same proletarian revolutionary trend. At the same time, their political-organisational backgrounds and the specificities of the course of ideological-political struggle traversed by each one of them (for the defence or development of the proletarian revolutionary line) were different; and there are variations in some specifics or in the degree of development of different aspects of the proletarian revolutionary line that each of them has been hitherto following.

Consequently, in each of these formal bilateral unity talks, the concrete process of discussions and the questions on which the orientation of the line had to be mutually clarified or clinched particularly, were different from one another.

Nevertheless, every one of these bilateral unity talks had the same fundamental characteristics: they were governed by the concept of the integral character of the line and by the concept of the line as the basis of unification; each participant organisation based itself on a similar frame of proletarian revolutionary line, in clarifying or resolving the variations and in agreeing to resolve the residual differences in the unified organisation. The essentials of the deliberations and progress of each of these bilateral talks were duly reported by the concerned parties to the leaderships of the remaining two organisations. All the bilateral talks taken together covered almost all questions of line, from different angles and contributed to the mutual benefit of strengthening and enriching the understanding of the proletarian revolutionary line. Thus, all these bilateral unity talks, with the CCRI serving as the common link, prepared the ground for the multilateral unity talks among the four organisations and for the collective affirmation of the basic agreement on the proletarian revolutionary line.

Accordingly, the successive multilateral unity meetings of the delegations of the four organisations, held between July 1993 and October 1993, deliberated upon the report submitted by CCRI on the bilateral unity talks and on all the bila-

teral resolutions adopted therein; held further elaborate discussions on some questions of tactical line (the relative significance and priorities of work in the peasant front and working class front, practical application of the tactics in respect of the parliamentary struggle in relation to the strategy of Indian revolution, practical aspect of projection of the character of the unified organisation). Finally, while approving all the bilateral resolutions, the four organisations collectively concluded that there is basic unanimity on the proletarian revolutionary line (national and international) and hence principled basis for the unification of the four organisations into a single organisation.

In pursuance of that goal, the multi-lateral unity meeting, held in the first week of December, 1993, decided on a commonly agreed process (to culminate in a Unity Conference) for merging the four organisations -- CPI (ML)-CT; MLOC; CUCI (ML); and CCRI -- into a single organisation.

The preparatory committee constituted by this meeting will give appropriate documentary expression to the commonly accepted proletarian revolutionary line. The basic line documents will be adopted in the forthcoming Unity Conference after due circulation and discussion among the respective ranks of the four organisations. Pending this, broad features of this basic unanimity on the proletarian revolutionary line and the gist of the common understanding on some questions that were particularly discussed and resolved, are given below:

I. CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF THE LINE

A. CONCEPT OF INTEGRAL NATURE OF THE LINE

The proletarian revolutionary line is an integral whole. The true significance of its ingredients and the inner consistency of the line is revealed only when all the ingredients are viewed in their inter-connection and not in isolation. The major components of such line are the general line of the international communist movement; the general line of the Indian revolution, ie the programme of the Indian revolution and the strategic alignment of class forces as well as the general course or path of the Indian revolution; the tactical line, ie the concrete plan of tasks and policies for the step by step advance of the Indian revolution; and the organisational line, ie the constitution of the party organisation and the manner of organising the masses of people. All of these constitute an integral whole. Each of these components and each aspect of every component, has a distinct significance of its own for revolutionary practice. At the same time, all these components and different aspects of each component are so closely linked that each component/aspect has a definite bearing on the validity or materialisation of the other components/aspects. Firm grasp and pursuance of this concept are imperative for proper planning, implementation and co-ordination of different revolutionary tasks, for properly assessing and resol-

ving the inner-organisational problems or differences and for the principled unification of the communist revolutionary forces.

B. EXISTING STATUS, DEVELOPMENT AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LINE:

At any given time, the development and establishment of the line cannot be viewed in absolute terms. It is a continuous process. Nevertheless, communist revolutionaries should have a clear view/assessment of the validity and status of the line (as it is currently existing). This should be in terms of its Marxist-Leninist character, basic strength and limitations. Such assessment would help ascertain the phase of development of the Party and for setting communist revolutionaries on the corresponding course of development of the Party and the movement.

All communist revolutionary organisations, having a definite line and firm conviction in implementing it, are essentially of party character (without which they cannot own and claim responsibility of leading the revolutionary class struggles of the people and can at best be considered to be Marxist-Leninist circles). They are parts or components of the Party that is being re-organised. Such a development as the re-organisation of the full-fledged Party, will not be a matter of just quantitative growth. The development from the present phase into THE PARTY will be a qualitative leap in terms of development of the line and standards of maintaining party principles --

of functioning, spirit, and discipline -- as well as wholeness of the proletarian leadership provided to the revolutionary movement of India.

In the communist revolutionary camp, there has been a basically correct line (as diametrically opposed to revisionism of all hues and as distinct from wrong trends within this camp) which has been and is still being followed or struggled for, by more than one communist revolutionary organisation (as also by some sections within the organisations following wrong trends). There have been varying degrees of its articulation, consistency and development. The line that is being adopted by the unified organisation is a continuation and improvement of such line.

At the same time, the development and establishment of this line has been and still is inadequate and uneven. While it provides a basic frame of approach to any problem, many aspects of it are yet to be sufficiently developed and explained. That is required in order to solve some of the major problems being faced in the spheres of mass revolutionary practice and political ideological struggle and in order to establish the line extensively among the communist revolutionary ranks and to the possible extent among the struggling masses of the people, for the all-round development of the revolutionary movement. The unified organisation will strive its best for such development and establishment (through its own efforts and through further unifications). In doing so, it will follow the Marxist-Leninist approach of linking theory with practice.

The development and establishment of the basic proletarian revolutionary line, invariably proceeds by means of ideological struggle against contemporary opportunist trends, combined with the class struggle against adversary class forces. Also it proceeds by means of the collective effort and ideological-political struggle within the organisation for resolving the concrete problems confronting the revolutionary movement. In all this, unified and systematic implementation of the line is the key. For effective implementation of the line and its development on that basis (through the summation of the experience of that practice), continuous efforts for applying and concretising the basic line to the specificities of the objective situation and of the revolutionary movement in different regions in different periods, are a pressing need. However, in this endeavour, strict adherence to the strategic and tactical orientation of the basic line and effective struggle against the currently preponderant pragmatic tendencies are obligatory.

C. THE LINE AND THE UNIFICATION OF COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY FORCES:

The unification of communist revolutionary forces (and the consequent re-organisation of the Party) proceeds through a tortuous process of struggle (splits and realignments) for the development and establishment of the proletarian revolutionary line. Today, in the commu-

nist revolutionary camp, there are different contending lines (rather than having to be collectively evolved), representing different trends followed by different groups. The chief reason for the prevailing disunity among communist revolutionary forces is that there in fact exist differences among the groups representing different trends, over questions of ideological-political-organisational line. Differences related to the orientation on questions of strategy and tactical line cannot be resolved in a unified organisation (just on the strength of correct organisational practice). They have to be basically clinched and resolved before the unification. It is only the essential unanimity on the basic proletarian revolutionary line (ideological-political-organisational) that can provide a proper frame and scope for uniform implementation of the line and for gradual resolution of the remaining non-basic differences and of the differences arising in the course of revolutionary practice. Hence, unanimity on the basic line alone can provide adequate basis for principled unification of communist revolutionary forces.

II. CONCERNING IDEOLOGY

Acceptance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the guiding ideology as well as of integrating its universal truth with the concrete practice of Indian revolution is the fundamental point of demarcation for all communist revolutionary forces in India. The orient-

ation of all basic positions of the proletarian revolutionary line are governed by it.

Mao Tsetung Thought is the continuation and further development of Leninism, in the ongoing era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. However, a uniform definitional grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought and its application to various problems of the revolutionary movement are inadequate among communist revolutionary forces. A concrete evaluation of Mao's contributions to Marxist-Leninist ideology and a comprehensive explanation of Mao Tsetung Thought is an important task that needs to be attended to -- both in the course of struggle against modern revisionists and against distortions of Mao's teachings (that are being carried on by the revisionist C.P.C. and some left and right deviationist forces in this country) as well as in the course of struggle for applying it to the problems facing the revolutionary movement.

III. CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL LINE AND SITUATION

The principles of the Great Debate led by Com. Mao Tsetung must be upheld by all genuine communist revolutionaries. The 1963 proposal (of the C.P.C.) concerning the general line of the international communist movement has been the common reference on international line for the communist revolutionary camp. Based on these principles of the Great Debate, the forces of proletarian revolutionary trend

in the communist revolutionary camp, have withstood and countered the attempted distortions and revision of the principles of Great Debate on proletarian international line.

Such distortions and revisions got manifested in the class-collaborationist "Three World Theory" of the Deng clique, in its reneging on Mao's theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the "Two World Theory" of the Hoxha clique, and in the overt or covert attacks on or misinterpretation of the 1935 line of the Communist International led by Stalin, by certain "left" opportunist and right opportunist tendencies in the international communist movement. A decade and a half have passed in bitter ideological-political struggle by revolutionary forces to expose these distortions. Today the various policy positions, paraded through these distortions (Soviet Union main source of war and main danger, hence anti-Soviet United Front including the U.S. imperialism; imminent inter-imperialist war, etc.), stand thoroughly exposed by world developments too. Nevertheless, the pernicious influence of the distortions of the principles of the Great Debate continue in the communist revolutionary camp in one form or the other (particularly on the principles of utilisation of contradictions in the enemy camp, on the character and role of the states and ruling classes under neo-colonial order, etc). It is a continuing task to fight all such distortions and influences.

Today, the principal contradiction in the world arena, ie, the contradiction

between imperialism and oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the world, is further accentuated, and the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and proletariat in the capitalist countries is getting sharpened, whereas the inter-imperialist contradiction has temporarily acquired a milder expression. After the reversals in China, Albania, etc, there is no socialist state and social system contending with the imperialist system. Consequently, while the struggle between imperialism and socialism runs throughout the present era, the contradiction between socialist system and the imperialist system has become non-existent for the time being.

The most significant set of recent developments in the imperialist camp is the strategic retreat and subsequent collapse of Soviet social imperialism. Although Russian imperialism still possesses the military strength of an imperialist super-power, and it possesses economic and technological resources that could be a potential base for its emergence on the international scene as a formidable contender for spheres of hegemony, it has little scope at present and for some time to come (till it finds its feet in the internal turmoil) for an effective intervention as a global power, in international political developments.

At the same time the U.S. imperialism too is grievously hurt. The U.S. economy stands degraded into a precarious state of financial distortions and general debility. Despite its seemingly uncontested military-political predominance in world affairs, it is not in a position to dictate terms as earlier and is taking

great care not to tread upon the toes of its imperialist colleagues.

So, unlike the earlier pattern of aggressive drive of either of the imperialist superpowers for exclusive world hegemony, in contention with each other and to the detriment of other imperialist interests, the present day U.S. imperialist aggression proceeds as a part of the overall offensive of imperialism against the oppressed countries. Hence, that aggression gets underpinned by the military collaboration or political collusion on the part of other imperialist powers, in varying degrees.

Since the current collusion among the imperialist against the oppressed countries is transient and fragile, it is bound soon to give way to the sharpened contention and conflicts among them. So, despite the fact that, for the moment, the scope for the anti-imperialist forces to utilise the inter-imperialist contradictions has got constricted, the anti-imperialist forces should keep in mind the orientation and perspective for doing so.

On the whole, the basic process of decline of the two imperialist superpowers, that gained momentum in the eighties and heralded the approaching conclusion of the historical period of their chieftaincy, has not come to a stop with the collapse of Soviet social-imperialism; it is only taking a detour to arrive at its consummation in a few years to come. Although, at present, there remains only one imperialist superpower in operation in the international arena, it would be inappropriate to conclude that a new "unipolar" world order has come into being. No

doubt, the collapse of Soviet social imperialism and the associated developments have greatly unsettled the earlier balance of forces and alignments among the imperialist powers. Still, the balance of forces and alignments among the imperialist powers have not crystallized; their mutual relationships currently are in a state of flux and their respective moves are essentially tentative. Only after such a crystallisation and its relative stabilisation take place would one be on solid ground to talk about the new international order and about any polarity whatsoever and thus to pronounce the onset of a new historical period, with specific characteristics, in the process of world development.

The previous tactical orientation of singling out the two imperialist super-powers as the foremost common enemies of the world people and hence special targets of the latter's anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggles, has lost its significance today. Although one of the two main bastions of neo-colonialism and world reaction of imperialist aggression and war, namely, U.S. imperialism, is still intact, it would have tactical significance for the revolutionary forces only in the context of a situation of sharpened imperialist contention for world markets and spheres of influence. In the current international situation, the aspect of contention of the inter-imperialist contradiction has been temporarily relegated to a secondary position. Hence, despite U.S. imperialism's leading role in the imperialist powers' collaborative or collusive offensive against the oppressed

peoples and oppressed nations, the latter's struggles have to be directed as a matter of policy, not against U.S. imperialism in particular but against imperialism as such.

RELIABLE BASIS AND ASSESSMENT OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL SITUATIONS:

Whether the imperialist system and its neo-colonial order is undergoing a phase of relative stabilisation and consequently a period of relatively peaceful social development or a phase of acute systemic crisis and consequently a period of turbulent social development, should be primarily assessed on the basis of the state of development of its basic contradictions in their movement and inter-relationship and the struggles they necessitate, rather than on the basis of the superficial phenomena and the relative gains or setbacks to the contending forces at the moment.

In a phase of relative stability of the imperialist system, the general tactical orientation and mental preparedness of the revolutionary forces is tuned for a patient and long spell of gathering forces and making all-round preparations for coping with future social upheavals. On the other hand, in a phase of acute crisis of the imperialist system, as at present, their general tactical orientation and mental preparedness should be tuned to the tremendous objective scope and urgency of

developing the class struggle and the requirement of being able to confront turbulent developments of one or the other kind in the present period and gather strength in doing so.

IV. CONCERNING PROGRAMMATIC ASPECTS

Communist revolutionary forces mostly have common positions on the main programmatic aspects of the Indian revolution: on the character of Indian state and society (semi-colonial, semi-feudal); on the character of the ruling classes (inherently dependent bourgeois and feudal) and their essential relation with imperialism (subservience) and with the Indian people (oppression, suppression); on the present stage of the Indian revolution (people's democratic); and hence on the basic tasks of the Indian revolution in its present stage (national liberation from imperialism and democratic revolution against feudalism); on the forces of revolution (working class, peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie); relative roles or class alignment of the revolutionary classes (working class the leader, peasantry the main force, petty bourgeoisie a firm ally and the national bourgeoisie a vacillating ally); strategic course of the Indian revolution (protracted people's war with the party, revolutionary united front and armed struggle as its chief weapons), etc, etc. No communist revolutionary organisation can easily alter the basic positions of the programme, as they have the historical authenticity acquired from the

demarcative struggle against revisionism and neo-revisionism in India and internationally and from the experience of national-international revolutionary movements, particularly of the Chinese revolution led by Mao.

Even though almost all the communist revolutionary organisations formally declare India as semi-colonial and semi-feudal and the Indian big bourgeoisie as comprador, there has been a prevalence of wrong tendencies in the communist revolutionary camp. There is on the one hand the tendency that attributes political independence or semi-independence to the Indian State, with the Indian big bourgeoisie having a bargaining power of its own vis-a-vis imperialism; and there is on the other hand the tendency that treats Indian rulers as mere puppets (as if of a neo-colony) without any social base or counter-revolutionary strength of their own (to serve imperialism). While analysing various political developments one or the other of these tendencies gets expressed in various forms in the policy orientations of some communist revolutionary leaderships, with harmful consequences. In view of this, it is necessary to reiterate the proletarian revolutionary orientation on the basic programmatic position of the Indian revolution, particularly on the character and role of the Indian ruling classes.

CHARACTER AND ROLE OF THE INDIAN RULERS, PARTICULARLY THE BIG BOURGEOISIE:

India is under the rule of the big bourgeoisie-landlords combine subservient to imperialism with the facade of a parliamentary political system whose content is not bourgeois democratic but autocratic. It is a hunting ground for neo-colonial exploitation by all major imperialist powers. Feudalism is the main social base of imperialism (as also of imperialism's subservient partner, the big bourgeoisie).

The Indian big bourgeoisie (comprador-bureaucratic bourgeoisie) is inherently dependent on imperialism for its class existence and development. Its class interests have always been and are basically in conformity with the interests of international monopoly capitalism. Any wranglings or manoeuvrings on its part, for getting better share in economic loot or political power from its imperialist patrons (and any resultant discord) take place only within the space provided by the interplay of two major contradictions -- namely, the contradiction among the imperialist powers, and the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people. These can only be within the frame of that basic conformity of interests. This is the objective basis that determines the subservient role of the Indian big bourgeoisie vis-a-vis world imperialism.

Occasional political postures or behaviour of the Indian ruling classes' representatives or regimes may appear to be relatively independent of imperialism or in opposition to a particular imperialist power (under the impact of inter-imperialist contradictions and changes in their relative strengths, or under the pressure

of the prevalent anti-imperialist mood of the people). Conversely, their postures or behaviour may appear to be puppet-like (under pressure of the combined imperialist dictat). Such superficial and transient phenomena, however, cannot be the basis for defining the essential character of the Indian ruling classes and for forming a strategic concept of their role in the national and social advance of the Indian people.

That can only be done on the basis of the basic contradictions of Indian society and the situation of the ruling classes in those contradictions. Even the general tactical concept of their role can only be formed, primarily with reference to the obtaining principal contradiction in India and their situation in it. Only by firmly grasping the analytical frame of the basic contradictions (and the principal contradiction among them at a given period of time) can a correct strategic and tactical orientation on this question be ensured. Only within the frame of such a strategic and tactical orientation can any real or superficial rifts and tussles among the international and domestic oppressors and among their various sections be properly analysed, explained and handled to the benefit of the revolutionary movement. In this light, particular attention should be paid to the role of inter-imperialist and inter-ruling class contradictions. Such contradictions involving feudal forces should be given special attention in analysing various regional phenomena -- such as the emergence of various regional

parties or different regional movements -- since the impact of feudal forces is more pronounced locally and regionally rather than at the national level.

V. CONCERNING TACTICAL LINE ASPECTS

India's people's democratic revolution, under the leadership of the working class, with agrarian revolution as its axis, will inevitably proceed on the path of protracted people's war. The Communist Party, the armed struggle, and the revolutionary united front (under the hegemony of the working class and with the worker-peasant alliance as its axis), are the three chief weapons of the Indian revolution. The protracted people's war, with the armed agrarian revolutionary movement as its axis, is going to unfold itself by first liberating the rural areas and creating base areas of red political power and advancing, step by step, towards encircling the cities (centres of counter-revolution) and finally capturing them -- thus liberating the whole country. All these aspects constitute the strategic plan of the Indian revolution, on which all the communist revolutionary forces are apparently in common agreement.

However, in the matter of working out and practising the concrete plan of tasks and policies for the step by step realisation of this strategic plan, the communist revolutionary camp remains a divided house and most of the prevalent ideological-political controversies linked with the practical movement are finally

centred around this concrete plan of tasks and policies. All the wrong trends, the "left" deviationist as well as the right deviationist ones, in one way or the other, in word or deed, essentially negate or distort the concept of building the agrarian revolutionary movement, under the leadership of the working class, as the axis of the Indian revolution, and the concept of developing and integrating the people's armed struggle with the agrarian revolutionary movement. In view of this the communist revolutionaries must firmly grasp these two concepts to ensure the proletarian revolutionary tactical orientation of their concrete plan of tasks and policies for building the revolutionary movement.

A. AGRARIAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AS THE AXIS OF DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The strategic concept of agrarian revolution as the main content and axis of the People's Democratic Revolution of India reflects the line of advance of the Indian revolution in the context of its present stage as a whole and, thus, in the context of the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the Indian people, as a basic social contradiction. That strategic concept finds its concrete expression in the general tactical concept of agrarian revolutionary movement as the axis of the people's democratic revolutionary movement to reflect

the line of the concrete advance of the Indian revolution in the context of its present phase and, thus, in the context of the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the Indian people as the principal contradiction. The principal contradiction, in the present phase, objectively determines that the development of the class struggle in general, is going to be ultimately conditioned by the development of the agrarian revolutionary movement, that is, the development of anti-feudal struggles of the peasantry led by the proletariat on the basis of the agrarian revolutionary programme, and imbued with revolutionary political consciousness. At the same time, it is also important to note that the anti-feudal struggle of the peasantry is to be viewed as a part of the anti-feudal struggle of all revolutionary classes.

In order to ensure the correct tactical orientation of the concrete plan of tasks and policies of the communist revolutionary forces, these must give conscious expression to the objective logic of the unfolding of the principal contradiction by making the requirements of building up the agrarian revolutionary movement as their central reference point. Doing so would have bearing particularly on the scheme for deployment of the Party forces and resources; on the orientation of the political work on other fronts, particularly the workers' front, who are to be made to acquire the realisation and capability of discharging their leadership responsibilities towards the peasantry in their struggle against feudal oppression and bureaucratic suppression and for real

democracy; and on the dealings with various political forces, particularly those belonging to the ruling classes. Besides, political work on the workers' front has a special significance at the present phase of the re-organisation of the Party.

B. ARMED STRUGGLE AND AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

The armed struggle is the highest form of class struggle of which the agrarian revolutionary movement is the axis. While the class struggle develops through a process, from lower to higher to the highest levels and corresponding forms, it is the task of the communist revolutionaries, throughout all phases of the revolutionary movement, to constantly educate the people in the politics of seizure of political power and to prepare them for armed struggle in an appropriate manner (to enable them to imbibe the necessary revolutionary consciousness and preparedness on the basis of their own experience). It is the level of consciousness and preparedness of the people that determines the realisation of the necessity and launching of any form of struggle, including the armed struggle. While the armed struggle proper will start at a certain stage of the agrarian revolutionary movement (which is objectively verifiable in terms of the actual manifestation of the consciousness and preparedness of the people to seize and control the means of production and consequently thus seize and control the political power through their own instruments [organi-

sations] of struggle and power), the people should be guided and prepared to arm themselves to put up self-defence and resistance to armed attacks of the ruling classes and their agents, the party forces among the masses playing the leading role in carrying out such self-defence -- all of which is a part and parcel of the process of development of class struggle to its highest form -- the armed struggle. Thus integrating the revolutionary struggles of different sections of people with the agrarian revolutionary movement and integrating and developing different forms of struggle with the armed struggle should be addressed by the communist revolutionaries with an integral concept and plan of tasks of the revolutionary movement in all the stages of the process of its development.

Only in the above-mentioned way can we comprehend and realise the whole concept of the process of development of armed struggle in its organic relationship with the processes of development of the class struggle (principally the agrarian revolutionary movement), of the Party and of the revolutionary united front.

C. ON ELECTIONS

Within our strategic stand of opposing the parliamentary path and parliamentarism, the question of struggle in respect of the parliament in India in the form of participation or boycott, is to be viewed as a tactical question. This tactic is to be considered as subordinate to the strategy of People's Democratic Revolution in

India.

This tactic in India is qualitatively different from that of western capitalist countries, because of the difference in state and social system, character of the parliament and the strategic path of revolution.

At the present period of party re-organisation, the objective and subjective conditions are not suitable for utilising, as a matter of policy, the tactics of participation or boycott, as it does not serve the interest of the strategic development. (*) So, the task at the present period will be "active political campaign" of exposure of the present social system and parliamentary form of rule and of projecting the revolutionary alternative with its form of rule (mainly principles). The main thrust of the campaign will be the disillusionment of the people about the state system and dissuading them from getting entangled in the electoral politics. The method of the campaign is to be decided on the basis of the objective condition of the people and their consciousness. The propaganda in respect of the general problems should be connected with the concrete problems of the people and various questions posed by the elections. The purpose is to develop, step by step, the consciousness and movement of the people towards the realisation of the strategic path.

However, the organisation will consider any exceptional development under the general frame of the policy.

(*) See Note at the end of the Resolution.

D. ATTITUDE TOWARDS RULING CLASS POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE QUESTION OF UTILISATION OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THEM

In the country at present, there is no political or practical basis and justifiable consideration for trying to include ruling class political party representatives, in the platforms or forums of struggle on any class economic, political and social problems of the people. Nor is there any basis either in the class contradictions or the political relations, for a policy differentiation (as "main danger") among the ruling class parties and for supporting, overtly or covertly, the policies of one or the other opposition party.

In a way, the whole question, as to what sort of differentiation of ruling class political forces is being made and whether or not it is appropriate in the given situation, gets resolved by the way one conceives the objective alignment of class forces in the struggle and grasps the policy, reflecting this alignment, in conducting the practical movement. It is important to emphasise that any attempt at making a policy-differentiation among the ruling class political forces, has to be by an objective appraisal of their respective roles with respect to a social-political phenomenon. That is to say, one must seek out the objective causes and

underlying reasons of their manifest acts, instead of relying upon their superficial political conduct. In other words, any attempt to differentiate among them without reference to the actual state of major class contradictions in their inter-relationship is liable to go off the mark in figuring out the alignment of class forces and, thus, disorientate the revolutionary movement.

So far as differentiation of a different order, of non-policy nature, is concerned, the Party, more often than not, has to adopt a differentiated approach towards the adversary forces and to manoeuvre with them in the context of their inner conflicts, for successfully tackling them in the whole range of partial class struggles (or generally, in the process of unfolding of the operational plan of any campaign). Without such an approach, the Party would be deprived of the necessary tactical flexibility in conducting the day-to-day class battles and hardly be able to lead the revolutionary mass movement effectively. However, this sort of tactical flexibility in the practical movement, is concretely shaped by the obtaining specific situation of struggle and is governed by the overall policy of the Party that deals with the alignment of class forces in a given phase of the revolutionary movement based on the operation of the principal contradiction and its inter-action with other major contradictions. This sort of differentiation, and the tactical flexibility ensuing therefrom, ought not to transgress the framework of the alignment of class-forces as delineated by the relevant Party

policy.

VI. CONCERNING ORGANISATIONAL LINE ASPECTS

A. RE-ORGANISATION OF THE PARTY AND THE QUESTION OF CPI(ML)

For over two decades, the party forces have been and are still existing in a decentralised and divided form in various organisations under the names of one or the other CPI(ML) and that of other communist revolutionary organisations. Party forces have been functioning without a uniform authority and practice of the proletarian revolutionary line and consequently without proper functioning and discipline of the Party. Re-organisation of THE PARTY, as a continuation of all revolutionary components, including CPI(ML), of the erstwhile Communist Party of India, is a pressing and crucial task before all communist revolutionary forces. In this connection, we reject all such erroneous concepts as "multi-party existence of the proletarian vanguard", "formation of a new Communist Party of India", "evolution of the Party in the course of revolutionary class struggle", "the problem of Party re-organisation being essentially a problem of subjective preparedness and declaration on the part of influential leaders" and "re-organisation of the Party should not have been attempted at the time of the break from neo-revisionists", etc.

Apart from other ideological-political questions of the proletarian revolutionary

line, the question of the evaluation of the formation and role of the CPI(ML) in 1969-70 is an important question which has a significant bearing on the unification of communist revolutionaries and the re-organisation of the Party of the proletariat in India at present. It would be ideal if this question could be immediately resolved to the satisfaction of all forces concerned. But such resolution is difficult right now, since it involves a proper historical review of ideological-political-organisational roles and practices of all forces involved -- those who led the formation of CPI(ML) as well as those who were outside it. That is not fully possible for any single organisation (for lack of full information with it). So, it is necessary to decide on and take a principled approach to tackle the question, and on that basis proceed with the unification into a single organisation (if other conditions of unity are fulfilled). Such a principled approach could only be one of separating the principal aspect from the non-principal aspect of the question and hammering out a basic agreement on the principal aspect before unification while leaving the differences on the non-principal aspect for resolution within the unified organisation.

i) PRINCIPLED APPROACH ON THE QUESTION OF CPI(ML)

The principal/essential aspect of this question involves i) the concept of the line and its required development for re-

organisation of the Party, and ii) the democratic centralist process of re-organisation of the Party. These two factors have a crucial bearing on the present drive and practice of communist revolutionary forces towards accomplishing the task of re-organisation of the Party. Hence, common understanding of these two factors is a pre-requisite of unification.

If there is an essential unanimity on these two factors, then any difference on the historical placement of CPI(ML) need not and should not be allowed to come in the way of unification. Differences on the question of evaluation can be striven to be properly resolved in the unified organisation on the basis of applying the common understanding arrived at on the above two factors (concept of the line and process of re-organisation) and the experience being gained in practising it, with the clear understanding that a final verdict on the question of historical evaluation of the CPI(ML) can be given only by the Party Congress.

This approach is significant and relevant not only in the context of the present unification but also for paving the way for unification of all communist revolutionary forces organised under CPI(ML) organisation and those under other communist revolutionary organisations.

ii) THE ESSENTIAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRINCIPLES OF RE-ORGANISATION OF THE PARTY

a) *The concept of the line and its required development*

Besides what is stated earlier

regarding the integral concept of the line, it should be clear that while the present level of development of proletarian revolutionary line is adequate for the unification of uniting organisations now, it is not adequate for the actual re-organisation of the Party. It should be so developed as to clinch and resolve the major questions or problems that have come to the fore in the sphere of ideological-political struggle against wrong trends and in the sphere of practice in the revolutionary movement. This has to be accomplished by the time of calling the congress for the re-organisation of the Party so that it can provide sufficient basis for unified guidance by the Party to the revolutionary movement of India.

b) *Democratic centralist process of re-organisation of the Party:*

It is not enough if the line is established for the communist revolutionary forces already united. The line and the debate and explanations clinching or resolving the major problems of ideological struggle and of practical revolutionary movement should be carried to all the revolutionary ranks who are to be consolidated into the Party. The revolutionary ranks can then consciously judge and decide on these questions. Full scope should be given for the proper discussion of any differing views, prior to the properly convened congress in which the Party is being re-organised.

The unification that is going to take place on the basis of common proletarian revolutionary line will be a phenomenon representing the political-organisational

consolidation of the proletarian revolutionary trend. Thus it will be a step forward in the genuine process of re-organisation of the Party of the proletariat in India. Every advance in the genuine process of re-organisation of the Party reflects to a certain extent the continuation and development of the proletarian revolutionary movement and Party of India. Even after this unification we will be only on the way to the final re-organisation of the Party, thus reflecting that continuation and development partially and not comprehensively, so we will be constituting only a part of the Party, not the whole Party.

As far as the particular context of the communist revolutionary movement (since the break from revisionist and neo-revisionist leadership around 1967) is concerned, for whatever reasons, the forces representing the proletarian revolutionary trend, ie, the correct trend -- have been existing and developing within the frame of more than one political organisation. Whenever there occurs a consolidation of such forces in a single organisational frame through unification, as will be the case with us, that unification in content reflects the continuation of a single trend -- the proletarian revolutionary trend. As the process of Party re-organisation has been developing variedly in different organisational forms, the present unification will be a continuation and convergence of different processes of re-organisation of the Communist Party, hitherto followed by all the merging organisations.

B. DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The Marxist-Leninist concept of democracy is that of proletarian democracy aimed at protecting and promoting the interests of the proletariat and all oppressed masses. The Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian democracy, ie democracy and centralism in their dialectical relationship, is the guiding principle for all forms of organisation under proletarian leadership -- the mass organisations of class struggle, the organisations of social and state structures and the party organisation of the proletariat. Social-political consciousness of the concerned members being the foundation on which this principle operates, the level of application and practice of this principle varies according to the nature and form of the organisation. This principle gets its highest manifestation in democratic centralism, which is the organisational principle of the Party -- the highest form of organisation of the class-conscious proletariat. The party members' socio-political consciousness and ideological-political consolidation of the highest order is the essential condition for the proper application and practice of democratic centralism in the party organisation.

In the Party, the existence and entrenchment of the proletarian revolutionary line and practice constitute the ideological-political foundation on which democratic centralism can be practised to meet its desired objective. The objective

of democratic centralism is the evolution of correct policy and correct leadership in the organisation. The aspect of democracy is the means of securing the basis for evolving correct policy or line of action through the involvement of the ranks and gathering their experiences and views. The aspect of centralism is the means first of forging the correct policy through summing up the experiences of implementing the line (and through discussions and debate over any conflicting views in the Party) and then, of enforcing the collective will, for uniformly implementing the political line. Thus is developed the striking power of the Party and the people against the class enemy.

Proper inner-party democracy is an essential condition for correction of any mistake through inner-party discussion or struggle and criticism-self-criticism. Lack of it leads to isolation of the Party leadership from its ranks, isolation of the Party from the people, and to the growth of bureaucracy in the Party. Lack of centralism or centralised guidance to the practice of democracy leads to anarchism or formal (bourgeois) democracy.

Thus both democracy and centralism are inter-connected aspects of a single entity. Any stress on one to the detriment of the other deprives the Party of the capacity to formulate, develop and implement the proletarian revolutionary line or policy and negatively affects the evolution of correct leadership at different levels of the Party. Even so, in the present phase of re-organisation of the Party, the leading bodies at various levels should take particular care for

encouraging greater involvement of the ranks in the process of developing and implementing the line, through proper inner-party discussions. Moreover, there is a great need to sum up the negative and positive experiences of the past and ongoing practice of democratic centralism, for improving and raising it to a higher level.

C. BASIC ORIENTATION OF THE WORK-PATTERN OF THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION

Organising work according to a definite plan, at every level of the committee-structure, is a basic principle and characteristic feature of the work-pattern of the communist organisation. This work-pattern is designed to get optimum results from the energies of the organisation spent at every level. For the work-plan of every committee is based on the concrete appraisal of the problems and prospects for developing political-mass work and political-organisational work, the relative significance of the work-front, the resources available to it, and the priorities of different tasks of the period in their inter-relationship. Moreover, it is designed to lend an integral character to the practical conduct of the whole organisation (as a concrete manifestation of the integral character of the line of the organisation). For the work-plan of every committee is the application of the work-plan of its higher committee to the specific conditions and needs of its own field of work, thus having general as well as specific features. So, by its very nature, this

work-pattern is opposed to autonomism, routinism, and subjection to spontaneity in the activities of any limb of the organisation, whether at the level of the leadership or the ranks. In the existing state of development and functioning of various communist revolutionary organisations, firm adherence to this work-pattern is an arduous but all the more necessary task.

D. CONCEPT OF THE SECRET PARTY

Being addressed to the task of organising and leading the protracted people's war step by step to dismantle and to overthrow the autocratic Indian State and establish a people's democratic state in India, the Party organisation of the proletariat will have to remain secret always (unless there is a fundamental change in the situation) irrespective of whether it is formally banned or not. The concept of a secret party pre-supposes that its entire apparatus of functioning, organisation -- committees, cadres -- is secret from the enemy and is thus not easily vulnerable to the enemy attack.

In one sense underground organisation means secret organisation, ie not exposed as belonging to the party organisation to the enemy. In another sense underground organisation means that it is beyond the reach of the repressive apparatus of the reactionary state, though a section of its leadership is known to the state. Underground life, in the latter sense, is meant for those who are already exposed or likely to be exposed, but usually not for

others. All these measures are meant for protecting the Party from the onslaught of the enemy so that the Party is able to maintain closest possible links with the masses of the people and to provide constant guidance to them in all circumstances.

At the same time, the Party organisation will strive to acquire and develop the skills and capability to utilise, in a judicious manner, all available legal opportunities -- to carry out its tasks of organising the masses in revolutionary struggles, of developing their revolutionary consciousness and of widest possible propaganda of its political policies and views. The main arena of such utilisation of legal opportunities is that of through its members working in the mass organisations in an appropriate manner. Besides, it will also explore the possibilities for taking special measures -- such as selectively employing specially trained personnel or creating special political platforms without the Party's identification with them, etc. -- for purposes of open propaganda of the Party's views and policies on various problems without dislocating or exposing its secret apparatus.

E. RELATION BETWEEN PARTY ORGANISATION AND MASS ORGANISATION

Along with proletarian Party organisation, mass organisations too are indispensable for the emancipation of the exploited and oppressed masses. The political relation between the mass organisations and the Party organisation

reflects the relation of partial or immediate interests of the people to the basic or long-term interests. The Party organisation guides the mass organisations. Providing constant correct guidance and practical assistance in a patient and democratic manner through secret party fractions within the mass organisations and through statements of policy on important issues from without (ie from the Party platform) as well as through its members becoming front-ranking fighters of the mass organisations, the Party strives to earn and establish its relation of political leadership with the mass organisations. In turn, the mass organisations in their process of development throw up politically advanced elements from whom the Party replenishes its forces. Thus, the Party and mass organisations develop reciprocal relation and interaction. Their entities remain at once distinct and closely linked.

The secret Party fractions in mass organisations are the main links connecting secret political work with the open mass work of the Party.

Mass organisations are the chief instruments for approaching, integrating with and influencing wider and wider sections of non-Party masses. To that end, the Party strives to ensure the distinct identity and mass democratic character of the mass organisations. Any tendency that turns the mass organisations into party platforms or in any way reduces them to pocket organisations should be guarded against and opposed. Because such harmful practices would damage the mass character of the mass organisations and isolate the

Party from non-Party sections, and thus would defeat the very purpose of work in the mass organisations.

While the Party members, working the mass organisations, are bound by party discipline in carrying out the Party's policies or guidance on various issues in the mass organisations, they have to do so by strictly adhering to the democratic method of mass work (of patient persuasion and explanation) and not violating the mass organisations' own discipline. They have to adapt their politics to the idiom and manifesto of the concerned mass organisation in order to carry the politics from its platform, otherwise to avoid using the platform for that purpose. The level of politics to be introduced in the mass organisation should correspond in general to the level of consciousness of the people and in particular to the nature of the issue at hand. Similarly the manner of introducing the politics should be one of concretely relating them to the life and struggle experiences of the people. Besides, the manner of formulating the demands and slogans, and of conducting the struggle of the mass organisations, should be such that the masses are objectively pitted, in due course, against the reactionary system; and thus make them more receptive to the revolutionary politics on the basis of their own experience.

Communist revolutionaries should strive to develop and establish democratic functioning of the mass organisations, always ensuring the active involvement of the mass activists and people, at various stages of taking and carrying out the decisions of the mass organisations. ~~was~~

is a must not only for fostering and promoting the democratic role and initiative of the masses, but also for enabling the Party members to take up more and more political-organisational responsibilities by entrusting the mass organisational responsibilities to the democratic mass leaders thus developed from among the people.

In sum, the whole work of communist revolutionaries in the mass organisations is determined by the twin proletarian revolutionary objectives: (a) of establishing the hegemony of proletarian revolutionary politics over the struggling masses, and (b) of garnering and developing the latent social-political aspirations of the people into political class consciousness and of transforming their latent capabilities into revolutionary self-confidence and initiative. Towards this end, communist revolutionaries constantly strive to carry revolutionary politics to the struggling masses; help them in forging inner-class unity and inter-class solidarity; guide and assist them in realising and learning to practise their rights and obligations in the self-governance of their own affairs; help them in acquiring the political awareness and capability of exercising their collective assertion and democratic say as against the authority and power of the ruling classes; and that of putting up revolutionary mass resistance against violent attacks of the ruling classes, by forging their own instruments and apparatuses.

Today, as the reactionary Indian rulers and their imperialist patrons are badly caught up in their systemic crises and as there is great escalation of reactionary violence (targetted and indiscriminate) against the people, the objective situation and the popular urge, call for an effective projection of the revolutionary alternative. Our attempt at unification of the four organisations is an earnest response to that objective need -- of course within the limitations determined by the actual existing basis of unanimity on the basic ideological-political-organisational line. We pledge ourselves to make this unification an effective instrument for the further development and establishment of the proletarian revolutionary line and its all-round implementation. We thus pledge to turn this unification into a consolidation of the proletarian revolutionary trend and an advance towards the re-organisation of the Party.

Roshan	Salil Sen	Bharat Ram	Anand
Secretary CPI (ML), C.T.	Secretary MLCC	Secretary CUCI (ML)	Secretary CCRI

Dt. 4th December 1993.

Note from p. xxxi

In the present phase of party re-organisation, the objective and subjective conditions are not suitable for utilising,

as a matter of policy, the tactics of participation or boycott, as it does not serve the interest of the strategic development. So, the task at the present period will be 'active political campaign' of exposure of the present social system and parliamentary form of rule and of projecting revolutionary alternative with its form of rule (mainly principles). The main thrust of the campaign will be the disillusionment of the people about the state system and dissuading them from getting entangled in the electoral politics. The method of the campaign is to be decided on the basis of the objective condition of the people and their consciousness. The propaganda in respect of the general problems should be connected with the concrete problems of the people and various questions posed by the elections. The purpose is to develop, step by step, the consciousness and movement of the people towards the realisation of the strategic path.

However, the organisation will consider any exceptional development under the general frame of this policy.

The objective and subjective conditions under reference are as follows:

- (a) Ideological-political-organisational consolidation of the Party and clear identification, prestige and revolutionary influence among the people (through revolutionary movement);
- (b) Development of mass movement in a revolutionary line creating an advanced section from among it;
- (c) Development of democratic forces inclined to the Revolution around the

Party and revolutionary movement;
(d) Creation of capable organisational mechanism and training of personnel.

After the fulfilment of these conditions the Party will consider the utility of the tactics of participation or boycott in the context of general development of the strategic path of Indian revolution.

Errata

page ix, line 9 -- for "characterists" read "characteristics"

page xi, line 6 -- for "isolatin" read "isolation"

page xi, line 7 -- for "suchline" read "such line"

page xix, line 17 -- after "imperialist" insert "powers"

page xli, 4th line from the end -- for "conditins" read "conditions"

page xlvi, line 8 -- for "leades" read "leaders"