

A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people ; an army under the leadership of such a Party ; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy.

—Mao Tse-tung

IT IS TIME TO FORM THE PARTY

Following is the full text of the resolution adopted unanimously by the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries on February 8, 1969 :

A little over 18 months has passed since the revolutionary peasant struggle was launched in Naxalbari under the all-conquering banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. And it is more than a year ago that the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries was formed under the inspiring leadership of the Naxalbari comrades.

During this period, though brief, the Co-ordination Committee has, no doubt, made significant achievements in dealing powerful blows at all reactionary ideology, including revisionism and neo-revisionism, and in spreading the flames of agrarian revolution. This period has witnessed the victorious march of Chairman Mao's thought, the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, which is winning new adherents every day. It is during this period that the flames of agrarian revolution have spread out from Naxalbari to Srikakulam in the south and to Mushahari and Lakhimpur Kheri in the north. It has been the period when the peasant revolutionaries of Kerala have staged a heroic revolt that has shaken the whole of India. It has also been the period of the bursting forth of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Adibasi people in

Chotanagpur and its uninterrupted advance. It is also in this period that the national liberation struggles of the Nagas, the Mizos and the Kukis have entered a new phase. The reactionary Indian Government has become a stooge of U.S. and Soviet imperialism and a dead-weight on the Indian people. And so the resistance of the Indian people both in the countryside and in the cities—among the working class and the petty bourgeois masses—is growing fast and is creating a new upsurge in the agrarian revolution which is the main content of the Democratic revolution in India to-day. The revolutionary struggle of the Indian people to achieve emancipation from the yoke of imperialism, Soviet revisionism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital has now reached a new height.

In this excellent revolutionary situation when the people of India have finally embarked on the road of revolution, all the parties of the ruling classes, including the various revisionist parties, are feverishly trying to strengthen the parliamentary illusions. The call of "Boycott Election" issued by the Co-ordination Committee has exposed the hollowness of parliamentarism and the counter-revolutionary character of the revisionist and neo-revisionist parties.

It is a heartening fact that within the last one year revolutionaries from Assam to Maharashtra have united under the banner of the All India Co-ordination Committee and all the centres of revolutionary peasant struggles are linked with one another through this Committee. The reactionary ruling classes and their counter-revolutionary agents, including the revisionists and neo-revisionists, who pinned their hopes on the disunity within the revolutionary ranks, have been sorely disappointed. The growing unity within the ranks of the revolutionaries despite the obstacles created by the reactionaries of all sorts proves that we have overcome the main impediment to the formation of a revolutionary party in India. The Co-ordination Committee

has thus served as the first indispensable link in the chain —the process of forming a Marxist-Leninist Party in India.

However, the experiences of the last one year have also made it amply clear that the political and organisational needs of the fast developing revolutionary struggles can no longer be adequately met by the Co-ordination Committees. These struggles have to be led and co-ordinated in an effective manner. The entire revolutionary forces have to be fully roused and organised to consolidate and extend the existing areas of struggle. The rich experiences of these struggles have to be analysed and assessed, generalisations have to be made and lessons drawn in order to lead these struggles along the correct line. These struggles cannot develop to a higher stage and a revolutionary authority cannot grow, if we depend merely on local initiatives. Without a revolutionary party there can be no revolutionary discipline, and without revolutionary discipline the struggles cannot be raised to a higher level. Only a revolutionary party can infuse revolutionary discipline, the spirit of self-sacrifice and death-defying abandon. So, for taking these struggles forward it is essential to form an all-India Party and a centre recognised by all revolutionaries. The All India Co-ordination Committee was set up to help this process of forming a revolutionary party and this was set down in the very first Declaration. In the absence of such a Party comrades in the areas of struggle have come to look upon the Co-ordination Committees as Party committees and expect them to function in the same manner. But the Co-ordination Committees cannot fulfil the complex political and organisational tasks arising out of the present stage of revolutionary struggles. At a time when Communist revolutionaries all over the country have given priority to the task of building revolutionary bases in the rural areas, at a time when the slogan of revolutionary class struggle is rending the sky, it is our immediate duty to form a revolutionary party without which the advance of revolution is sure to be

No mention of democracy within the Party.

impeded. Chairman Mao teaches us: "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

✓ Idealist deviations on the question of party building arise as a result of the refusal to recognise the struggle that must be waged within the Party. The idea that the Party should be formed only after all opportunist tendencies, alien trends and undesirable elements have been purged through class struggles is nothing but subjective idealism. To conceive of a Party without contradictions, without the struggle between the opposites, i.e., to think of a pure and faultless party is indulging in mere idealist fantasy. ✓ Chairman Mao has taught us: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end."

Revisionism is bourgeois, counter-revolutionary ideology. The inner-party struggle between revolutionary ideology and counter-revolutionary ideology will continue so long as classes exist. It is through an uncompromising struggle against revisionism and other alien trends that the Party shall grow and develop.

Fortunately for us, we are living in an era when the thought of Mao Tse-tung is winning victory after victory, when the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, has gained historic victory in China and has immensely enriched the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism, when Chairman Mao is still living and leading the world proletarian forces in the final struggle for complete victory of Socialism all the world over.

• We are confident that with the active cooperation of all the revolutionaries of our country we shall succeed in building a Party in the revolutionary style capable of leading the Indian revolution through to complete victory.

It should be borne in mind that ours is a new great era of world revolution and that the responsibility of the Communist revolutionaries of India, a contingent of the world communist movement, is tremendous. All the imperialist powers of the world headed by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-fascists are trying to win a fresh lease of life by exploiting the 500 million people of India. They are also trying to use the Indian people as cannon-fodder in a war to destroy socialist China, the base of the world revolution. By carrying the Indian revolution to victory we shall not only end the brutal exploitation of the vast masses of our country but also hasten the collapse of world imperialism and revisionism and thus help in building a radiant future for ourselves and for all mankind. We must unite with our class brethren who are waging heroic struggles in Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia and various other countries of the world and forge that great bond of internationalism—that internationalism which has been given noble expression by Chairman Mao in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

• A stage has now been reached when the formation of the Communist Party brooks no further delay. The Party should immediately be formed with those revolutionaries as the core who are building up and conducting revolutionary class struggles. This Party composed of revolutionary cadres, steeled and tempered in the fire of class struggle, shall play its historic role in leading India's People's Democratic Revolution to victory, in carrying it forward to the completion of the Socialist Revolution and in helping to bring about the total collapse of world imperialism and revisionism.