

## Charu Muzumdar's Philosophy Of Naxal Movement & Historical Eight Documents

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### Introduction

Naxalism is a communist movement in the form of extremism. There were dispute within communist in India for communist application. The Charu Muzumdar tried to implement the ideology by interpreting Indian society according to Marx, Lenin and Maoist way. He defined ideology and tactics of naxal movement through his writing and speeches. Especially his writings as eight Letters and speeches from 1965 onwards are the base of his ideology. In fact CM copied the tactics from Marx, Lenin and Maoist teaching.

In the naxal movement, it was important to understand who prepares naxalits and how? What are the philosophical lines among them, they are also communist and the movement is applicable or proper in the land of India. Whether it is well defined to enact in India? Since back ground i.e. 1920 or in 1945 and in the naxalbari insurgency in entire period I realized the members who joined this naxal movement primarily were well prepare and had ideological disputes with earlier communist parties. They were impressing initially by Charu Muzumdar. Some tactics opted by Muzumdar and his visionary dream expressed by him could impress other intellectuals who were attracted to join movement. In the peak period of naxalbari insurgency, this movement received thousands of supporters but similarly just after some discussion and internal strategic disputes fractured speedily. This way the mother organization got divided into many groups. I have already discussed in the historical part. Up to 1974-75 there were more than 33 noticeable left extremist groups and now they are more than 55 groups.

### 1. Historical Eight Documents:

The Aim and objectives of Naxalism is described by father of naxal movement Charu Muzumdar is his 'Historical Eight Document' written during 28 Feb 1965 to April 1967. This document along with "Red Book" of Mao-Tse-Tung is guide of the Naxalites movement. When CM come out from jail and was seek during 1964-65, he read Mao-Tse-Tung and other communist philosophy in detail and started writing for extremist path of communist movement in Indian phenomena. This is the first written document of extreme communist ideology in India hence he is called as father of naxalism or extremist communism in India.

### 2. The First Historical Document:

The first letter CM wrote in 28<sup>th</sup> Jan 1965 to describe, what our duties in the present situation are. He tries to explain American imperialism growth and its drawbacks in India. Like Mao He blamed that communist suppression is due to US policy. In the next portion he appealed to organised against it. He said "This offensive against democracy has begun because of the internal and international crisis of capitalism."<sup>1</sup>

He further describes US hidden policy as "The Indian government has gradually become the chief political partner in the expansion of American imperialism's hegemony of the world. The main aim of American imperialism is to establish India as the chief reactionary base in South-East Asia."<sup>2</sup> he explained the problems of economics inequality and finances would be due to Indian imperialism. Also as per CM the communists are arrested only on US order. "Since the American police chief 'MacBright' was in Delhi during the arrest of the communists" he tried provoke his followers against Indian democracy by saying that "By killing democracy there can be no solution of this crisis, and the Indian bourgeoisie also will not be able to solve this crisis."<sup>3</sup> He said there is US Imperialism and huge unemployment which promote people to revolt against nation. Hence this is better position for communist that the Party therefore will have to take the responsibility of leading the people's revolutionary struggles; it will get success for communism in India. By quoting Lenin he described how to build revolutionary organisation. He specifically gave seven instructions for hiding organisation and its work till success of revolution.

He suggested forming at least one Activist Group of five members for political education. Groups and their meeting place will be hidden but must have a definite person for contacts. The meeting document will also be hidden. The person will become party member only when

activist group member will become an expert in political education and work. Once a person will become party member he will not be in contact with the Activist Group. CM earlier described problems of industrialisation due to imperialism but in the contrary describe that our nation is agricultural state hence wrote the slogan of “make the agrarian revolution successful”.<sup>4</sup>

**a. The Second Historical Document:**

In his second letter he described problem of revisionism and how to fight with this. He was aware with the policy of communist parties in Indian. He had impression that those who want to bring communisms through peaceful or parliamentary way or support present government development work are revisionists. He appeal to “build up a correct revolutionary party fighting uncompromisingly”<sup>5</sup> He was frustrated with elites of communist party hence said there is no real communist but supporter to imperialist state and revisionists. He also had lost his faith in Russian leader. When he compiled to stop Telangana armed struggle in 1951, He tried to explain that the revisionist have ruined the communist movement in India. He was unhappy with scattered working of communist party who worked for small things and satisfied like getting the final objectives.

He described “the trade union and the peasants’ organisation are one of the many weapons for serving our purpose.”<sup>6</sup> And “The proletarian revolution cannot be made successful without an uncompromising struggle against this economism”<sup>7</sup> he further tried to clear his vision of communist movement as “political task ends with the launching of a few movements on demands, and they regard a single victory through these movements as a political victory of the Party.”<sup>8</sup> “The final aim of all propaganda, all movements and all organisations of the Party is to establish firmly the political power of the proletariat. It should be remembered always that if the words “Seizure of Political Power” are left out, the Party no longer remains a revolutionary Party.”<sup>9</sup> In this letter he very clearly describe like Marx, Lenin and Mao the utopian final goal of communism which would be successes, if dictator government of communist will there and its only possible through armed struggle.

Those who are against armed struggle and proletariats are revisionist. He expressed that many states are fighting for world communism by establishing proletariat government and the extremist movement should be start in India likewise. He tries to explain his ideas by giving examples of Mao and Lenin. He promote world proletariat movement for communism by saying “At the World Trade Union Congress in 1953, the well-tested and well-established Marxist leader of China, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, asserted firmly that in the coming days the tactics and strategy of the unfinished revolution of Asia, Africa and Latin America will follow the footsteps of China.”<sup>10</sup> He wanted to interpret the highest position of communism is coming in existence and all the developing country are struggling for proletariat government likewise the revolution must begin in India under one umbrella of world communist party. But “the main condition of this area-wise seizure of power is weapons in the hands of the revolutionary forces.”<sup>11</sup> He explained that India has history of revolutions as Tebhaga, Telangana and many others.

There is good time for revolution because majority people facing unemployment and agrarian problem who easily cultivate for revolutionary activity. He further said carry forward the revolution by collecting arms locally and seizing power area-wise as Lenin says. He mentioned “the unarmed peasants could not stand up and resist in the face of arms,”<sup>12</sup> and said to oppose governments developing (progressive) works, to make the communist revolution success and establish political power of the labour class. He specifically explain about arm, “every Activist Group from now on. ‘Dao’, knives, and sticks—all these are weapons, and with their help at opportune moments, firearms will have to be snatched.”<sup>13</sup> In the beginning revolutionary use local weapons but very soon looted guns from many police station and landlords to strengthen the movement.<sup>14</sup>

Charu Muzumdar defined Marxist directives which are essential tasks for building up a revolutionary party. He gave explanation regarding Indian phenomena as *first*, “all works of organization of the future will have to be done as complementary to the Party.”<sup>15</sup>

*second*, “immediately from now the entire effort of the Party will have to be spent on recruiting

newer and newer cadres and on forming countless Activist Groups consisting of them.”<sup>16</sup>

**Third**, “it is through these active organizations that the Party will be able to establish its leadership over the mass organizations.”<sup>17</sup>

**Fourth**, “the work of the mass organizations will have to be discussed and decided upon in the Party before it is implemented in the mass organizations.”<sup>18</sup>

He said the communist ideology wrongly implemented faces failure. He further explained features of high command in the revolutionary organisation. It is also a proletarian rule of revolutionary party. “The Marxist truth of democratic centralism is that the Party directive coming from higher leadership must be carried out. Because the Party’s highest leader is he who has firmly established himself as a Marxist through a long period of movements and theoretical debates. We have the right to criticise Party decisions; but once a decision has been taken, if any one criticizes it without implementing it, or obstructs work, or hesitates to implement it, he will be guilty of the serious offence of violating Party discipline.”<sup>19</sup> This way he denied democratic features to criticised party highest personality in each committee. He interpret Marx as, ‘criticisms must be made within the Party organisation’ and ‘should be constructive’ but there will be one design whether it is right or wrong, if high command decided. He assume that the person who will be on highest level will be ideal person and who never commits any mistakes hence he refused to debate with anyone once a design had been final.

**b. The Third Historical Document:**

He wrote Third letter on 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1965 as, what is the Source of the Spontaneous Revolutionary Outburst in India. In this letter he define d what is hurdle in the revolution in India. He criticized anti-China communist and tried to establish his point that there is only one correct path of communism followed by Mao in China. He argued against the slogan which was raised within the Party that “the revolution will be achieved not through the Chinese path but only through a truly Indian path.”<sup>20</sup> He tried to explain there will be no other path of revolution without Maoist way. He spoke against Russian political change by Khrushchev as capitalist and also against India for giving shelter to Dalai Lama over Tibet issue. He said US apply imperialist policy by providing funds to the country like India. But revolutionary mass movement must grow against imperialism. He said “the world socialist state system under the leadership of Comrade Stalin created confidence in the minds of the people.”<sup>21</sup> But “Communist Party of India could never make a correct assessment.

As a result the revolutionary change in the whole of Asia, Africa and Latin America brought about by this great revolution was never noticed by us.”<sup>22</sup> He further criticise Kerala parliamentary development by communist. He said this way there will be no communist issues expressed and what would happen if this model will repeat in Bengal? This way, communist are going against main purpose of communism. CM suggests, Indian communist should response global communist revolution by leaving peace full democratic development. He says, “It is armed struggle that would be the only way of overthrowing the government.”<sup>23</sup> As per CM the agreement of PanchSheel in Bandung with China is just a realisation that Indian government would not stop revolutionary movement. In this letter criticised India for attack on democratic China. He said it was attack against communist army for bourgeoisie aim. He favours China for global communism. CM also said due to communist revolutionary, “Indian government saw the outburst of spontaneous movement. It tore off the last mask of democracy.”<sup>24</sup> He thought that rich countries would bring Neo-colonization on the basis of wealth and so we must oppose it.

CM basically wanted communist government instead of present Parliamentary system hence the revolutionary movement organised against it. He specifically mentions how communism of China is better than Indian Parliamentary system. He says, “We have to speak out before the people in a bold voice—See, how poor, backward China, within sixteen years, has with the help of the socialist structure, made its economy strong and solid. On the other hand, we have to expose this traitorous government which has, within seventeen years, turned India into a playground of imperialist exploitation.”<sup>25</sup> In this contention, he held responsibility of development on the of Parliamentary system adopted instead of communism. He does not



discuss the problem of resources for the Indian development compared to China but target to the system only.

The status of finance and natural resources was to be studied to justify the above statement likewise other issues also needed to be explained, what will be the ruling government's stance regarding Caste which is not an issue in China? At the end he appealed that people should prepare for armed struggle as agrarian revolution to overthrow the present government by organising the working class under the communist party.

**c. The Fourth Historical Document:**

He wrote forth a letter under the title 'Carry on the Struggle against Modern Revisionism'. In this letter he particularly targeted existing national and international communist parties and their democratic thinking. He tried to explain the present communist working pattern in India as the basic problem in the path of communist revolution. He wanted to say all comrades should come under the revolutionary communist party by rejecting all present communist parties and their leaders. He appealed "we shall have to carry on daily the struggle against revisionism, adopting the tactics of area-wise seizure of power. Certain revisionist ideas are firmly rooted inside the party."<sup>26</sup> CM further arises some questions. He criticises the Russian financial international help to the Indian Government. As he says it is extremely wrong and against the interest of global communism. Russia "following the path of co-operation with imperialism, and feudalism,"<sup>27</sup> Soviet aid is "increasing the strength of the reactionary forces in co-operation with US-led imperialism and the Soviet."<sup>28</sup> This is modern revisionism against the people's liberation struggles in the future.

In the second question he interprets that the call for unity is to preserve the exploitative monopoly which has emerged as a result of anti-imperialist movement. He appeals that the "slogan of unity is reactionary and Marxists must oppose this slogan."<sup>29</sup> CM is not only against internal but in external issues like 'Kashmir issue'. He favours revolutionaries against India over 'Kashmir problem'. According to him it was right of the revolutionaries to demand for their nationalism. He favours this terrorist attack because it would help to crash the Indian government which indirectly helps communist revolution. He said "On the questions of Kashmir, Nagas, etc., the Marxists should express their support in favour of the fighters."<sup>30</sup> CM was looking with negative senses in most of the issues faced by the Indian government. He was taking every on-going crisis as a bonus for the revolution movement to create hatred and to explore more instability in the nation.

In the next point he describes the tactics of revolution, he explained the revolution feature is like the Chinese agrarian revolution. "There are mainly four classes among the peasants—rich, middle, poor and landless—and there is the rural artisan class."<sup>31</sup> But the leadership shall be given to the poor and landless and if the leadership is given to others "It has to be analysed on the basis of their earning and level of living."<sup>32</sup> He further guided that, whatever fighting tactics will be accepted but "it can never be in any sense adventurism."<sup>33</sup> He had no faith of peaceful march for change hence strongly argues that "no movement of the peasants on basic demands will follow a peaceful path."<sup>34</sup> To establish the leadership of the poor and landless peasants, he suggests to adopt a double standard and says that "no fundamental problem of theirs can be solved with the help of any law of this reactionary government. But this does not mean that we shall not take advantage of any legal movement."<sup>35</sup> He does not like the present laws but wants to take advantages in the interest of the movement. The urgent and main work of the party is to "explain the programme of the agrarian revolution"<sup>36</sup> for gaining power.

In the fourth point he said there had been many revolutionary incidents taken place, which were suppressed by the government but there was no leadership to any active resistance. He reminds Comrade Mao-Tse-Tung's teaching to create a spark—that "Mere passive resistance against repression drives a wedge in the fighting unity of the masses and invariably leads to the path of surrender."<sup>37</sup> No mass movement could arise but only passive resistance was there. He further guides to create active resistance to counter the enemy as Mao says "Tit for tat struggle."

In the next portion he explained, how secret organisations are needed in revolutionary organisation. The previous underground organisation could not survive due to lack of proper precautions. He asked that "underground leadership will have to go forward with the work of

building a secret Party.”<sup>38</sup> And “every Party member should work for the secret organisation and through those new Party cadres the Party’s links with the masses will be established.”<sup>39</sup> He said that it should work as long as possible, History will not forgive them. They should think anew about every mass movement and style organisational thinking.

**d. The Fifth Historical Document:**

He raised the question through fifth letter as, what possibilities the year 1965 indicates. In this document he tried to overthrow the communist party stand of peaceful march. He specifically mentioned agenda of “Khrushchev’s tactics of peaceful transition to socialism.”<sup>40</sup> Charu Muzumdar criticised the stand of peaceful path in seventh congress and disagreed with their thinking, “there is no possibility of revolution in India in the near future”.<sup>41</sup> He mention there is secret organization in Kashmir and other places. He said it’s wrong to say “we cannot build up peaceful mass movements.”<sup>42</sup> In fact “in the present era this ‘*satyagraha*’ movement is bound to fail.”<sup>43</sup> He further appealed “the armed resistance movement has appeared as the most important necessity”<sup>44</sup> to fight with the government. In this letter, he again appeals for “(1) Take to arms; (2) Form armed units for confrontation; (3) politically educates every armed unit.”<sup>45</sup> He described the government system means not the infrastructure but the person working in the offices, agitations today wrongly targeting government buildings, or on buses, trams and trains hence said to target officers instead of infrastructural damages.

He said revolutionary “people should be taught–repression is not done by police stations, but by the officers in charge of police stations; attacks are not directed by government buildings or transport, but by the men of the government’s repressive machinery.”<sup>46</sup> In this letter he tries to divert agitation pattern for more impact on the government. Further he made a more aggressive statement like Mao that revolutionary “should not attack merely for the sake of attacking, but should finish the person whom they attack.”<sup>47</sup> Charu Muzumdar do not believe in normal punishment as hurt but suggest ending the chapter by which government’s repressive machinery will be panic-struck. He again for giving leadership to the landless, this armed units will be transformed into guerilla forces. Charu realised that the US international policy is for World war, he discussed India Pakistan struggle at many places and argue that Indian aggressive army should be defeated; it is in the interest of Marxist. It will create new mass agitations hence Marxists should make efforts for defeat would become imminent. He also supported mass for agitation in Kashmir progressing against India. He thought, we should adopt the path determined by Lenin to resolve the imperialist war. As he said “Turn the imperialist war into a civil war”<sup>48</sup> but the tactics of war should like China revolution guided by Mao.

As a tactics of war he suggested to burn the war position with Pakistan or Kashmir issues. At the other hand said to<sup>49</sup>

- (1) Organise armed forces in every village.
- (2) Make arrangements so that these forces can collect as much arms as they can and fix secret places to keep the arms.
- (3) Fix places for hiding the crops.
- (4) Armed units, small bands of peasants should be formed.
- (5) Every unit will have to be given political education and political propaganda.

He appeals comrades to hide the crop so that government could not get it for their army. “If they are deprived of the crops in the field, they will have to die of starvation next year.”<sup>50</sup> On the other side civil war through armed struggle shall be increased to defeat the government. He stressed on only the political propaganda campaign which can make the “struggle more wide-spread and strengthen the fighting spirit of the peasant.”<sup>51</sup>

In this document he wanted to create critical situation. He suggests growing existing struggles more in the nation which increased instability. This way government will collapse internally and externally. This will lead civil war in the nation and will be positive circumstances for communist revolution.

**e. The Sixth Historical Document:**

He attacked on revisionism policy of Indian communist party leaders in his sixth document. He wrote the document on 12.8.1966 – 6th Doc. as, the main task today is the struggle to build up the true revolutionary party through uncompromising struggle against revisionism. CM says

it is discuss in the congress that, people's faith in socialism will decrease if criticism of Russian leader will be take place but communist party leaders are trying to prove that China revolution is wrong. He mention that today, the Communist Party of China and its leader Mao Tse Tung, is leading the proletariat and revolutionary struggles of the world after Lenin, "The purity of Marxism-Leninism cannot be maintained. By opposing the Chinese Party,"<sup>52</sup> hence communist revolutions could not be carried by opposing him. He argued that followers of Russian policy today and anti-moist people and "Party leadership is not at all our comrade-in-arms, not even an associate."<sup>53</sup> This peoples are trying to establish the revisionist leadership they are as agents of the US imperialism, trying to split the revolutionary parties . This people are enemy of the revolutionary movement, revolutionary struggles, revolutionary China, Soviet people, and people's liberation struggles in every country.

Through this CM, bifurcated the communist party member and others as friends and enemies on the basis of support to armed struggle. He mentioned the person can't be communist, if not favouring armed revolution, including Russian communist elites.

One another important blame made on present communist leaders and party workers that all these are revisionist who organise strikes, bunds against present government to demand on the name of justice. He tried to interpret that, through this- they only strengthen the anti-communist constitutional system. They work smoothly because they have accepted present political system and this act is supporting bourgeoisie, imperialist policy of US. He reminds the statement of Johnson to Humphrey, all the representatives of US imperialism have repeatedly declared that they will use India as a base against China."<sup>54</sup> He was upset on Central committee members as he mentioned that, not a single word of caution has been spoken in favour of revolutionary working members against the imperialist counter- offensive in the political and organisational resolution. He said "The Party leadership is absolutely silent,"<sup>55</sup> about "the expression of revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence—this new emerging trend of mass movements."<sup>56</sup>

He specifically stated in this document that the main objective of communist party has become very limited as "to establish a non-congress democratic government"<sup>57</sup> during the coming elections. He rejected the communist policy of peaceful electoral politics instead of total change through armed revolution. He mentioned "election was being held to hide the exploitation and indirect rule by imperialism. The reactionary government of India through this election wants to spread constitutional illusion and behind that, under imperialist instructions wants to build up our country as a counter-revolutionary base of South East Asia, and wants to stem the resistance of the people by violent attacks on the revolutionary sections of the masses."<sup>58</sup> By this statement he denied constitution and constitutional process. By declaring India as imperialist state he try to say, it would make Indian stronger and against interest of communist revolution. Present communist parties supporting India by involving in the peaceful process hence they do not remain communist but become parallel enemy. It must be mention hear that in the begging of naxal movement many peaceful communist worker were killed by Naxalites. He mentions "The slogan of "State-wide continuous strike" is nothing else but a petty-bourgeois like ultra-Leftist slogan."<sup>59</sup> He mentioned them as an appendage of the bourgeoisie and modern revisionist. They are not real Marxist- Leninist. He mentioned, revolutionary party can only organised through the destruction of the present party system and their democratic framework. Through this document he appealed to leaders of party and ordinary comrades that if they believe in Marxism-Leninism, they must come forward with the revolutionary views of Marxism-Leninism.

In this document he explained the aim and tactics of comrades that "Their main duty will be political propaganda campaign and to strike against counter- revolutionary forces."<sup>60</sup> He remind Mao Tsetung as tactics of movement, "Attacks are not for the sake of attacking merely, attacks are for annihilating only", <sup>61</sup> i.e. attack must be for death and it must be brutally which would be shocking others, who will not cooperate government in future. He mentioned who is the main target "1) the representatives of the state machinery like police, military officers; (2) the hated bureaucracy; (3) class enemies." The class enemy is explained as the person supporting Indian government. Presently attack can be launch everywhere in cities and in the



countryside but arms should be collected through attacks.

In this document he tried to copy Maoist tactics for army base. He mentioned “our main base will have to be established in the peasant areas,”<sup>62</sup> he appealed comrades to go to the villages immediately and form revolutionary units, the tactics of the struggle will be like Chinese revolutionary ‘Gulband’. (capture around) In the initial days develop villages as revolutionary port then encircling the cities with villages. CM was expected the revolution will be successful by 1975 on the basis of his understanding regarding India. He explained, in the initial days they will succeed but in the future part it will become little harder but will definitely become success. He stressed on strong political campaigns that, without it the revolution will not get successful nor protect the interests of the masses. He shown hurry for the movement and appeal comrades to participate directly instead watching.

**f. The Seventh Historical Document:**

He wrote the seventh document under the heading, ‘take the opportunity’. Primarily he concentrated on the student and peasant role in the movement and appeal to participate. There is discussion of tactics of revolution and task also assigned to the different classes of society. He tried to explain his political and other agenda through this letter. As Mao said “The petty bourgeois students and youth are a part of the people and at the inevitable conclusion of their struggle, the struggle of the workers and peasants will reach a high tide.”<sup>63</sup> CM recognises importance of student during movement. In fact he dedicated some lectures especially for the student. He was known, this class can make the revolution more success. He said “This era is the era of active resistance movement.”<sup>64</sup> it will open the sources of the revolutionary genius of the revolutionary masses and flow the revolution all over India. Trade union or peasant association (Kisan Sabha) have not become outmoded. This group is useful to form organisation of Marxist-Leninist. The reactionary Government can suppress the movement because it has the monopoly on food and bullet. CM defined main task through three slogans. First “unity of workers and peasants”<sup>65</sup> he explained it in Chairman Mao’s words “It is the liberated area in the countryside which is the concrete application of workers-peasants unity.”<sup>66</sup> **Second**, “the revolutionary resistance movement, armed struggle.”<sup>67</sup> He interpreted that India has become playground for imperialist and feudal exploitation. The revolutionary resistance movement, Marxist-Leninist Party against reaction and the passive resistance movement of the revisionist party has become the main part of the Party’s politics. He said the success of the struggle is depending on publicity of the politics of armed struggle among the masses.

**Third** the building up of a revolutionary party. He said it is impossible to give capable leadership in this revolutionary age without have complete knowledge of this theory, clear in politics and respect of mass base in organisation. CM defined his agenda through three points. On one the theoretical question he argued that soviet Russia and India is overwhelmed by imperialist, hence only one model is the Ideal i.e. Republic of China. Revisionism spoke to fight with imperialist and feudalism but they are misleading. Second on the Political issue he said “People’s Democratic Revolution will have to be seen as the task of this moment.”<sup>68</sup> He interpreted Mao, “No dying force gives up its power easily: freedom comes out only from the barrel of a gun.”<sup>69</sup>

Common people have started this armed struggle spontaneously for the annihilation of government hence the Politics of the movement is establishing consciously armed struggle on mass base. He suggested to organise (i) Worker- peasant unity under the leadership of the working class. (ii) Consciously establishing armed struggle on mass base, and (iii) firmly established the leadership of the Communist Party.” Third point he explained as organisational, he mentioned “The mass base of the Party will have to be extended.”<sup>70</sup> On the experience basic he said, thousands of militant cadres come forward during different movements and struggles and tried for leadership but become inactive after the movement stops. He explained, people from many backward areas are coming out for struggles. Party can get its mass base if they can be educating of revolutionary theory and politics. He made the point “We shall have to begin working boldly on collecting these cadres and on forming secret groups with them.”<sup>71</sup>

He further mentioned some tactics that there should be secrecy of work, shelter, meetings etc. but “theories, politics and the slogan of Party formation must never be kept secret.”<sup>72</sup> He said

“every Party unit must be participants in the armed struggle and be a self-reliant leader.”<sup>73</sup> Further said there is election in west Bengal and this is crucial time to propagate his party politics, but must not be confused by the false slogan like non-congress democratic government. He defined this aim is not capturing, political power but the political system. He interpreted the agenda as “the politics of worker-peasant unity under working class leadership, of armed struggle, of establishing the leadership of the Party.”<sup>74</sup> He said to take full advantage of this election campaign as opportunity.

**g. The Eight Historical document:**

In the last eighth document he appealed to “Carry forward the peasant struggle by fighting revisionism”<sup>75</sup> It was the time when new party as CPI (M) was form against CPI policy and their leaders. Charu Muzumdar was the part CPI (M) but left the party when newly formed CPI (M) participated in the electoral politics. One section of communist was against electoral politics and some other joined Charu Muzumdar line after poor performance of existing communist parties.

Primarily he rejected the Parliamentary action to replace congress government as it will change noting. He discussed the land issue and other consciousness under CPI (M) government. In the beginning he criticised CPI (M) for his appeal not to resort ‘gheraos’, (capturing around) as it has necked the government and permitted employers for exploitation. Charu Muzumdar called this party workers as opportunist and quoted the prediction of China leaders as, “those who had remained neutral in the international debate would very soon take to the path of opportunism.”<sup>76</sup> Specially he mentioned justification of land issue under Harekrishna Konar, who was the secretary of Krishak Sabha and now become land revenue minister.

He declared the vested lands would be distributed among the landless peasants but he turned his design and “The peasants were shown the path of submitting petitions.”<sup>77</sup> He reverted his own statement, “forcible seizure of land would not be permitted”<sup>78</sup> he provoked the peasants and their land issues would not be solved through parliamentary path or by this government.

He said Konar did not support on peasant issues after becoming minister nor he has permitted for forcible seizure of land. “Therefore, obeying the instructions of the party leaders would mean blindly accepting the feudal classes exploitation and rule.”<sup>79</sup> Since the “Land reform in the peasant’s interest is possible only when we are able to put an end to the sway of feudal classes over the rural areas,”<sup>80</sup> through people’s democratic revolution.

He further described as his experience from history that “the peasant who has got possession of vested land and secured the license is no longer active in the peasant movement.”<sup>81</sup> He called it as ‘economism’ act against revolution and part of revisionism. It resulted, poor peasant’s class changed and turned into a middle peasant. “So, the economic demands of poor and landless peasants are no more his demands. Therefore, economism causes a breach in the unity of fighting peasants and makes the landless and poor peasants frustrated.”<sup>82</sup> in the other word the land is the demand of peasant but it should not give by the government because it will destroy the communist revolution. He mentioned “where there is struggle, there is sacrifice.”<sup>83</sup> as Mao said.

Charu Muzumdar rejected CPI (M) another statement as reliance on laws and bureaucracy by given quotation of Lenin that, “even if some progressive legislation is enacted but bureaucracy is given the charge of implementing it, the peasants will get nothing.”<sup>84</sup> By giving number of references in the entire documents he appeals his main agenda. He said, “Nothing good can be done for the peasants. But before carrying out agrarian revolution, destruction of State power is necessary. Striving for agrarian revolution without destruction of State power means outright revisionism. So, destruction of State power is today the first and principal task of peasant movement.”<sup>85</sup> He reject the communist peaceful growth its political participation because it would destroy the revolutionary spark. He wanted to become Ideal of new reconstructed India like Mao hence always advocated for absolute destruction of present constitutional political system. As he said instead of that no Marxism- Leninism would be possible. He did not even shown faith if the objectives of same ideology will be fulfill at the another way.

For the above objective, he explains some tactics in the further part. He suggested forming of liberated area to eliminate class enemy. *Liberated area called as the ‘area without class*



enemy', for this they would need armed force and arms. He further defines how armed would be collected. First he suggests making by the peasants and secondly having to be taken forcibly from class enemies. "Peasant militants will have to be taught all tactics, right from setting fire to the houses of class enemies."<sup>86</sup> Precautionary he said, gun-collection campaign shall quickly be transformed into a liberated area, i.e. elimination any one if created obstacles and said to organise small and secret militant groups for conducting the gun-collection campaign. At the same time said to propagate the politics of armed struggle. He do not rely on middle class as he fill that, this section of people do not involve immediately in armed revolution compare to land less peasant. So the "first point of our organizational work is establishing the leadership of poor and landless peasants in the peasant movements."<sup>87</sup> As they are more revolutionary. Middle class is not suitable for the armed revolution hence they would be transformed into trade union based on economic and intensify conflicts among peasants. He described same about small owners. He said "In regard to middle and rich peasants also we should have different stand. If we look upon rich peasants as middle peasants, the poor and landless peasants will be frustrated."<sup>88</sup> He described there is change on the basis of fighting enthusiasm within rich, middle, small land owner and landless, Mao's teaching must be preferred for the understanding of the class psychology.

He specifically mentioned that communist revolution thought to the world, the politics of armed struggle and the gun-collection campaign, is not the only path but it is the "path of the working class, the path of liberation, the path of establishing a society free from exploitation."<sup>89</sup> He focuses on tactics, as rising of the class consciousness of the peasants. He gave responsibility to working class, to organise the peasant movement and raising it to the stage of armed struggle. Their main task is to Collect arms and build up bases of armed struggle in rural areas. It is politics of the working class and the politics of seizure of power. He further said, "The responsibility of the Party is to explain the importance of peasant struggle and call for participation in that struggle."<sup>90</sup> He described the main enemy of Marxist- Leninist is revisionists.

The main revolution is there because revisionists are taking the path of class - collaboration straightaway and bourgeois parties had come to power. *He said 'there should be power in the hands of workers', peasants' and soldiers' soviets also.* He called everyone participating in the present government are revisionist who worked in the name of poor, peasant, landless, etc. he tried to interpreted cause of success of Russian revolution i.e. "the correct application of the tactics of the united front."<sup>91</sup> He said this is equally important question in India but the tactics of India's democratic revolution will be different in form.

To strengthen the revolution, he said to join the hands with rebellions all over in *Naga, Mizo, Kashmir and other* areas this will make struggles waged under petty-bourgeois leadership. "In the democratic revolution, therefore, the working class will have to march forward by forming a united front with them. Struggles will break out in many other new areas under the leadership of bourgeois or petty- bourgeois parties. The working class will also enter into alliances with them and the main basis of this alliance will be anti-imperialist struggle and the right to self-determination."<sup>92</sup> In this document he suggested to join the hands with all anti national organizations and groups as well as take in confidence those fighting for humanitarian rights and transform them in to armed struggle. This act would grow the gravity of instability of the government. It is also to divert government on various issues which creates the gap for strengthening mass base.

He tried to justify, why new revolutionary struggle is necessary in the working class for those who dreamt of revolution on the path of October revolution had no capable leadership. They do not realizing the significance of peasant struggles hence become only propagandists of economism. They can't assimilating the experiences of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America hence fails to emphasize the task of organizing the peasantry, main force of India's democratic revolution. Charu Muzumdar called them victims of Left deviation. He failed to educate them gradually. He strongly mentioned the path of revolution is the only path i.e. thought by great Mao Tse tung. He advised for partial economic demands as economic demands automatically take the form of political struggle. He said "At every stage

of struggle there is only one task. Unless that task is done, the struggle will not reach the higher stage. In this era that particular task is the politics of armed struggle and the gun-collection campaign. Whatever we may do without carrying out this task, the struggle will not be raised to the higher stage.”<sup>93</sup>

He reminds Lenin that the two tasks must be carried out wherever it is possible or not feasible. Chairman Mao also had shown faith as per Lenin. “He has taught the tactics of people’s war and China has attained liberation along this path. Today that path is being followed in Vietnam, Thailand, Malaya, Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, Yemen, Leopoldville, Congo, in different countries of Africa and Latin America.”<sup>94</sup> In the last portion he try to define what is real class struggle; he said “the only Marxist road to self-cultivation taught by Lenin and Chairman Mao is the path of class struggle. Only through tempering in the fire of class struggle can a Communist become pure gold.”<sup>95</sup> “class struggle has to be verified in the light of Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tse Tung thought and lessons have to be taken.”<sup>96</sup> At the end he quoted Mao to organise revisionary party that “there cannot be any education apart from practice. In his words, ‘doing is learning’. Self-cultivation is possible only in the process of changing the existing conditions through revolutionary practice.”<sup>148</sup> He advised all Revolutionaries of the world to unite.

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