



PEOPLE'S WAR

Theoretical Organ of the Central Committee
Special issue of the
Bi-Centenary of Karl Marx

January 2019

14

Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Maoist)



*Karl Marx - Birth - 1818 May 5th
Death - 1883 March 14th*

Special issue of the Bi-centenary
of Karl Marx

**Working Men of All Countries Unite !
The proletarians have nothing to lose
except chains !!**

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Homage to martyrs

Nearly 240 proletarian daughters and sons from all over the country, dedicated to accomplish the Indian New Democratic Revolution and to achieve the tasks dictated by the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress in a relentless struggle and fighting to defeat 'SAMADHAN' offensive were martyred in the past year (from 2017 December to 2018 November). We faced severe losses this year in Pujari Kanker in Telangana, Kasnur-Halbi Tumirigunda, Ayipeta, Thimmem, Chakileru of DK and Dokrighat in AOB. Thirteen of the various Party and PLGA units working for CRB, 177 from Dandakaranya, 18 from BJ, 7 from Andhra Odisha Border area, 10 from Odisha, 4 from Telangana, 9 from Maharashtra-Madhyapradesh-Chhattisgarh (MMC), 1 from Andhra Pradesh were among the martyrs. Seventy-five of the martyrs were women comrades.

The past year saw the loss of the member of the Central Committee and member of Polit Bureau Dev Kumar Singh (Arvind, Sujitda), CRB Staff comrade Dadaboyina Swamy (Prabhakar, CRB press, DvCM), South Gadchiroli Divisional Committee Secretary Routhu Vijendar (Sreenu), DvC comrades Vasudev Athram (Nandu, Vikram), Dolesh Athram (Sainadh), Military Instructor team in-charge Surya, Division Committee Comrades Sankar Manjhi (David, Vinay), Lakku Korram (Madan) of Kandamal-Kalahandi-Boudh-Nuvapada (KKBN) of Odisha, Malkangiri DvC Secretariat member Comrade Valigonda Pramila (Sarada, Jilani Begum, Meena) of AOB, Sub-Zonal Commanders Comrades Sivlal, Sravan Yadav of Latehar district of BJ, Area Committee Secretary of South Gadchiroli of DK, 11 AC/PPCMs of DK, 1 AC/PPCM of Odisha, two from Telangana, 63 PM/PLGA members from DK, 16 members of BJ, three from AOB, four each from MMC and Odisha, three from Telangana, the in-charge of the cultural department of the Division Committee of Janathana Sarkar of South Bastar Podiyam Raje, nine RPC leaders, seven leaders and activists of Mass Organisations, 35 Militia Commanders and members, eight revolutionary people, one militia member of AOB, people's leaders Comrades Sanni Sikaka, Bari Pidika of Odisha, Comrades Sidam Sambhu, Juvvaji Lakshminarayana and Bathala Raju

of Telangana, sympathisers of the Party in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh Gajjela Lakshmi and Kondapalli Koteswaramma.

Red salutes to the member of Polit Bureau of CPI (Maoist) Comrade Dev Kumar Singh

A member of the Polit Bureau Comrade Dev Kumar Singh (Arvind, Sujit, Nishant) passed away in the third week of March 2018 with severe ill-health at the age of 65. He had been suffering with BP and Sugar for a long time. His sight was severely affected three years ago and finally he passed away due to heart attack.



Comrade Dev Kumar Singh was born in a middle class peasant family in Jehanabad district of Bihar. He did B.Sc in Patna. He had an active role in the student and youth movement in his student days. In this process he entered the revolutionary movement and joined the Communist Kranthikari Sangathan (CKS-Communist Revolutionary Organisation) together with his co-revolutionaries. Later CKS merged into the erstwhile Party Unity. He worked in Party Unity and became one of the members of the Central Committee. When the People's War and the Party Unity merged in 1998 he was a member of the Central Committee of the united People's War Party. Later when the People's War and the MCCI merged to become the CPI (Maoist) he became a CCM, member of the CMC and the ERB. In the CC-4 meeting in 2013 he was coopted as a member of the Polit Bureau and fulfilled his responsibilities until the end. His efforts in the Bihar-Jharkhand Revolutionary movement for more than four decades were very valuable for the growth and expansion of the revolutionary movement.

In the turbulent decade of 1970s and in the dark days of emergency of the Indira Gandhi regime the anger that brew among the students and youth helped for the spate of the democratic movement of that time. In such a spate militant student leader Dev Kumar Singh gained

great experience. The Naxalbari Armed Peasant struggle in the leadership of CM in Bengal made countrywide effect showing a way to the search of Dev Kumar Singh for the correct path. He said that the complete revolutionary movement of JP is a negative teacher for him and that Naxalism is the correct path. During the same period the historic Bhojpur Peasant Armed struggle and Comrade Johar had a great influence on him. All those who had the attitude of rectifying the mistakes that took place in those movements joined CKS. This is the foremost step in the revolutionary life of Comrade Dev Kumar Singh.

Comrade Dev Kumar Singh came into contact with the worker's movement of Dehari-An-Son (Rohtas) area and achieved great victories in developing it. In this process he came into contact with the CPI (ML) (Party Unity) in the leadership of Comrade Narayan Sanyal. CKS merged in it in 1980 and came to be Unity Organisation. This united with Punjab comrades in 1982 as CPI (ML) Party Unity. This is the second step in the revolutionary life of Comrade Dev Kumar Singh.

PU party initiated Armed Struggle in the Central and South Bihar regions in 1980. It concentrated in Magadh and Koel-Kimur areas. Basing on the militant youth of his native area of Jehanabad who were disillusioned with the JP movement, Comrade Dev Kumar Singh developed anti-feudal class struggle and agrarian revolutionary movement. By mid-1980, peasant struggles took place demonstrating courage and sacrifices in hundreds of villages in Patna, Jehanabad, Gaya and Aurangabad districts. The reactionary Kurmi landlords united under the banner of Bhoomi Sena and made a big attack to suppress the mass base of the revolutionary movement. The anger of the oppressed people broke out and led to militant resistance struggles. The first regular red resistance armed squads were formed to take these struggles forward.

Comrade Dev Kumar Singh was a great revolutionary. He enthused the peasantry with his speeches and prepared them for militant struggles. With the militant struggles of the peasantry the landlords left the villages and fled to the towns. The peasantry fought against the private armies of the landlords and punished them in militant attacks. Ramparvesh, Dukhan Singh and such others of Sikaria village, the cruel landlords responsible for Kansara, Rampurchai massacres and

bandit groups like Raja Yadav and Pekhan were wiped out. Dev Kumar Singh's leadership role in the Mazdoor Kisan Sangharsh Samithi is very important. He efficiently led the resistance as the leader of oppressed peasantry and took forth the peasantry in the anti-feudal class struggle.

He mobilized the Dalits in protest to the massacres of the higher caste landlords in Pipra, Ruras, Bigha, Belchi, Bhagodih and other such places and successfully carried out the retaliatory actions on the private armies of the landlords. He seized over 50 weapons. The peasantry and the Dalits mobilized more and more in the anti-feudal struggle and revolutionary movement developed and expanded. This shook the foundation of the landlords and their authority started collapsing. In 1984 the leaders of the Bhumi Sena obeyed the conditions of MKSS. Peasantry fined them. The police camps of the area were lifted. The false cases on the peasantry were withdrawn and released from prison.

The state was not silent towards these developments. Thousands of police and Para-military forces were deployed in Gaya division. Camps were situated and attacks started. In 1983 the MKSS Conference in Maduva was attacked and disturbed. On the 19th of April 1986 police indiscriminately fired in the premises of the State Conference of MKSS and killed 23 persons and injured another 70. This was described as 'mini Jalianwalabagh'. Forty thousand people were arrested all over the state, tortured and imprisoned. There was widespread people's consciousness against state repression. The people mobilized as a great wave and brought forth militant people's resistance movements. The people's movement went to the extent of encircling the State Assembly. Though the Special Task Force that the government formed was withdrawn temporarily, later MKSS was banned and their movements suppressed.

There are quite a many new things to learn from Comrade Dev Kumar, the founder of revolutionary movement that led to the historic people's spate in Magadh region – 1. Leading the mass movement in an anti-legal manner. 2. Though the movement was going on in a small area Mass Organisations were built from the village level to the state level. 3. MKSS was run in an active manner. 4. Thousands of activists running the organization with a membership ten times more. 5. Coordinating the people's movement with the armed activities. 6.

Combining the open mass organisation with the secret organization. 7. Uniting the oppressed class of all the castes to defeat the higher caste landlordism and taking up militant struggle and other such things.

The movement spread all over Palamau district and few areas of Rohtas, Bhabuva, Aurangabad, Patna, Bhojpur and Baxar districts. There was a people's spate in 1988-90 too and few guerilla squads were formed. They could contain the military operations of the enemy through TCOC with the support of militia. Comrade Dev Kumar's understanding and practice contributed to the effort of formation of guerilla zones with the aim of establishing liberated areas starting from anti-feudal struggles. Comrade Dev Kumar Singh played a vital role in forming guerilla zones in Bihar. Since 1987 Comrade Dev Kumar Singh played an important role in adopting political, organisational and military programs, in imparting political and military training, in the formation of military command systems, in seizing arms from the enemy forces and in arming guerilla squads. As a result of such efforts of the Party anti-state Armed Struggle became the main characteristic in Bihar since 1995.

In 1994-2000 nine ambushes and ten raids were successful. Sixty policemen were wiped out and 176 arms seized. Dev Kumar Singh not only played the main role in many TCOC but also was a main part of the formation of PLGA. He thus had an important role in developing guerilla war and the Party line.

He was re-elected into all the committees in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress in 2007. He was part of the Regional Military Commission and personally led many TCOC and centralized operations. Comrade Dev Kumar Singh gained the love and affection of the cadres as one of the high level best commanders of the Party. His initiative, strong will, courage and dare, sacrificing nature and presence of mind enhanced the war skills in him. He has a remarkable role in fulfilling supply responsibilities, preparing IEDs and imparting training so as to solve military necessities.

Comrade Dev Kumar Singh was arrested two times and courageously faced torture and imprisonment. His life is ideal to the party and the youth of the oppressed classes. He provided leadership in spite of severe ill health in a strategic area and became a martyr. A

worker-peasant fighter, Commander and leader, Dev Kumar Singh is a fond leader of the oppressed people.

Senior Woman Comrade Nidikonda Pramila (Sarada, Meena, Jilani Begum)

Comrade Pramila was arrested in the cut off area in Malkangiri district of AOB on the 12th of October 2018 and killed in fake encounter. She had a prolonged revolutionary life of 23 years. She was born as the last child among five in a lower middle class family in Pochannapeta village of Bachannapeta mandal of joint Warangal district of Telangana 41 years ago. The people of this village are part of the revolutionary movement



since the heroic Telangana struggle to the present Maoist movement. Comrade Pramila's elder brother Gorre Pochanna and sister-in-law Bharathakka were martyred in the revolutionary movement.

Comrade Pramila started her revolutionary life in the end of 1995. She first worked for one year as the member of the local Cheryal area squad. Later she was shifted to the Nekkonda area squad. In 1997 she was transferred to the first Platoon in NTFD. In 1998 she fell ill and was arrested on her way to hospital. After imprisonment for eight months she once again became part of the armed struggle. Since 1999 she worked in the Eтуру-Nagaram squad and gained the confidence of the people. In 1999 June she married a comrade of her wish with the approval of the Party. She was promoted into the Area Committee in 2000. In 2001 she was given the responsibility of the Commander of Special Woman's Squad in the same area. She held organizational responsibilities and solved the problems of the people and women with initiative. In 2003 she took the responsibilities of Mahadevpur LOS. In 2005 she once again fell ill and was once again arrested by the SIB police in Vijayawada of AP on her way for treatment. The police

tortured her and put her in jail for 16 months. But she was not only courageous but also took up struggles in jail. After she was released from jail she enthusiastically worked in the KKW division.

In 2008 she became part of the AOB movement along with her life partner. In the beginning of 2009 she joined the Podia Area Committee in Malkangiri division and was later coopted into the Divisional Committee. She worked as the secretary of the Podia Area Committee until the end of 2015. She learnt the local language and provided leadership for the area in the state of Odisha. When 16 members of the militia and CNM were killed in fake encounter in Seelakota she stayed amidst the people and led them. When 31 comrades were martyred in the Ramguda incident she worked among the people of the area and instilled confidence in them. In 2016 Comrade Pramila was transferred to the MKV division and worked in the Pedabayalu area until 2017. Since 2017 she took up the responsibilities of the mass front in the division as a member of the secretariat of the DvC.

Comrade Pramila held various kinds of responsibilities in various areas of Telangana and AOB in her 23 years of revolutionary life. In spite of severe ill health she climbed up and down the hills, heroically resisted the enemy attacks and worked amidst carpet security with unwavering will. She was amicable with each and every one and was concerned towards one and all. She marched forward with initiative and courage. The martyrdom of a committed revolutionary fighter Comrade Pramila is a severe loss to the Party. Let us pay humble homage to Comrade Pramila.

“All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien said, “Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather.” To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather. Comrade Chang Szu-teh died for the people, and his death is indeed weightier than Mount Tai”
Mao Tse Tung in ‘Serve the People’, Vol III, MSW

Marxism is invincible

Let us first see what Lenin said about Marxism. 'Marxism is the system of Marx's views and teachings. Marx was the genius who continued and consummated the three main ideological currents of the nineteenth century, as represented by the three most advanced countries of mankind: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines in general'.

He detached dogmatic idealist aspects in philosophy and developed dialectical materialism and the theory of surplus value from labor value theory of economics and the theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship in the political sphere. This year we too are celebrating the bicentenary of Marx. Before going into the history that proved Marxism invincible, let us briefly see the life history of Marx.

Karl Marx was born on the 5th of May 1818 in the city of Trier in the state of Rhine in Germany. He was the son of Henrietta and Heinrich Marx. Marx was the third out of the nine children.

Marx's father Heinrich Marx was a lawyer. In those days adopting Christianity was considered to be a symbol of freedom. Heinrich too adopted Protestantism.

In 1835 Marx's father sent him to the Bonn University and later to Berlin University to study law. Marx stepped into the law department of Berlin University on 22nd October 1836. He took the subjects of Criminal Law, Roman law and Anthropology. But Marx's interest was soon drifted towards history and later to philosophy. He wrote to his friends, 'I am to read law texts. But more than anything I have a strong urge to read texts on philosophy'.

Marx was initially an idealist. Especially he was influenced with the ideas of Kant and Phish and the French culture of Voltaire and Russo. As a nineteen year old student he studied the essence of philosophy of his teacher Hegel. That is the dialectical method. He became an active member in the Hegelian's team within few months

of going to Berlin. This team is also called left Hegelians. He said that being a disciple of Hegel gave a new turn to his life.

It is true that Hegel behaved like an idealist. He believed that development of ideas is the basis of all things. This he called 'Absolute idea'. Hegel opined that the objective world was the reflection of this absolute idea. 'Absolute truth' does not match with dialectics. Hegel's support to the Prussian state too was against dialectics. Hegel's philosophy failed in realizing that the achievement of political, constitutional freedom that it aspired was in fact possible due to the economic freedom of the citizens obtained from capitalist production. This philosophy also could not see the fact that the process that brought in property and freedom also created a new class of people that was socially oppressed and exploited. Bourgeois liberation movement was successful in achieving political freedom of an individual through democratic constitutions. Anyhow it failed in realizing the relation between political liberation and economic development in the philosophical level. Marx became a member of young Hegelian's club at the age of 20. Marx became the most important person wherever he stepped. This shows his intelligence. This happened in the Hegelian club too. Until he completed his studies in 1841 in Berlin University Marx continued in this club. In 1841 he finished his doctoral thesis on philosophy. It became a theoretical text on the philosophical perspectives of Democritus and Epicurus.

After leaving Berlin University in 1842 Marx became the editor of a new magazine 'Rheinische Zeitung' that stood as a vehicle of left thoughts in West Germany. He thus came into contact with economic and social problems. At the same time he also developed contacts with contemporary socialist writings. In this process he left Germany in 1843 for Paris.

During the time he spent in Paris he not only came into contact with French Socialist ideas and also English economist's writings. With the suggestion of Engels he took up the study of economy. He started studying the writings of Adam Smith, Ricardo Mc Kulloch, James Mill and that of French economist J.B.Se thoroughly.

On the instigation of the Prussian government Marx was thrown out of Paris in 1845. He went to Brussels. He went to England for the

first time in 1846. He came into touch with the English working class movement that was going on in the form of chartists and the foremost Union leaders. He travelled to London in the winter of 1847 and participated in the meeting of an organization 'fraternal democrats'. Finally he reached London after he was boycotted from Paris in 1849. London became his residential place until the end.

The Communist League handed the responsibility of writing its program to Marx, who by that time gained recognition as a Communist expert and a firm individual. Marx and Engels together finished writing this program in 1848 January and handed it over in London. This was published in February. It was named 'Communist Manifesto'. It became a very important document in the history of mankind.

Communist Manifesto is the first and foremost revolutionary program of the world. It handed over a proletarian perspective to the workers to advance in the path of Socialism. It showed the workers how to protect themselves from capitalism and how to dissolve it and build a new socialist system.

It is 170 years since the Communist Manifesto was written. The Communist Manifesto even to now stands invincible from the attacks of capitalist enemies, proves its validity in the revolutionary experience of generations and stands as a clear guide as a rock. Before Marx the intellectuals were very much unclear in analyzing capitalism, in the tactics of the struggle for Socialism and about the ultimate goal. Added to this it was uncivilized, utopian, adventurous and opportunist. Anyhow Marx and Engels gave a severe blow to this idealism, innocence and dogmatism with the Communist Manifesto. For the first time they brought forward scientific socialism. Marxism was formulated mainly with Communist Manifesto, spread through the decades and became very strong.

He understood the 'principle of dynamics' of that society through critically analyzing the social and economic origins of the capitalist society.

Karl Marx developed dialectical materialistic philosophy together with his close associate Frederick Engels as a methodology and perspective. He interpreted dialectical method to find out the dynamic

rules of social development or the materialist concept of history. This is historical materialism.

‘The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it’ said Marx.

Marxist Philosophy observes the change in the world, hands over practical leadership for the protection of class interests, shows the path to the proletariat to reach the goal of Socialism and for the construction of Socialism in the world.

Except for the time Marx spent in political work his whole life was dedicated mainly to the task of economic criticism. It means he made a complete study about the ideas expressed by the economists about the capitalist society. Marx spent the decade of 1850 searching the intricacies and consequences of political economy in the research centre of the British museum. He went there at 9 in the morning and stayed until 7 in the evening. Later he would leave for Sohu lodging, Grampton Terrace or Mateland Park Road near Chakfam where he used to stay until midnight reading and writing. He wrote ‘Capital’.

Marx published articles on ‘Towards a critic of political economy’ in 1859. By 1865 he completed the manuscript of the first part of his great book ‘Capital’ on the theory of economics. Later due to severe pressures of political practice and ill health his efforts on the two volumes lagged behind and were postponed. He could not complete them in his life time. By the time of his death in 1883 the two volumes were in the form of incomplete drafts and lists. Marx devoted valuable time of his life to this task. It is 150 years for ‘Capital’ written by Marx.

Engels humbly secured the second volume of capital and published it in 1885 and the third volume in 1894. Marx felt the necessity of a fourth volume about the history of economy. But Engels could not live until he completed the compilation of the notes Marx wrote on this issue. Karl Kautsky brought together all these papers and published them in 1905 in the name of ‘Theories of Surplus value’. It was published in English in three parts in 1963, 1968 and 1971.

As an economist Marx differed from the other economists in paying attention to the relations of production behind the market. He paid attention to the essence of the relations between people through

consumption. He started to search the secret of capitalism as a mode of production. He felt that we have to find out the special character of the conflicts inherent in the mode of production and that this character removes its place, its development, dynamics and decides the future society.

Marx explained his theory of labor value in his famous text Capital. He made clear how surplus value extracted from the workers takes a distinct form of exploitation in capitalism. This surplus value takes the form of profit that is a source of the property of capitalist class. He stated that exploitation in capitalism is unleashed in the veil of transaction of free and equal values.

Capitalist production means the accumulation of property in the hands of a group in the society and the displacement of a broad social group. The later class is distanced from instruments of production. Due to lack of alternate means of livelihood it reaches to such an extent that it is forced to sell itself to an owner. This owner possesses instruments of production. The worker will have to work on those instruments of production.

What is labor power? In what sense should we speak about its production? Labor power mainly means 'the energy that is transferred to human organs through the realization of matter' said Marx. It means its production, or the reproduction in a specified time lies in providing nutritional material to the human organs and in recouping the energy spent in the process of labor. In other words labor power is the labor activity or the consumption of objective energy that an individual achieves in a specified time. It automatically becomes a commodity. It is in the survival of the toiler.

The economic theory of Marx is an example that shows how the capitalist society actually works. It is an abstract picture. This clearly places before us the very important characters and prevalent trends related to the highly complex world. We can work effectively only when we correctly understand this picture.

Engels says that the contradiction between social production and capitalist ownership expresses as the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeois classes.

The process of accumulation of capital is not only the process of wide reproduction. It is also the process of extensive reproduction of capitalist relations.

The process of accumulation of capital also creates the objective conditions that wipe out capitalism.

Marx also worked for the formation of the First International while he was writing Capital. He participated in the revolutionary struggles in Germany, France and other European countries. Due to these activities the writing of Capital was postponed. Marx's unending research too delayed the writing. He gave importance to learn Russian language for the sake of his research. This shows us the depth of his study.

The first meeting of the first International took place in London in 1864. Marx became the secretary of the most important German department of the organisation. Marx participated in the meetings of general council every Tuesday. He tried to bring to their notice the utmost important problems related to the worker's movement and the liberation movement. He told them about the political developments of the world that showed direct influence on the broad working class.

Marx felt that it is very important for the International to participate in the struggle for general voting in England. He said 'the proletariat reached the mature state and is organized so as to utilize the general voting right in favor of them'. On occasions of policy making of the International Marx always said that it is very much necessary to support the Nationality Liberation movements. Due to the initiative of Marx the International courageously extended its support to the Irish revolutionaries. By 1870, he became a close participant in the conflict that arose between the general council and the anarchists in the leadership of Bakunin. During this period (1864-72) of the International there were two conferences and five meetings in London. Marx was personally present in the London (1864-1871) and the Hague (1872) Conferences. As per the suggestions of Marx this Conference approved 8 hour workday, protection of women and child laborers, proletariat cooperatives and other such resolutions. It gave a call for the

coordination of economic and political struggles. In 1871 Marx wrote the famous pamphlet 'Civil war in France' supporting Paris Commune on behalf of the General Council. As he himself said, this pamphlet made him 'the biggest accused in London'.

Marx studied many sciences and Marx-Engels studied the science of war too and brought forth many aspects and tactics. There is a dire need to understand and interpret them.

'.....But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons — the modern working class — the proletarians.....' – *Marx-Engels – Communist Manifesto*

Marx says that like the many arts like war now rebellion too is an art. There are certain rules for rebellion. The Party that neglects them shall be wiped out. Logical rules are formulated from the character of that Party and the existing conditions.

He says that the first and the foremost thing is that without being prepared to face the consequences do not start rebellion. If there is a small change in rebellion it will have unending consequences. The value of it might change daily. The forces that attack us have the facilities of organization, discipline and power. If we do not fight strongly against them we shall be defeated and shall be wiped out.

He adds that the second aspect is that once the rebellion initiates, the rebellion shall go in the utmost decisive and offensive manner. It is suicidal for any armed rebellion to be in the situation of self-defense. It shall be defeated even before it fights with the enemy. The enemy forces must be surprised when they are scattered. However little it might be, we must make preparations for new victories every day.

'The revolution made progress, forged ahead, not by its immediate tragicomic achievements but, on the contrary, by the creation of a powerful, united counterrevolution, by the creation of an opponent in combat with whom the party of overthrow ripened into a really revolutionary party'

– *Marx in the beginning of his article, 'Class struggles in France, 1848-1850'.*

It is said that Karl Marx mainly brought forth the general theory related mainly to capital and workers. But in fact he made deep studies into the nationalities, black people, women and agrarian countries in addition to European workers and capital.

Along with the slogan of 'Workers of all countries, Unite!' Marx and Engels also said that 'Workers do not have any country'. They also said that capitalism brings forth a 'cosmopolitan character' in every country in production and consumption through exploiting the world market.

'National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible'.

- Marx-Engels in the Communist Manifesto – 'Bourgeoisie and Proletarians'-paragraph- 20, last line.

Marx developed his theory with deep study in the 1860s and 1870s.

Marx realized that apart from the proletariat the peasantry too is a revolutionary class. He supported the peasant revolt in Poland. He said that the agrarian revolution in the country is important for the liberation of Poland.

Regarding the nationality struggles Marx highlighted the struggle of the Irish nationality in his writings. He emphasized that the liberation of Irish nationality is a condition for the liberation of the English workers from capitalist chains.

In the article on 'Confidential Communication on Ireland' in 1870, he said that the peasant and the nationality struggles are mutually entwined and that we need to support them.

Regarding women's question Marx observed the nature and history of the relation between men and women and wrote in '1844 Manuscripts' that gender oppression is vital as the basis of social layers and domination. He also wrote in 'Peuchet on suicide' in 1846 that just like the exploitation and gender discrimination of the poor working women the women of the rich and middle classes of France too are committing suicides due to violence out of gender discrimination.

In the later period Marx studied the societies in Russia, China and India. In 1846 he wrote 'The German ideology' in which he divided the

modes of production into five parts such as 1. Tribe 2. Ancient Greek and Roman slavery 3. Feudal system of serfdom 4. Bourgeois or the capitalist society with wage slave worker 5. Socialist society. In 1857-58 Marx mentioned about 'Asiatic mode of production' in Grundrisse text. In this text he mainly mentioned the character of the Indian society. He said that it constitutes social relations that continue for a long time on village basis without formal slavery and with collective property and that it is distinct when compared with the above mode of production. He also wrote about the various revolts in India and described the Sepoy mutiny as the first Independence struggle of the Indian people.

Marx frequently wrote about India in 'The Tribune' magazine. He wrote in a detailed manner in the Notes on Kovalevsky (1879), Notes on Indian history (1860) and Ethnological notebooks (1880-82). He explained the birth and role of caste in India in 'The German ideology' and 'Grundrisse'.

In the foreword to the Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto in 1882 Marx-Engels wrote thus about the collective forms of land in Russia –

'If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development'.

Marx also wrote many articles on South Asia, North America, Latin America and other such agrarian, cattle-rearing and hunting societies. All these have not come to light in a proper way (Reference – 'Marx at the margins' and 'Marx at 200: Beyond Capital and class alone' in EPW, 2018 October 6th written by Kevin B.Anderson).

We have to deeply study these new angles on the occasion of the bicentenary of Marx. Through this study we can develop a deep understanding and give a strong answer to those who oppose Marxism in our country basing on the research of Marx on India.

The opponents of Marxism opposed Marxism in every step. Revisionists such as Bernstein opposed the important theories in Marxism that supported capitalism. They argued that capitalism increases property, develops proletariat and so it is not necessary to

wipe out capitalism and fight for Socialism. But Marx through his economic theories analysed how the proletariat daily falls in poverty, how a handful of capitalists own all the property and so how the proletariat falls in hunger, poverty and diseases. Marx scientifically proved that the proletariat understood these conditions and shall bring down capitalism and achieves socialism. History proved this fact in every step since the theory of Marx came into existence. That is why we say Marxism is invincible.

Socialism came into being in Russia, China and one third of the world in the light of the theories of Karl Marx. All through this period Marxist theory developed and became Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and strengthened. The 'specter of Communism' is still haunting imperialism.

Marx deeply loved and married Jenny von Westphalen. She is a person of extraordinary courage and morale. Marx and Jenny got married on the 19th of June 1843. She is a beloved wife, a kind hearted mother, reliable secretary, representative, wise adviser and a supporting comrade. She is an example of women after the beginning of the working class movement who stood by the side of their husbands in the revolutionary war with courage and dare, optimism, selflessness with great confidence in the ultimate success of Socialism. Marx is four years younger to Jenny. She loved Marx, the son of an ordinary lawyer. Only three of their daughters – Jenny, Laura and Eleanor sustained and the rest of the children died. The death of their eight year old son Edgar put the parents in deep grief. Their letters carried the mention of their beloved son for a long time. Their daughters too participated in proletarian revolutionary activities.

We see that Jenny stood as a pillar in the life of Marx. She understood her husband's intellect and his writings that sharpen it much more. She stands high among the women of her class as a person who sacrificed her minimum necessities for his sake.

Their utter poverty took the lives of few of their children. Marx in his old age and with ill health bid farewell to his wife on the death-bed suffering from cancer. Jenny died on December 2nd, 1881. This was a shock and an unexpected terrible blow in Marx's life.

Engels recollects her loyalty towards international worker's struggle. He said that the world can never know how much service such a woman with positive precise critical understanding, unmistakable political wit and great dedication has done. It was never published in the magazines. Only one who worked with her knows how much she worked. I need not tell about her personal characteristics. Her friends know and they can never forget. If one wishes to know about a woman who is happy to see others happy it is Jenny. Speaking about the grief Marx experienced out of her death Engels ends saying that Marx too is dead.

Due to the struggles of the initial days and poverty Marx's health deteriorated and by the end of 1870 he had to stop work for most of the time and take rest. As per the suggestions of the doctors he had to go to Harrogate, Malverne, Channel Islands, Kalsbad (now Karloveevary), Algiers, Geneva, France and places like the southern countries. The great proletarian teacher Karl Marx died peacefully in his wheel chair at 2.45 in the afternoon of March 14th. All the workers of the world including Engels cried for him. On 17th March 1883 Karl Marx was cremated beside the place of his wife's cremation in the High gate cemetery in London.

Engels spoke with great emotion about the remarkable scientific revelations of Marx on this occasion. He explained the greatness of Marx as a scientist and revolutionary fighter –

‘....And, consequently, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were a cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers – from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America – and I make bold to say that, though he may have had many opponents, he had hardly one personal enemy.

‘His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work’.

The international worker's movement bid farewell to its great leader. Liebknecht pledged thus near the cemetery on behalf of the

working class of Germany – taught and for which he *fought will be put into practice as soon as possible*. That is the best way to honour his memory!

“Deceased, living friend, *we shall follow to the final aim you showed us. We swear it on your grave!*”

‘His name and work shall endure for ages’.

The toiling people all over the world celebrated the bicentenary of Karl Marx. The revolutionary communist parties that held aloft the proletarian revolutionary flag strongly believe that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is invincible and scientific and are advancing taking it up as the beacon for their practice. On the other hand its main enemies and revisionist traitors and social-imperialists too are celebrating Marx’s anniversary. This shows the enormous confidence of the people in Marx.

Various kinds of revisionists and neo-revisionists celebrated the bicentenary of Karl Marx in our country just like they did all over the world. The statements of the revisionists to fight in the path shown by Marx are absolutely sham.

A statue of Marx was inaugurated in the city of Trier in Germany. Chinese architect Vuy Vey shen prepared the 17 feet high and 4 ton heavy bronze statue. The social-imperialist Chinese government provided funds for this statue.

The President of China, the traitor and social-imperialist Xi Jin Ping said in a meeting in Beijing on the occasion of the bicentenary of Marx that the theory of Marx is still illuminating, that it is true and the whole world is respecting it. He said that the Chinese revolution was accomplished in the light of Marxism. They cannot get on without saying so. Xi Jin Ping cannot deceive the people much longer. The proletariat of the world shall tear up the veil of the present China too like they did to Russia and shall realize the facts.

On the occasion of the bicentenary of Marx there was a two day seminar in Maynooth University in the city of Maynooth of Ireland. 200 Scholars and intellectuals of nearly 15 countries participated in the

seminar and discussed the theory of Marx. There were representatives from the US, Britain, Germany, Italy and Spain too. The proletariat and their enemies too study Marx's theories and this is nothing new in history. While one class utilizes it as a great science and weapon to destroy the exploitive system the other declares that Marxism is outdated and that 'history has ended' and is trying in vain to make outdated, self-praising theories. Comrade Lenin described such persons one hundred years back thus – 'The dialectics of history is such that when Marxism achieved success in the theoretical sphere, its enemies too had to inevitably wear Marxist veil'.

Our Party has been fighting for the success of New Democratic Revolution as a part of the World Socialist Revolution for the past fifty years. Our Party considers Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as today's Maoism. It is establishing people's alternate state power by building guerilla zones and guerilla bases in many parts of the country. Imperialists and the Indian ruling classes that serve their interests say that our Party is the utmost dangerous to the internal security of our Party (in fact to their indiscriminate exploitation and security!) and are unleashing repressive measures in an extraordinary level. We must have the objective of protecting our Party and the revolutionary movement going on in the leadership of our Party and make it a success. We must make the Indian revolution successful and take Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to a higher level.

“The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to the other working-class parties

“They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole”

- Communist Manifesto

Karl Marx

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

A Brief Biographical Sketch With an Exposition of Marxism

Preface

This article on Karl Marx, which now appears in a separate printing, was written in 1913 (as far as I can remember) for the *Granat Encyclopaedia*. A fairly detailed bibliography of literature on Marx, mostly foreign, was appended to the article. This has been omitted in the present edition. The editor of the Encyclopaedia, for their part, have, for censorship reasons, deleted the end of the article on Marx, namely, the section dealing with his revolutionary tactics. Unfortunately, I am unable to reproduce that end, because the draft has remained among my papers somewhere in Krakow or in Switzerland. I only remember that in the concluding part of the article I quoted, among other things, the passage from Marx's letter to Engels of April 16, 1856, in which he wrote: "The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War. Then the affair will be splendid." That is what our Mensheviks, who have now sunk to utter betrayal of socialism and to desertion to the bourgeoisie, have failed to understand since 1905.

N. Lenin

Moscow, May 14, 1918

Published in 1918 in the pamphlet: N. Lenin, Karl Marx, Priobi Publishers, Moscow, Published according to the manuscript

Marx, Karl, was born...

Marx, Karl, was born on May 5, 1818 (New Style), in the city of Trier (Rhenish Prussia). His father was a lawyer, a Jew, who in 1824 adopted Protestantism. The family was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary. After graduating from a *Gymnasium* in Trier, Marx entered the university, first at Bonn and later in Berlin, where he read law, majoring in history and philosophy. He concluded his university course in 1841, submitting a doctoral thesis on the philosophy of

Epicurus. At the time Marx was a Hegelian idealist in his views. In Berlin, he belonged to the circle of “Left Hegelians” (Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusion from Hegel’s philosophy.

After graduating, Marx moved to Bonn, hoping to become a professor. However, the reactionary policy of the government, which deprived Ludwig Feuerbach of his chair in 1832, refused to allow him to return to the university in 1836, and in 1841 forbade young Professor Bruno Bauer to lecture at Bonn, made Marx abandon the idea of an academic career. Left Hegelian views were making rapid headway in Germany at the time. Feuerbach began to criticize theology, particularly after 1836, and turn to materialism, which in 1841 gained ascendancy in his philosophy (*The Essence of Christianity*). The year 1843 saw the appearance of his *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*. “One must oneself have experienced the liberating effect” of these books, Engels subsequently wrote of these works of Feuerbach. “We [i.e., the Left Hegelians, including Marx] all became at once Feuerbachians.” At that time, some radical bourgeois in the Rhineland, who were in touch with the Left Hegelians, founded, in Cologne, an opposition paper called *Rheinische Zeitung* (The first issue appeared on January 1, 1842). Marx and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors, and in October 1842 Marx became editor-in-chief and moved from Bonn to Cologne. The newspaper’s revolutionary-democratic trend became more and more pronounced under Marx’s editorship, and the government first imposed double and triple censorship on the paper, and then on January 1, 1843 decided to suppress it. Marx had to resign the editorship before that date, but his resignation did not save the paper, which suspended publication in March 1843. Of the major articles Marx contributed to *Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels notes, in addition to those indicated below (see *Bibliography*),^[1] an article on the condition of peasant winegrowers in the Moselle Valley.^[2] Marx’s journalistic activities convinced him that he was insufficiently acquainted with political economy, and he zealously set out to study it.

In 1843, Marx married, at Kreuznach, a childhood friend he had become engaged to while still a student. His wife came of a reactionary family of the Prussian nobility, her elder brother being Prussia’s

Minister of the Interior during a most reactionary period—1850-58. In the autumn of 1843, Marx went to Paris in order to publish a radical journal abroad, together with Arnold Ruge (1802-1880); Left Hegelian; in prison in 1825-30; a political exile following 1848, and a Bismarckian after 1866-70). Only one issue of this journal, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, appeared;^[3] publication was discontinued owing to the difficulty of secretly distributing it in Germany, and to disagreement with Ruge. Marx's articles in this journal showed that he was already a revolutionary who advocated "merciless criticism of everything existing", and in particular the "criticism by weapon",^[13] and appealed to the *masses* and to the *proletariat*.

In September 1844, Frederick Engels came to Paris for a few days, and from that time on became Marx's closest friend. They both took a most active part in the then seething life of the revolutionary groups in Paris (of particular importance at the time was Proudhon's^[4] doctrine), which Marx pulled to pieces in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847); waging a vigorous struggle against the various doctrines of petty-bourgeois socialism, they worked out the theory and tactics of revolutionary *proletarian socialism*, or communism (Marxism). See Marx's works of this period, 1844-48 in the *Bibliography*. At the insistent request of the Prussian government, Marx was banished from Paris in 1845, as a dangerous revolutionary. He went to Brussels. In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society called the Communist League;^[5] they took a prominent part in the League's Second Congress (London, November 1847), at whose request they drew up the celebrated *Communist Manifesto*, which appeared in February 1848. With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent with materialism, which also embrace the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new, communist society.

On the outbreak of the Revolution of February 1848,^[6] Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris, whence, after the March Revolution,^[7] he went to Cologne, Germany, where *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*^[8] was published from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849, with Marx

as editor-in-chief. The new theory was splendidly confirmed by the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-49, just as it has been subsequently confirmed by all proletarian and democratic movements in all countries of the world. The victorious counter-revolution first instigated court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted on February 9, 1849), and then banished him from Germany (May 16, 1849). First Marx went to Paris, was again banished after the demonstration of June 13, 1849,^[9] and then went to London, where he lived until his death.

His life as a political exile was a very hard one, as the correspondence between Marx and Engels (published in 1913) clearly reveals. Poverty weighed heavily on Marx and his family; had it not been for Engels' constant and selfless financial aid, Marx would not only have been unable to complete *Capital* but would have inevitably have been crushed by want. Moreover, the prevailing doctrines and trends of petty-bourgeois socialism, and of non-proletarian socialism in general, forced Marx to wage a continuous and merciless struggle and sometime to repel the most savage and monstrous personal attacks (*Herr Vogt*).^[10] Marx, who stood aloof from circles of political exiles, developed his materialist theory in a number of historical works (see *Bibliography*), devoting himself mainly to a study of political economy. Marx revolutionized science (see "The Marxist Doctrine", below) in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Capital* (Vol. I, 1867).

The revival of the democratic movements in the late fifties and in the sixties recalled Marx to practical activity. In 1864 (September 28) the International Working Men's Association—the celebrated First International—was founded in London. Marx was the heart and soul of this organization, and author of its first Address^[11] and of a host of resolutions, declaration and manifestoes. In uniting the labor movement of various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade-unionism in Britain, Lassalleian vacillations to the right in Germany, etc.), and in combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working in the various countries. Following the downfall of the Paris Commune (1871)—of

which gave such a profound, clear-cut, brilliant *effective* and revolutionary analysis (*The Civil War In France*, 1871)—and the Bakunin-caused^[12] cleavage in the International, the latter organization could no longer exist in Europe. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872), Marx had the General Council of the International had played its historical part, and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labor movement in all countries in the world, a period in which the movement grew in *scope*, and *mass* socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed.

Marx's health was undermined by his strenuous work in the International and his still more strenuous theoretical occupations. He continued work on the refashioning of political economy and on the completion of *Capital*, for which he collected a mass of new material and studied a number of languages (Russian, for instance). However, ill-health prevented him from completing *Capital*.

His wife died on December 2, 1881, and on March 14, 1883, Marx passed away peacefully in his armchair. He lies buried next to his wife at Highgate Cemetery in London. Of Marx's children some died in childhood in London, when the family were living in destitute circumstances. Three daughters married English and French socialists; Eleanor Aveling, Laura Lafargue and Jenny Longuet. The latter's son is a member of the French Socialist Party.

Notes

^[1] This "Bibliography" written by Lenin for the article is not included.—Ed.

^[2] The reference is to the article "*Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel*" by Karl Marx.—Ed.

^[3] The reference is to the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbucher* (German-French Annals), a magazine edited by Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge and published in German in Paris. Only the first issue, a double one, appeared, in February 1844. It included works by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels which marked the final transition of Marx and Engels to materialism and communism. Publication of the magazine was discontinued mainly as a result of basic differences of opinion between Marx and the bourgeois radical Ruge.—Ed.

^[4] *Proudhonism*—An unscientific trend in petty-bourgeois socialism, hostile to Marxism, so called after its ideologist, the French anarchist Pierre Joseph Proudhon. Proudhon criticized big capitalist property from the petty-bourgeois position and dreamed of perpetuating small private ownership. He proposed the foundation of “people’s” and “exchange” banks, with the aid of which the workers would be able to acquire the means of production, become handicraftsmen and ensure the just marketing of their produce. Proudhon did not understand the historic role of the proletariat and displayed a negative attitude to the class struggle, the proletarian revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat; as an anarchist, he denied the need for the state. Marx subjected Proudhonism to ruthless criticism in his work *The Poverty of Philosophy*.—*Ed.*

^[5] *The Communist League*—The first international communist organization of the proletariat founded under the guidance of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847.

Marx and Engels helped to work out the programmatic and organizational principles of the League; they wrote its programme—the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published in February 1848.

The Communist League was the predecessor of the International Working Men’s Association (The First International). It existed until November 1852, its prominent members later playing a leading role in the First International.—*Ed.*

^[6] The reference is to the bourgeois revolutions in Germany and Austria which began in March 1848.—*Ed.*

^[7] The reference is to the bourgeois revolution in France in February 1848.—*Ed.*

^[8] *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung (New Rhenish Gazette)*—Published in Cologne from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849. Marx and Engels directed the newspaper, Marx being its editor-in-chief. Lenin characterized *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as “the finest and unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat”. Despite persecution and the obstacles placed in its way by the police, the newspaper staunchly defended the interests of revolutionary democracy, the interests of the proletariat. Because of Marx’s banishment from Prussia in May 1849 and the

persecution of the other editors. *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung* had to cease publication.—*Ed.*

^[9] The reference is to the mass demonstration in Paris organized by the Montagne, the party of the petty bourgeoisie, in protest against the infringement by the President and the majority in the Legislative Assembly of the constitutional orders established in the revolution of 1848. The demonstration was dispersed by the government.—*Ed.*

^[10] The reference is to Marx's pamphlet *Herr Vogt*, which was written in reply to the slanderous pamphlet by Vogt, a Bonapartist agent provocateur, *My Process Against "Allgemeine Zeitung"*.—*Ed.*

^[11] The First International Workingmen's Association was the first international tendency that grouped together all the worlds' workers parties in one unified international party.—*Ed.*

^[12] *Bakuninism*—A trend called after its leader Mikhail Bakunin, an ideologist of anarchism and enemy of Marxism and scientific socialism.—*Ed.*

^[13] These words are from Marx's "Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right: Introduction." The relevant passage reads: "The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapon, material force must be overthrown by a material force; but theory, too, becomes a material force, as soon as it grips the masses."—*Lenin*

The Marxist Doctrine

Marxism is the system of Marx's views and teachings. Marx was the genius who continued and consummated the three main ideological currents of the 19th century, as represented by the three most advanced countries of mankind: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines in general. Acknowledged even by his opponents, the remarkable consistency and integrity of Marx's views, whose totality constitutes modern materialism and modern scientific socialism, as the theory and programme of the working-class movement in all the civilized countries of the world, make it incumbent on us to present a brief outline of his world-conception in general, prior to giving an exposition of the principal content of Marxism, namely, Marx's economic doctrine.

Philosophical Materialism

Beginning with the years 1844–45, when his views took shape, Marx was a materialist and especially a follower of Ludwig Feuerbach, whose weak point he subsequently saw only in his materialism being insufficiently consistent and comprehensive. To Marx, Feuerbach's historic and "epoch-making" significance lay in his having resolutely broken with Hegel's idealism and in his proclamation of materialism, which already "in the 18th century, particularly French materialism, was not only a struggle against the existing political institutions and against... religion and theology, but also... against all metaphysics" (in the sense of "drunken speculation" as distinct from "sober philosophy"). (*The Holy Family*, in *Literarischer Nachlass*^[1]) "To Hegel...," wrote Marx, "the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea', he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos (the creator, the maker) of the real world.... With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought." (*Capital*, Vol. I, Afterward to the Second Edition.) In full conformity with this materialist philosophy of Marx's, and expounding it, Frederick Engels wrote in *Anti-Duhring* (read by Marx in the manuscript): "The real unity of the world consists in its materiality, and this is proved... by a long and wearisome development of philosophy and natural science...." "Motion is the mode of existence of matter. Never anywhere has there been matter without motion, or motion without matter, nor can there be.... But if the... question is raised: what thought and consciousness really are, and where they come from; it becomes apparent that they are products of the human brain and that man himself is a product of Nature, which has developed in and along with its environment; hence it is self-evident that the products of the human brain, being in the last analysis also products of Nature, do not contradict the rest of Nature's interconnections but are in correspondence with them...."

"Hegel was an idealist, that is to say, the thoughts within his mind were to him not the more or less abstract images [*Abbilder*, reflections; Engels sometimes speaks of "imprints"] of real things and processes, but on the contrary, things and their development were to him only the images, made real, of the "Idea" existing somewhere or other before the world existed."

In his *Ludwig Feuerbach*—which expounded his own and Marx’s views on Feuerbach’s philosophy, and was sent to the printers after he had re-read an old manuscript Marx and himself had written in 1844-45 on Hegel, Feuerbach and the materialist conception of history—Engels wrote:

“The great basic question of all philosophy, especially of more recent philosophy, is the relation of thinking and being... spirit to Nature... which is primary, spirit or Nature.... The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primary of spirit to Nature and, therefore, in the last instance, assumed world creation in some form or other... comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded Nature as primary, belonged to the various schools of materialism.”

Any other use of the concepts of (philosophical) idealism and materialism leads only to confusion. Marx decidedly rejected, not only idealism, which is always linked in one way or another with religion, but also the views—especially widespread in our day—of Hume and Kant, agnosticism, criticism, and positivism^[2] in their various forms; he considered that philosophy a “reactionary” concession to idealism, and at best a “shame-faced way of surreptitiously accepting materialism, while denying it before the world.”^[3]

On this question, see, besides the works by Engels and Marx mentioned above, a letter Marx wrote to Engels on December 12, 1868, in which, referring to an utterance by the naturalist Thomas Huxley, which was “more materialistic” than usual, and to his recognition that “as long as we actually observe and think, we cannot possibly get away from materialism”, Marx reproached Huxley for leaving a “loop hole” for agnosticism, for Humism.

It is particularly important to note Marx’s view on the relation between freedom and necessity: “Freedom is the appreciation of necessity. ‘Necessity is blind only insofar as it is not understood.’” (Engels in *Anti-Duhring*) This means recognition of the rule of objective laws in Nature and of the dialectical transformation of necessity into freedom (in the same manner as the transformation of the uncognized but cognizable “thing-in-itself” into the “thing-for-us”, of the “essence of things” into “phenomena”). Marx and Engels considered that the

“old” materialism, including that of Feuerbach (and still more the “vulgar” materialism of Buchner, Vogt and Moleschott), contained the following major shortcomings:

(1) this materialism was “predominantly mechanical,” failing to take account of the latest developments in chemistry and biology (today it would be necessary to add: and in the electrical theory of matter);

(2) the old materialism was non-historical and non-dialectical (metaphysical, in the meaning of anti-dialectical), and did not adhere consistently and comprehensively to the standpoint of development;

(3) it regarded the “human essence” in the abstract, not as the “complex of all” (concretely and historically determined) “social relations”, and therefore merely “interpreted” the world, whereas it was a question of “changing” it, i.e., it did not understand the importance of “revolutionary practical activity”.

Dialectics

As the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, and the richest in content, Hegelian dialectics was considered by Marx and Engels the greatest achievement of classical German philosophy. They thought that any other formulation of the principle of development, of evolution, was one-sided and poor in content, and could only distort and mutilate the actual course of development (which often proceeds by leaps, and via catastrophes and revolutions) in Nature and in society.

“Marx and I were pretty well the only people to rescue conscious dialectics [from the destruction of idealism, including Hegelianism] and apply it in the materialist conception of Nature.... Nature is the proof of dialectics, and it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished extremely rich [this was written before the discovery of radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements, etc.!] and daily increasing materials for this test, and has thus proved that in the last analysis Nature’s process is dialectical and not metaphysical.

“The great basic thought,” Engels writes, “that the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready-made things, but as a complex of processes, in which the things apparently stable no less than their mind images in our heads, the concepts, go through an uninterrupted

change of coming into being and passing away... this great fundamental thought has, especially since the time of Hegel, so thoroughly permeated ordinary consciousness that in this generality it is now scarcely ever contradicted. But to acknowledge this fundamental thought in words and to apply it in reality in detail to each domain of investigation are two different things.... For dialectical philosophy nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything; nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendancy from the lower to the higher. And dialectical philosophy itself is nothing more than the mere reflection of this process in the thinking brain." Thus, according to Marx, dialectics is "the science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human thought."^[4]

This revolutionary aspect of Hegel's philosophy was adopted and developed by Marx. Dialectical materialism "does not need any philosophy standing above the other sciences." From previous philosophy there remains "the science of thought and its laws—formal logic and dialectics." Dialectics, as understood by Marx, and also in conformity with Hegel, includes what is now called the theory of knowledge, or epistemology, studying and generalizing the original and development of knowledge, the transition from *non*-knowledge to knowledge.

In our times, the idea of development, of evolution, has almost completely penetrated social consciousness, only in other ways, and not through Hegelian philosophy. Still, this idea, as formulated by Marx and Engels on the basis of Hegel's philosophy, is far more comprehensive and far richer in content than the current idea of evolution is. A development that repeats, as it were, stages that have already been passed, but repeats them in a different way, on a higher basis ("the negation of the negation"), a development, so to speak, that proceeds in spirals, not in a straight line; a development by leaps, catastrophes, and revolutions; "breaks in continuity"; the transformation of quantity into quality; inner impulses towards development, imparted by the contradiction and conflict of the various forces and tendencies acting on a given body, or within a given

phenomenon, or within a given society; the interdependence and the closest and indissoluble connection between *all* aspects of any phenomenon (history constantly revealing ever new aspects), a connection that provides a uniform, and universal process of motion, one that follows definite laws—these are some of the features of dialectics as a doctrine of development that is richer than the conventional one. (Cf. Marx’s letter to Engels of January 8, 1868, in which he ridicules Stein’s “wooden trichotomies,” which it would be absurd to confuse with materialist dialectics.)

The Materialist Conception of History

A realization of the inconsistency, incompleteness, and onesidedness of the old materialism convinced Marx of the necessity of “bringing the science of society... into harmony with the materialist foundation, and of reconstructing it thereupon.”^[5] Since materialism in general explains consciousness as the outcome of being, and not conversely, then materialism as applied to the social life of mankind has to explain *social* consciousness as the outcome of *social* being. “Technology,” Marx writes (*Capital*, Vol. I), “discloses man’s mode of dealing with Nature, the immediate process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions that flow from them.”^[6] In the preface to his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx gives an integral formulation of the fundamental principles of materialism as applied to human society and its history, in the following words:

“In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces.

“The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At

a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out.

“Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so we cannot judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of production.... In broad outlines, Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production can be designated as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society.”^[21] [Cf. Marx’s brief formulation in a letter to Engels dated July 7, 1866: “Our theory that the organization of labor is determined by the means of production.”]

The discovery of the materialist conception of history, or more correctly, the consistent continuation and extension of materialism into the domain of social phenomena, removed the two chief shortcomings in earlier historical theories. In the first place, the latter at best examined only the ideological motives in the historical activities of human beings, without investigating the origins of those motives, or ascertaining the objective laws governing the development of the system of social relations, or seeing the roots of these relations in the degree of development reached by material production; in the second place, the earlier theories did not embrace the activities of the *masses* of the population, whereas historical materialism made it possible for the first time to study with scientific accuracy the social conditions of the life of the masses, and the changes in those conditions. *At best,*

pre-Marxist “sociology” and historiography brought forth an accumulation of raw facts, collected at random, and a description of individual aspects of the historical process. By examining the *totality* of opposing tendencies, by reducing them to precisely definable conditions of life and production of the various *classes* of individual aspects of the historical process. By examining the choice of a particular “dominant” idea or in its interpretation, and by revealing that, without exception, all ideas and all the various tendencies *stem* from the condition of the material forces of production, Marxism indicated the way to an all-embracing and comprehensive study of the process of the rise, development, and decline of socio-economic systems. People make their own history but what determines the motives of people, of the mass of people—i.e., what is the sum total of all these clashes in the mass of human societies? What are the objective conditions of production of material life that form the basis of all man’s historical activity? What is the law of development of these conditions? To all these Marx drew attention and indicated the way to a scientific study of history as a single process which, with all its immense variety and contradictoriness, is governed by definite laws.

The Class Struggle

It is common knowledge that, in any given society, the striving of some of its members conflict with the strivings of others, that social life is full of contradictions, and that history reveals a struggle between nations and societies, as well as within nations and societies, and, besides, an alternation of periods of revolution and reaction, peace and war, stagnation and rapid progress or decline. Marxism has provided the guidance —i.e., the theory of the class struggle—for the discovery of the laws governing this seeming maze and chaos. It is only a study of the sum of the strivings of all the members of a given society or group of societies that can lead to a scientific definition of the result of those strivings. Now the conflicting strivings stem from the difference in the position and mode of life of the *classes* into which each society is divided.

“The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles,” Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* (with the exception of the history of the primitive community, Engels added subsequently).

“Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.... The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.”

Ever since the Great French Revolution, European history has, in a number of countries, tellingly revealed what actually lies at the bottom of events—the struggle of classes. The Restoration period in France^[8] already produced a number of historians (Thierry, Guizot, Mignet, and Thiers) who, in summing up what was taking place, were obliged to admit that the class struggle was taking place, were obliged to admit that the class struggle was the key to all French history. The modern period—that of complete victory of the bourgeoisie, representative institutions, extensive (if not universal) suffrage, a cheap daily press that is widely circulated among the masses, etc., a period of powerful and every-expanding unions of workers and unions of employers, etc.—has shown even more strikingly (though sometimes in a very one-sided, “peaceful”, and “constitutional” form) the class struggle as the mainspring of events. The following passage from Marx’s *Communist Manifesto* will show us what Marx demanded of social science as regards an objective analysis of the position of each class in modern society, with reference to an analysis of each class’s conditions of development:

“Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product. The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all

these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.”

In a number of historical works (see *Bibliography*), Marx gave brilliant and profound examples of materialist historiography, of an analysis of the position of *each* individual class, and sometimes of various groups or strata within a class, showing plainly why and how “every class struggle is a political struggle.”^[1] The above-quoted passage is an illustration of what a complex network of social relations and *transitional* stages from one class to another, from the past to the future, was analyzed by Marx so as to determine the resultant of historical development.

Marx’s economic doctrine is the most profound, comprehensive and detailed confirmation and application of his theory.

Notes

^[1] See Marx and Engels, *The Holy Family* (Chapter Eight)—*Lenin*

^[2] *Agnosticism*—An idealist philosophical theory asserting that the world is unknowable, that the human mind is limited and cannot know anything beyond the realms of sensations. Agnosticism has various forms: some agnostics recognize the objective existence of the material world but deny the possibility of knowing it, others deny the existence of the material world on the plea that man cannot know whether anything exists beyond his sensations.

Criticism—Kant gave this name to his idealist philosophy, considering the criticism of man’s cognitive ability to be the purpose of that philosophy. Kant’s criticism led him to the conviction that human reason cannot know the nature of things.

Positivism—A widespread trend in bourgeois philosophy and sociology, founded by Comte (1798-1857), a French philosopher and sociologist. The positivists deny the possibility of knowing inner

regularities and relations and deny the significance of philosophy as a method of knowing and changing the objective world. They reduce philosophy to a summary of the data provided by the various branches of science and to a superficial description of the results of direct observation—i.e., to “positive” facts. Positivism considers itself to be “above” both materialism and idealism but it is actually nothing more than a variety of subjective idealism.—*Ed.*

^[3] Frederick Engels: Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy—*Lenin*

^[4] Frederick Engels: Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy—*Lenin*

^[5] Frederick Engels: Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy—*Lenin*

^[6] See Karl Marx, Capital. Volume I.—*Lenin*

^[7] Karl Marx, Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859)—*Lenin*

^[8] *The Restoration*—The period in France between 1814 and 1830 when power was in the hands of the Bourbons, restored to the throne after their overthrow by the French bourgeois revolution in 1792.—*Ed.*

^[9] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* Vol. 1, Moscow, 1973, pp. 108-09, 117-18, 116.—*Ed.*

Marx’s Economic Doctrine

“It is the ultimate aim of this work to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society, i.e., capitalist, bourgeois society,”

says Marx in the preface to Capital. An investigation into the relations of production in a given, historically defined society, in their inception, development, and decline—such is the content of Marx’s economic doctrine. In capitalist society, the production of *commodities* is predominant, and Marx’s analysis therefore begin with an analysis of commodity.

Value

A commodity is, in the first place, a thing that satisfies a human want; in the second place, it is a thing that can be exchanged for another thing. The utility of a thing makes is a *use-value*. Exchange-value (or,

simply, value), is first of all the ratio, the proportion, in which a certain number of use-values of one kind can be exchanged for a certain number of use-values of another kind. Daily experience shows us that million upon millions of such exchanges are constantly equating with one another every kind of use-value, even the most diverse and incomparable. Now, what is there in common between these various things. Things constantly equated with one another in a definite system of social relations? Their common feature is that they are *products of labor*. In exchanging products, people equate the most diverse kinds of labor. The production of commodities is a system of social relations in which individual producers create diverse products (the social division of labor), and in which all these products are equated with one another in the process of exchange. Consequently, what is common to all commodities is not the concrete labor of a definite branch of production, not labor of one particular kind, but *abstract* human labor—human labor in general. All the labor power of a given society, as represented in the sum total of the values of all commodities, is one and the same human labor power. Thousands upon thousands of millions of acts of exchange prove this. Consequently, each particular commodity represents only a certain share of the *socially necessary* labor time. The magnitude of value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor, or by the labor time that is socially necessary for the production of a given commodity, of a given use-value.

“Whenever, by an exchange, we equate as values our different products, by that very act, we also equate, as human labor, the different kind of labor expended upon them. We are not aware of this, nevertheless we do it.” [*Capital*]. As one of the earlier economists said, value is a relation between two persons; only he should have added: a relation concealed beneath a material wrapping. We can understand what value is only when we consider it from the standpoint of the system of social relations of production in a particular historical type of society, moreover, or relations that manifest themselves in the mass phenomenon of exchange, a phenomenon which repeats itself thousands upon thousands of time. “As values, all commodities are only definite masses of congealed labor time.” [*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*].

After making a detailed analysis of the twofold character of the labor incorporated in commodities, Marx goes on to analyze the *form of value* and *money*. Here, Marx's main task is to study the *origin* of the money form of value, to study the *historical process* of the development of exchange, beginning with individual and incidental acts of exchange (the "elementary or accidental form of value", in which a given quantity of one commodity is exchanged for a given quantity of another), passing on to the universal form of value, in which a number of different commodities are exchanged for one and the same particular commodity, and ending with the money form of value, when gold becomes that particular commodity, the universal equivalent. As the highest product of the development of exchange and commodity production, money masks, conceals, the social character of all individual labor, the social link between individual producers united by the market. Marx analyzes the various functions of money in very great detail; it is important to note here in particular (as in the opening chapters of *Capital* in general) that what seems to be an abstract and at times purely deductive mode of exposition deals in reality with a gigantic collection of factual material on the history of the development of exchange and commodity production.

"If we consider money, its existence implies a definite stage in the exchange of commodities. The particular functions of money, which it performs either as the mere equivalent of commodities or as means of circulation, or means of payment, as hoard or as universal money, point, according to the extent and relative preponderance of the one function or the other, to very different stages in the process of social production." [*Capital*].

Surplus Value

At a certain stage in the development of commodity production money becomes transformed into capital. The formula of commodity circulation was C-M-C (commodity—money—commodity)—i.e., the sale of one commodity for the purpose of buying another.

The general formula of capital, on the contrary, is M-C-M—i.e., the purchase for the purpose of selling (at a profit).

The increase over the original value of the money that is put into circulation is called by Marx surplus value. The fact of this "growth" of

money in capitalist circulation is common knowledge. Indeed, it is this “growth” which transforms money into *capital*, as a special and historically determined social relation of production. Surplus value cannot arise out of commodity circulation, for the latter knows only the exchange of equivalents; neither can it arise out of price increases, for the mutual losses and gains of buyers and sellers would equalize one another, whereas what we have here is not an individual phenomenon but a mass, average and social phenomenon. To obtain surplus value, the owner of money “must ... find... in the market a commodity, whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value” [*Capital*]*—*a commodity whose process of consumption is at the same time a process of the creation of value. Such a commodity exists—human labor power. Its consumption is labor, and labor creates value. The owner of money buys labor power at its value, which, like the value of every other commodity, is determined by the socially necessary labor time requisite for its production (i.e., the cost of maintaining the worker and his family). Having bought enough labor power, the owner of money is entitled to use it, that is, to set it to work for a whole day—12 hours, let us say. Yet, in the course of six hours (“necessary” labor time) the worker creates product sufficient to cover the cost of his own maintenance; in the course of the next six hours (“surplus” labor time), he creates “surplus” product, or surplus value, for which the capitalist does not pay. Therefore, from the standpoint of the process of production, two parts must be distinguished in capital: constant capital, which is expended on means of production (machinery, tools, raw materials, etc.), whose value, without any change, is transferred (immediately or part by part) to the finished product; secondly, variable capital, which is expended on labor power. The value of this latter capital is not invariable, but grows in the labor process, creating surplus value. Therefore, to express the degree of capital’s exploitation of labor power, surplus must be compared not with the entire capital but only with variable capital. Thus, in the example just given, the rate of surplus value, as Marx calls this ratio, will be 6:6, i.e., 100 per cent.

There were two historical prerequisites for capital to arise: first, the accumulation of certain sums of money in the hands of individuals

under conditions of a relatively high level of development of community production in general; secondly, the existence of a worker who is “free” in a double sense: free of all constraint or restriction on the scale of his labor power, and free from the land and all means of production in general, a free and unattached laborer, a “proletarian”, who cannot subsist except by selling his labor power.

There are two main ways of increasing surplus value: lengthening the working day (“absolute surplus value”), and reducing the necessary working day (“relative surplus value”). In analyzing the former, Marx gives a most impressive picture of the struggle of the working class for a shorter working day and of interference by the state authority to lengthen the working day (from the 14th century to the 17th) and to reduce it (factory legislation in the 19th century). Since the appearance of *Capital*, the history of the working class movement in all civilized countries of the world has provided a wealth of new facts amplifying this picture.

Analyzing the production of relative surplus value, Marx investigates the three fundamental historical stage in capitalism’s increase of the productivity of labor: (1) simple co-operation; (2) the division of labor, and manufacture; (3) machinery and large-scale industry. How profoundly Marx has here revealed the basic and typical features of capitalist development is shown incidentally by the fact that investigations into the handicraft industries in Russia furnish abundant material illustrating the first two of the mentioned stages. The revolutionizing effect of large-scale machine industry, as described by Marx in 1867, has revealed itself in a number of “new” countries (Russia, Japan, etc.), in the course of the half-century that has since elapsed.

To continue. New and important in the highest degree is Marx’s analysis of the *accumulation of capital*—i.e., the transformation of a part of surplus value into capital, and its use, not for satisfying the personal needs or whims of the capitalist, but for new production. Marx revealed the error made by all earlier classical political economists (beginning with Adam Smith), who assumed that the entire surplus value which is transformed into capital goes to form variable capital. In actual fact, it is divided into *means of production* and variable capital.

Of tremendous importance to the process of development of capitalism and its transformation into socialism is the more rapid growth of the constant capital share (of the total capital) as compared with the variable capital share.

By speeding up the supplanting of workers by machinery and by creating wealth at one extreme and poverty at the other, the accumulation of capital also gives rise to what is called the “reserve army of labor”, to the “relative surplus” of workers, or “capitalist overpopulation”, which assumes the most diverse forms and enables capital to expand production extremely rapidly. In conjunction with credit facilities and the accumulation of capital in the form of means of production, this incidentally is the key to an understanding of the *crises* of overproduction which occur periodically in capitalist countries—at first at an average of every 10 years, and later at more lengthy and less definite intervals. From the accumulation of capital under capitalism we should distinguish what is known as primitive accumulation: the forcible divorcement of the worker from the means of production, the driving of the peasant off the land, the stealing of communal lands, the system of colonies and national debts, protective tariffs, and the like. “Primitive accumulation” creates the “free” proletariat at one extreme, and the owner of money, the capitalist, at the other.

The “historical tendency of capitalist accumulation” is described by Marx in the following celebrated words:

“The expropriation of the immediate producers is accomplished with merciless vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious. Self-earned private property [of the peasant and handicraftsman], that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent laboring-individual with the conditions of his labor, is supplanted by capitalistic private property, which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labor of others.... That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the laborer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many laborers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralization of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop,

on an ever extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialized labor, the entanglement of all people in the net of the world market, and with this the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under, it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. The integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." (*Capital*, Volume I)

Also new and important in the highest degree is the analysis Marx gives, in Volume Two of *Capital* of the reproduction of aggregate social capital. Here, too, Marx deals, not with an individual phenomenon but with a mass phenomenon; not with a fractional part of the economy of society, but with that economy as a whole. Correcting the aforementioned error of the classical economists, Marx divides the whole of social production into two big sections: (I) production of the means of production, and (II) production of articles of consumption, and examines in detail, with numerical examples, the circulation of the aggregate social capital—both when reproduced in its former dimension and in the case of accumulation. Volume Three of *Capital* solves the problem of how the *average rate of profit* is formed on the basis of the law of value. This immense stride forward made by economic science in the person of Marx consists in his having conducted an analysis, from the standpoint of mass economic phenomena, of the social economy as a whole, not from the standpoint of individual cases

or of the external and superficial aspects of competition, to which vulgar political economy and the modern “theory of marginal utility”^[1] frequently restrict themselves. Marx first analyzes the origin of surplus value, and then goes on to consider its division into profit, interest, and ground rent. Profit is the ratio between surplus value and the total capital invested in an undertaking. Capital with a “high organic composition” (i.e., with a preponderance of constant capital over variable capital in excess of the social average) yields a rate of profit below the average; capital with a “low organic composition” yields a rate of profit above the average. Competition among capitalists, and their freedom to transfer their capital from one branch to another, will in both cases reduce the rate of profit to the average. The sum total of the values of all the commodities in a given society coincides with the sum total of the prices of the commodities, but, in individual undertakings and branches of production, as a result of competition, commodities are sold not at their values at the *prices of production* (or production prices), which are equal to the capital expended plus the average profit.

In this way, the well-known and indisputable fact of the divergence between prices and values and of the equalization of profits is fully explained by Marx on the basis of law of value, since the sum total of values of all commodities coincides with the sum total of prices. However, the equating of (social) value to (individual) prices does not take place simply and directly, but in a very complex way. It is quite natural that in a society of separate producers of commodities, who are united only by the market, a conformity to law can be only an average, social, mass manifestation, with individual deviations in either direction mutually compensating one another.

A rise in the productivity of labor implies a more rapid growth of constant capital as compared with variable capital. Inasmuch as surplus value is a function of variable capital alone, it is obvious that the rate of profit (the ratio of surplus value to the whole capital, not to its variable part alone) tends to fall. Marx makes a detailed analysis of this tendency and of a number of circumstances that conceal or counteract it. Without pausing to deal with the extremely interesting sections of Volume Three of *Capital*, Vol. I devoted to usurer’s capital, commercial capital

and money capital, we must pass on to the most important section—the theory of *ground rent*. Since the area of land is limited and, in capitalist countries, the land is all held by individual private owners, the price of production of agricultural products is determined by the cost of production, not on soil of average quality but on the worst soil; not under average conditions but under the worst conditions of delivery of produce to the market. The difference between this price and the price of production on better soil (or in better conditions) constitutes *differential* rent. Analyzing this in detail, and showing how it arises out of the difference in fertility of different plots of land, and out of the difference in the amount of capital invested in land, Marx fully reveals (see also *Theories of Surplus Value*, in which the criticism of Rodbertus is most noteworthy) the error of Ricardo, who considered that differential rent is derived only when there is a successive transition from better land to worse. On the contrary, there may be inverse transitions, land may pass from one category into others (owing to advances in agricultural techniques, the growth of towns, and so on), and the notorious “law of diminishing returns”, which charges Nature with the defects, limitations and contradictions of capitalism, is profoundly erroneous. Further, the equalisation of profit in all branches of industry and the national economy in general presupposes complete freedom of competition and the free flow of capital from one branch to another. However, the private ownership of land creates monopoly, which hinders that free flow. Because of that monopoly, the products of agriculture, where a lower organic composition of capital obtains, and consequently an individually higher rate of profit, do not enter into the quite free process of the equalisation of the rate of profit. As a monopolist, the landowner can keep the price above the average, and this monopoly price gives rise to absolute rent. Differential rent cannot be done away with under capitalism, but absolute rent can—for instance, by the nationalisation of the land, by making it state property. That would undermine the monopoly of private landowners, and would mean the sole consistent and full operation of freedom of competition in agriculture. That is why, as Marx points out, bourgeois radicals have again and again in the course of history advanced this progressive bourgeois demand for nationalisation of the land, a demand which, however, frightens most of the bourgeoisie, because

it would too closely affect another monopoly, one that is particularly important and “sensitive” today—the monopoly of the means of production in general. (A remarkably popular, concise, and clear exposition of his theory of the average rate of profit on capital and of absolute ground rent is given by Marx himself in a letter to Engels, dated August 2, 1862. See Briefwechsel, Volume 3, pp. 77-81; also the letter of August 9, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 86-87.)

With reference to the history of ground rent it is also important to note Marx’s analysis showing how labor rent (the peasant creates surplus product by working on the lord’s land) is transformed into rent paid in produce or in kind (the peasant creates surplus product by working on the lord’s land) is transformed into rent paid in produce or in kind (the peasant creates surplus product on his own land and hands it over to the landlord because of “non-economic constraint”), then into money-rent (rent in kind, which is converted into money—the *obrok*^[21] of old Russia—as a result of the development of commodity production), and finally into capitalist rent, when the peasant is replaced by the agricultural *entrepreneur*, who cultivates the soil with the help of hired labor. In connection with this analysis of the “genesis of capitalistic ground rent”, note should be taken of a number of profound ideas (of particular importance to backward countries like Russia) expressed by Marx regarding the *evolution of capitalism in agriculture*:

“The transformation of rent in kind into money-rent is furthermore not only inevitably accompanied, but even anticipated, by the formation of a class of propertyless day-laborers, who hire themselves out for money. During their genesis, when this new class appears but sporadically, the custom necessarily develops among the more prosperous peasants, subject to rent payments, of exploiting agricultural wage-laborers for their own account, much as in feudal times, when the more well-to-do peasant serfs themselves also held serfs. In this way, they gradually acquire the possibility of accumulating a certain amount of wealth and themselves becoming transformed into future capitalists. The old self-employed possessors of land themselves just give rise to a nursery school for capitalist tenants, whose development is conditioned by the general development of

capitalist production beyond the bounds of the countryside.” [*Capital*, Vol. III]

“The expropriation and eviction of a part of the agricultural population not only set free for industrial capital the laborers, their means of subsistence, and material for labor; it also created the home market.” (*Capital*, Vol. I) In their turn, the impoverishment and ruin of the rural population play a part in the creation, for capital, of a reserve army of labor. In every capitalist country “part of the agricultural population is therefore constantly on the point of passing over into an urban or manufacturing [i.e., non-agricultural] proletariat.... This source of relative surplus population is thus constantly flowing.... The agricultural laborer is therefore reduced to the minimum of wages, and always stands with one foot already in the swamp of pauperism.” (*Capital*, Vol. I) The peasant’s private ownership of the land he tills is the foundation of small-scale production and the condition for its prospering and achieving the classical form. But such small-scale production is compatible only with a narrow and primitive framework of production and society. Under capitalism, the

“exploitation of the peasant differs only in form from the exploitation of the industrial proletariat. The exploiter is the same: capital. The individual capitalists exploit the individual peasant through mortgages and usury; the capitalist class exploits the peasant class through the state taxes.” [*The Class Struggles in France*]

“The small holding of the peasant is now only the pretext that allows the capitalist to draw profits, interest and rent from the soil, while leaving it to the tiller of the soil himself to see how he can extract his wages.” (*The Eighteenth Brumaire*) As a rule, the peasant cedes to capitalist society—i.e., to the capitalist class—even a part of the wages, sinking “to the level of the Irish tenant farmer—all under the pretense of being a private proprietor.” (*The Class Struggles In France*)

What is “one of the reasons why grain prices are lower in countries with predominant small-peasant land proprietorship than in countries with a capitalist mode of production?” [*Capital*, Vol. III] It is that the peasant hands over gratis to society (i.e., the capitalist class) a part of his surplus product. “This lower price [of grain and other agricultural produce] is consequently a result of the producers’ poverty and by no means of their labor productivity.” [*Capital*, Vol. III] Under capitalism,

the small-holding system, which is the normal form of small-scale production, degenerates, collapses, and perishes.

“Proprietorship of land parcels, by its very nature, excludes the development of social productive forces of labor, social forms of labor, social concentration of capital, large-scale cattle raising, and the progressive application of science. Usury and a taxation system must impoverish it everywhere. The expenditure of capital in the price of the land withdraws this capital from cultivation. An infinite fragmentation of means of production and isolation of the producers themselves.”

(Co-operative societies, i.e., associations of small peasants, while playing an extremely progressive bourgeois role, only weakens this tendency, without eliminating it; nor must it be forgotten that these co-operative societies do much for the well-to-do peasants, and very little—next to nothing—for the mass of poor peasants; then the associations themselves become exploiters of hired labor.)

“Monstrous waste of human energy. Progressive deterioration of conditions of production and increased prices of means of production—an inevitable law of proprietorship of parcels.” [*Capital*, Volume III] In agriculture, as in industry, capitalism transforms the process of production only at the price of the “martyrdom of the producer.”

“The dispersion of the rural laborers over larger areas breaks their power of resistance, while concentration increases that of the town operatives. In modern agriculture, as in the urban industries, the increased productiveness and quantity of the labor set in motion are bought at the cost of laying waste and consuming by disease labor power itself. Moreover, all progress in capitalistic agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the laborer, but of robbing the soil.... Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the laborer.” [*Capital*, Volume III]

Notes

^[1] *The Theory of Marginal Utility*—An economic theory that originated in the 1870s to counteract Marx’s theory of value. According to this theory, the value of commodities are estimated by their

usefulness and not the amount of social labor expended on their production.—*Ed.*

^[2] Quit-rent.—*Ed.*

Socialism

From the foregoing, it is evident that Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society and wholly and exclusively from the economic law of the development of contemporary society. The socialization of labor, which is advancing ever more rapidly in thousands of forms and has manifested itself very strikingly, during the half-century since the death of Marx, in the growth of large-scale production, capitalist cartels, syndicates and trusts, as well as in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and power of finance capital, provides the principal material foundation for the inevitable advent of socialism. The intellectual and moral motive force and the physical executor of this transformation is the proletariat, which has been trained by capitalism itself. The proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie, which finds expression in a variety of forms ever richer in content, inevitably becomes a political struggle directed towards the conquest of political power by the proletariat ("the dictatorship of the proletariat"). The socialization of production cannot but lead to the means of production becoming the property of society, to the "expropriation of the expropriators." A tremendous rise in labor productivity, a shorter working day, and the replacement of the remnants, the ruins, of small-scale, primitive and disunited production by collective and improved labor—such are the direct consequences of this transformation. Capitalism breaks for all time the ties between agriculture and industry, but at the same time, through its highest developed, it prepares new elements of those ties, a union between industry and agriculture based on the conscious application of science and the concentration of collective labor, and on a redistribution of the human population (thus putting an end both to rural backwardness, isolation and barbarism, and to the unnatural concentration of vast masses of people in big cities). A new form of family, new conditions in the status of women and in the upbringing of the younger generation are prepared by the highest forms of present-day capitalism: the labor of women and children and the break-up of the patriarchal family by

capitalism inevitably assume the most terrible, disastrous, and repulsive forms in modern society. Nevertheless,

“modern industry, by assigning as it does, an important part in the socially organized process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek, or the Eastern forms which, moreover, taken together form a series in historic development. Moreover, it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages, must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of human development; although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalistic form, where the laborer exists for the process of production, and not the process of production for the laborer, that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery.” (*Capital*, Vol. I, end of Chapter 13)

The factory system contains

“the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the ease of every child over a given age, combine productive labor with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of social production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings.” [*ibid.*]

Marx’s socialism places the problems of nationality and of the state on the same historical footing, not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a bold forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement. Nations are an inevitable product, an inevitable form, in the bourgeois epoch of social development. The working class could not grow strong, become mature and take shape without “constituting itself within the nation,” without being “national” (“though not in the bourgeois sense of the word”). The development of capitalism, however, breaks down national barriers more and more, does away with national seclusion, and substitutes class antagonisms for national antagonism. It is, therefore, perfectly true of the developed capitalist countries that “the workingmen have no country” and that

“united action” by the workers, of the civilized countries at least, “is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat” [*Communist Manifesto*]. That state, which is organized coercion, inevitably came into being at a definite stage in the development of society, when the latter had split into irreconcilable classes, and could not exist without an “authority” ostensibly standing above society, and to a certain degree separate from society. Arising out of class contradictions, the state becomes “...the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. Thus, the state of antiquity was above all the state of the slave-owners for the purpose of holding down the slaves, as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen, and the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labor by capital.” (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, a work in which the writer expounds his own views and Marx’s.) Even the democratic republic, the freest and most progressive form of the bourgeois state, does not eliminate this fact in any way, but merely modifies its form (the links between government and the stock exchange, the corruption—direct and indirect—of officialdom and the press, etc.). By leading to the abolition of classes, socialism will thereby lead to the abolition of the state as well. “The first act,” Engels writes in *Anti-Dühring* “by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of society as a whole—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state. The state interference in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and by the direction of the processes of production. The state is not ‘abolished,’ it withers away” [*Anti-Dühring*].

“The society that will organize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities, by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe.” [Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*].

Finally, as regards the attitude of Marx's socialism towards the small peasantry, which will continue to exist in the period of the expropriation of the expropriators, we must refer to a declaration made by Engels, which expresses Marx's views:

"...when we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (regardless of whether with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in the case of the big landowners. Our task relative to the small peasant consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to co-operative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose. And then of course we shall have ample means of showing to the small peasant prospective advantages that must be obvious to him even today." [Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*,^[1] published by Alexeyeva; there are errors in the Russian translation. Original in *Die Neue Zeit*].

Notes

^[1] See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Moscow, 1958, Vol. II, p. 433.

Tactics of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat

After examining, as early as 1844-45, one of the main shortcomings in the earlier materialism—namely, its inability to understand the conditions or appreciate the importance of practical revolutionary activity—Marx, along with his theoretical work, devoted unremitting attention, throughout his lifetime, to the tactical problems of the proletariat's class struggle. An immense amount of material bearing on this is contained in *all* the works of Marx, particularly in the four volumes of his correspondence with Engels, published in 1913. This material is still far from having been brought together, collected, examined and studied. We shall therefore have to confine ourselves here to the most general and brief remarks, emphasizing that Marx justly considered that, without *this* aspect, materialism is incomplete, one sided, and lifeless. The fundamental task of proletarian tactics was defined by Marx in strict conformity with all the postulates of his materialist-dialectical *Weltanschauung* ["world-view"]. Only an objective consideration of the sum total of the relations between absolutely all the classes in a given society, and consequently a

consideration of the objective stage of development reached by that society and of the relations between it and other societies, can serve as a basis for the correct tactics of an advanced class. At the same time, all classes and all countries are regarded, not statistically, but dynamically —i.e., not in a state of immobility—but in motion (whose laws are determined by the economic conditions of existence of each class). Motion, in its turn, is regarded from the standpoint, not only of the past, but also of the future, and that not in the vulgar sense it is understood in by the “evolutionists”, who see only slow changes, but dialectically: “...in developments of such magnitude 20 years are no more than a day,” Marx wrote to Engels, “thought later on there may come days in which 20 years are embodied” (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 3, p. 127).

At each stage of development, at each moment, proletarian tactics must take account of this objectively inevitable dialectics of human history, on the one hand, utilizing the periods of political stagnation or of sluggish, so-called “peaceful” development in order to develop the class-consciousness, strength and militancy of the advanced class, and, on the other hand, directing all the work of this utilization towards the “ultimate aim” of that class’s advance, towards creating in it the ability to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days, in which “20 years are embodied”. Two of Marx’s arguments are of special importance in this connection: one of these is contained in *The Poverty of Philosophy*, and concerns the economic struggle and economic organizations of the proletariat; the other is contained in the *Communist Manifesto* and concerns the asks of the proletariat. The former runs as follows:

“Large-scale industry concentrates in one place a crowd of people unknown to one another. Competition divides their interests. But the maintenance of wages, this common interest which they have against their boss, unites them in a common thought of resistance—combination.... Combinations, at first isolated, constitute themselves into groups ... and in face of always united capital, the maintenance of the association becomes more necessary to them [i.e., the workers] than that of wages.... In this struggle—a veritable civil war—all the elements necessary for coming battle unite and develop. Once it has reached this point, association takes on a political character. (Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, 1847)

Here we have the programme and tactics of the economic struggle and of the trade union movement for several decades to come, for all the lengthy period in which the proletariat will prepare its forces for the “coming battle.” All this should be compared with numerous references by Marx and Engels to the example of the British labor movement, showing how industrial “property” leads to attempts “to buy the proletariat” (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 1, p. 136) to divert them from the struggle; how this prosperity in general “demoralizes the workers” (Vol. 2, p. 218); how the British proletariat becomes “bourgeoisified”—“this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie” Chartists (1866; Vol. 3, p. 305); how the British workers’ leaders are becoming a type midway between “a radical bourgeois and a worker” (in reference to Holyoak, Vol. 4, p. 209); how, owing to Britain’s monopoly, and as long as that monopoly lasts, “the British workingman will not budge” (Vol. 4, p. 433). The tactics of the economic struggle, in connection with the general course (*and outcome*) of the working-class movement, are considered here from a remarkably broad, comprehensive, dialectical, and genuinely revolutionary standpoint.

The *Communist Manifesto* advanced a fundamental Marxist principle on the tactics of the political struggle:

“The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.” That was why, in 1848, Marx supported the party of the “agrarian revolution” in Poland, “that party which brought about the Krakow insurrection in 1846.”^[1]

In Germany, Marx, in 1848 and 1849, supported the extreme revolutionary democrats, and subsequently never retracted what he had then said about tactics. He regarded the German bourgeoisie as an element which was “inclined from the very beginning to betray the people” (only an alliance with the peasantry could have enabled the bourgeoisie to completely achieve its aims) “and compromise with the crowned representatives of the old society.” Here is Marx’s summing-up of the German bourgeois-democratic revolution—an analysis which, incidentally, is a sample of a materialism that examines

society in motion, and, moreover, not only from the aspect of a motion that is *backward*:

“Without faith in itself, without faith in the people, grumbling at those above, trembling before those below ... intimidated by the world storm ... no energy in any respect, plagiarism in every respect ... without initiative ... an execrable old man who saw himself doomed to guide and deflect the first youthful impulses of a robust people in his own senile interests....” (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 1848; see *Literarischer Nachlass*, Vol. 3, p. 212.)

About 20 years later, Marx declared, in a letter to Engels (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 3, p.224), that the Revolution of 1848 had failed because the bourgeoisie had preferred peace with slavery to the mere prospect of a fight for freedom. When the revolutionary period of 1848-49 ended, Marx opposed any attempt to play at revolution (his struggle against Schapper and Willich), and insisted on the ability to work in a new phase, which in a quasi-“peaceful” way was preparing new revolutions. The spirit in which Marx wanted this work to be conducted is to be seen in his appraisal of the situation in Germany in 1856, the darkest period of reaction: “The whole thing in Germany will depend on the possibility of backing the proletarian revolution by some second edition of the Peasant War” (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 2, p. 108). While the democratic (bourgeois) revolution in Germany was uncompleted, Marx focused every attention, in the tactics of the socialist proletariat, on developing the democratic energy of the peasantry. He held that Lassalle’s attitude was “objectively... a betrayal of the whole workers’ movement to Prussia” (Vol. 3, p.210), incidentally because Lassalle was tolerant of the Junkers and Prussian nationalism.

“In a predominantly agricultural country,” Engels wrote in 1865, in exchanging views with Marx on their forthcoming joint declaration in the press, “...it is dastardly to make an exclusive attack on the bourgeoisie in the name of the industrial proletariat but never to devote a word to the patriarchal exploitation of the rural proletariat under the lash of the great feudal aristocracy” (Vol. 3, p. 217).

From 1864 to 1870, when the period of the consummation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany was coming to an end, a period in which the Prussian and Austrian exploiting classes were struggling to complete that revolution in one way or another *from*

above, Marx not only rebuked Lassalle, who was coquetting with Bismarck, but also corrected Liebknecht, who had “lapsed into Austrophilism” and a defense of particularism; Marx demanded revolutionary tactics which would combat with equal ruthlessness both Bismarck and the Austrophiles, tactics which would not be adapted to the “victor”—the Prussian Junkers—but would immediately renew the revolutionary struggle against him *despite the conditions* created by the Prussian military victories (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 3, pp. 134, 136, 147, 179, 204, 210, 215, 418, 437, 440-41).

In the celebrated Address of the International of September 9 1870, Marx warned the French proletariat against an untimely uprising, but when an uprising nevertheless took place (1871), Marx enthusiastically hailed the revolutionary initiative of the masses, who were “storming heaven” (Marx’s letter to Kugelmann).

From the standpoint of Marx’s dialectical materialism, the defeat of revolutionary action in that situation, as in many other, was a lesser evil, in the general course *and outcome* of the proletarian struggle, than the abandonment of a position already occupied, than surrender without battle. Such a surrender would have demoralised the proletariat and weakened its militancy. While fully appreciating the use of legal means of struggle during periods of political stagnation and the domination of bourgeois legality, Marx, in 1877 and 1878, following the passage of the Anti-Socialist Law, sharply condemned Most’s “revolutionary phrases”; no less sharply, if not more so, did he attack the opportunism that had for a time come over the official Social-Democratic Party, which did not at once display resoluteness, firmness, revolutionary spirit and the readiness to resort to an illegal struggle in response to the Anti-Socialist Law (*Briefwechsel*, Vol. 4, pp. 397, 404, 418, 422, 424; cf. also letters to Sorge).

Notes

^[1] The reference is to the democratic uprising for national liberation in the Krakow Republic which in 1815 was placed under the joint control of Austria, Prussia and Russia. The rebels set up a National Government which issued a manifesto proclaiming abolition of feudal services and promising to give the peasants lands without redemption. In its other proclamations it announced the establishment of national workshops with higher wages and the introduction of equal rights for all citizens. Soon, however, the uprising was suppressed.—*Ed.*

Speech of Frederick Engels at the grave side of Karl Marx Highgate Cemetery, London March 17, 1883

On the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in his armchair, peacefully gone to sleep - but forever.

An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the departure of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of development or organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means, and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch, form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production, and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated — and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially — in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general. For example, he followed closely the development of the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

Marx was above all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the *Paris Vorwärts* (1844), the *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung* (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848-49), the *New York Tribune* (1852-61), and, in addition to these, a host of militant pamphlets, work in organisations in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the great International Working Men's Association — this was indeed an achievement of which its founder might well have been proud even if he had done nothing else.

And, consequently, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were a cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers — from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America — and I make bold to say that, though he may have had many opponents, he had hardly one personal enemy.

His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work.

Frederick Engels

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

**What a torch of reason ceased to burn,
What a heart has ceased to beat!**

On August
1 8 9 5 ,
Engels died in
After his
Marx (who
Engels was the
and teacher of
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c i v i l i s e d
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Karl Marx and
E n g e l s
two friends
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5 (new style),
Frederick
L o n d o n .
friend Karl
died in 1883),
finest scholar
the modern
the whole
world. From
fate brought
Frederick
together, the
d e v o t e d
work to a

common cause. And so to understand what Frederick Engels has done for the proletariat, one must have a clear idea of the significance of Marx's teaching and work for the development of the contemporary working-class movement. Marx and Engels were the first to show that the working class and its demands are a necessary outcome of the present economic system, which together with the bourgeoisie inevitably creates and organises the proletariat. They showed that it is not the well-meaning efforts of noble-minded individuals, but the class struggle of the organised proletariat that will deliver humanity from the evils which now oppress it. In their scientific works, Marx and Engels were the first to explain that socialism is not the invention of dreamers, but the final aim and necessary result of the development of the productive forces in modern society. All recorded history hitherto has been a history of class struggle, of the succession of the rule and victory of certain social classes over others. And this will continue until the foundations of class struggle and of class domination – private

property and anarchic social production – disappear. The interests of the proletariat demand the destruction of these foundations, and therefore the conscious class struggle of the organised workers must be directed against them. And every class struggle is a political struggle.

These views of Marx and Engels have now been adopted by all proletarians who are fighting for their emancipation. But when in the forties the two friends took part in the socialist literature and the social movements of their time, they were absolutely novel. There were then many people, talented and without talent, honest and dishonest, who, absorbed in the struggle for political freedom, in the struggle against the despotism of kings, police and priests, failed to observe the antagonism between the interests of the bourgeoisie and those of the proletariat. These people would not entertain the idea of the workers acting as an independent social force. On the other hand, there were many dreamers, some of them geniuses, who thought that it was only necessary to convince the rulers and the governing classes of the injustice of the contemporary social order, and it would then be easy to establish peace and general well-being on earth. They dreamt of a socialism without struggle. Lastly, nearly all the socialists of that time and the friends of the working class generally regarded the proletariat only as an *ulcer*, and observed with horror how it grew with the growth of industry. They all, therefore, sought for a means to stop the development of industry and of the proletariat, to stop the “wheel of history.” Marx and Engels did not share the general fear of the development of the proletariat; on the contrary, they placed all their hopes on its continued growth. The more proletarians there are, the greater is their strength as a revolutionary class, and the nearer and more possible does socialism become. The services rendered by Marx and Engels to the working class may be expressed in a few words thus: they taught the working class to know itself and be conscious of itself, and they substituted science for dreams.

That is why the name and life of Engels should be known to every worker. That is why in this collection of articles, the aim of which, as of all our publications, is to awaken class-consciousness in the Russian workers, we must give a sketch of the life and work of Frederick Engels, one of the two great teachers of the modern proletariat.

Engels was born in 1820 in Barmen, in the Rhine Province of the kingdom of Prussia. His father was a manufacturer. In 1838 Engels, without having completed his high-school studies, was forced by family circumstances to enter a commercial house in Bremen as a clerk. Commercial affairs did not prevent Engels from pursuing his scientific and political education. He had come to hate autocracy and the tyranny of bureaucrats while still at high school. The study of philosophy led him further. At that time Hegel's teaching dominated German philosophy, and Engels became his follower. Although Hegel himself was an admirer of the autocratic Prussian state, in whose service he was as a professor at Berlin University, Hegel's *teachings* were revolutionary. Hegel's faith in human reason and its rights, and the fundamental thesis of Hegelian philosophy that the universe is undergoing a constant process of change and development, led some of the disciples of the Berlin philosopher – those who refused to accept the existing situation – to the idea that the struggle against this situation, the struggle against existing wrong and prevalent evil, is also rooted in the universal law of eternal development. If all things develop, if institutions of one kind give place to others, why should the autocracy of the Prussian king or of the Russian tsar, the enrichment of an insignificant minority at the expense of the vast majority, or the domination of the bourgeoisie over the people, continue forever? Hegel's philosophy spoke of the development of the mind and of ideas; it was *idealistic*. From the development of the mind it deduced the development of nature, of man, and of human, social relations. While retaining Hegel's idea of the eternal process of development¹, Marx and Engels rejected the preconceived idealist view; turning to life, they saw that it is not the development of mind that explains the development of nature but that, on the contrary, the explanation of mind must be derived from nature, from matter... Unlike Hegel and the other Hegelians, Marx and Engels were materialists. Regarding the world and humanity materialistically, they perceived that just as material causes underlie all natural phenomena, so the development of human society is conditioned by the development of material forces, the productive forces. On the development of the productive forces depend the relations into which men enter with one another in the production of the things required for the satisfaction of human needs. And in these relations lies the explanation of all the phenomena of

social life, human aspirations, ideas and laws. The development of the productive forces creates social relations based upon private property, but now we see that this same development of the productive forces deprives the majority of their property and concentrates it in the hands of an insignificant minority. It abolishes property, the basis of the modern social order, it itself strives towards the very aim which the socialists have set themselves. All the socialists have to do is to realise which social force, owing to its position in modern society, is interested in bringing socialism about, and to impart to this force the consciousness of its interests and of its historical task. This force is the proletariat. Engels got to know the proletariat in England, in the centre of English industry, Manchester, where he settled in 1842, entering the service of a commercial firm of which his father was a shareholder. Here Engels not only sat in the factory office but wandered about the slums in which the workers were cooped up, and saw their poverty and misery with his own eyes. But he did not confine himself to personal observations. He read all that had been revealed before him about the condition of the British working class and carefully studied all the official documents he could lay his hands on. The fruit of these studies and observations was the book which appeared in 1845: *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. We have already mentioned what was the chief service rendered by Engels in writing *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Even before Engels, many people had described the sufferings of the proletariat and had pointed to the necessity of helping it. Engels was the *first* to say that the proletariat is *not only* a suffering class; that it is, in fact, the disgraceful economic condition of the proletariat that drives it irresistibly forward and compels it to fight for its ultimate emancipation. And the fighting proletariat *will help itself*. The political movement of the working class will inevitably lead the workers to realise that their only salvation lies in socialism. On the other hand, socialism will become a force only when it becomes the aim of the *political struggle* of the working class. Such are the main ideas of Engels' book on the condition of the working class in England, ideas which have now been adopted by all thinking and fighting proletarians, but which at that time were entirely new. These ideas were set out in a book written in absorbing style and filled with most authentic and shocking pictures of the misery of the English

proletariat. The book was a terrible indictment of capitalism and the bourgeoisie and created a profound impression. Engels' book began to be quoted everywhere as presenting the best picture of the condition of the modern proletariat. And, in fact, neither before 1845 nor after has there appeared so striking and truthful a picture of the misery of the working class.

It was not until he came to England that Engels became a socialist. In Manchester he established contacts with people active in the English labour movement at the time and began to write for English socialist publications. In 1844, while on his way back to Germany, he became acquainted in Paris with Marx, with whom he had already started to correspond. In Paris, under the influence of the French socialists and French life, Marx had also become a socialist. Here the friends jointly wrote a book entitled *The Holy Family, or Critique of Critical Critique*. This book, which appeared a year before *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, and the greater part of which was written by Marx, contains the foundations of revolutionary materialist socialism, the main ideas of which we have expounded above. "The holy family" is a facetious nickname for the Bauer brothers, the philosophers, and their followers. These gentlemen preached a criticism which stood above all reality, above parties and politics, which rejected all practical activity, and which only "critically" contemplated the surrounding world and the events going on within it. These gentlemen, the Bauers, looked down on the proletariat as an uncritical mass. Marx and Engels vigorously opposed this absurd and harmful tendency. In the name of a real, human person – the worker, trampled down by the ruling classes and the state – they demanded, not contemplation, but a struggle for a better order of society. They, of course, regarded the proletariat as the force that is capable of waging this struggle and that is interested in it. Even before the appearance of *The Holy Family*, Engels had published in Marx's and Ruge's *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* his "Critical Essays on Political Economy," in which he examined the principal phenomena of the contemporary economic order from a socialist standpoint, regarding them as necessary consequences of the rule of private property. Contact with Engels was undoubtedly a factor in Marx's decision to study political economy, the science in which his works have produced a veritable revolution.

From 1845 to 1847 Engels lived in Brussels and Paris, combining scientific work with practical activities among the German workers in Brussels and Paris. Here Marx and Engels established contact with the secret German Communist League, which commissioned them to expound the main principles of the socialism they had worked out. Thus arose the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party* of Marx and Engels, published in 1848. This little booklet is worth whole volumes: to this day its spirit inspires and guides the entire organised and fighting proletariat of the civilised world.

The revolution of 1848, which broke out first in France and then spread to other West-European countries, brought Marx and Engels back to their native country. Here, in Rhenish Prussia, they took charge of the democratic *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* published in Cologne. The two friends were the heart and soul of all revolutionary-democratic aspirations in Rhenish Prussia. They fought to the last ditch in defence of freedom and of the interests of the people against the forces of reaction. The latter, as we know, gained the upper hand. The *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed. Marx, who during his exile had lost his Prussian citizenship, was deported; Engels took part in the armed popular uprising, fought for liberty in three battles, and after the defeat of the rebels fled, via Switzerland, to London.

Marx also settled in London. Engels soon became a clerk again, and then a shareholder, in the Manchester commercial firm in which he had worked in the forties. Until 1870 he lived in Manchester, while Marx lived in London, but this did not prevent their maintaining a most lively interchange of ideas: they corresponded almost daily. In this correspondence the two friends exchanged views and discoveries and continued to collaborate in working out scientific socialism. In 1870 Engels moved to London, and their joint intellectual life, of the most strenuous nature, continued until 1883, when Marx died. Its fruit was, on Marx's side, *Capital*, the greatest work on political economy of our age, and on Engels' side, a number of works both large and small. Marx worked on the analysis of the complex phenomena of capitalist economy. Engels, in simply written works, often of a polemical character, dealt with more general scientific problems and with diverse phenomena of the past and present in the spirit of the materialist conception of history and Marx's economic theory. Of Engels' works

we shall mention: the polemical work against Duhring (analysing highly important problems in the domain of philosophy, natural science and the social sciences)², *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (translated into Russian, published in St. Petersburg, 1895), *Ludwig Feuerbach* (Russian translation and notes by G. Plekhanov, Geneva, 1892), an article on the foreign policy of the Russian Government (translated into Russian in the Geneva *Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 1 and 2), splendid articles on the housing question, and finally, two small but very valuable articles on Russia's economic development (*Frederick Engels on Russia*, translated into Russian by Zasulich, Geneva, 1894). Marx died before he could put the final touches to his vast work on capital. The draft, however, was already finished, and after the death of his friend, Engels undertook the onerous task of preparing and publishing the second and the third volumes of *Capital*. He published Volume II in 1885 and Volume III in 1894 (his death prevented the preparation of Volume IV). These two volumes entailed a vast amount of labour. Adler, the Austrian Social-Democrat, has rightly remarked that by publishing volumes II and III of *Capital* Engels erected a majestic monument to the genius who had been his friend, a monument on which, without intending it, he indelibly carved his own name. Indeed these two volumes of *Capital* are the work of two men: Marx and Engels. Old legends contain various moving instances of friendship. The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship. Engels always – and, on the whole, quite justly – placed himself after Marx. “In Marx’s lifetime,” he wrote to an old friend, “I played second fiddle.” His love for the living Marx, and his reverence for the memory of the dead Marx were boundless. This stern fighter and austere thinker possessed a deeply loving soul.

After the movement of 1848-49, Marx and Engels in exile did not confine themselves to scientific research. In 1864 Marx founded the International Working Men’s Association, and led this society for a whole decade. Engels also took an active part in its affairs. The work of the International Association, which, in accordance with Marx’s idea, united proletarians of all countries, was of tremendous significance in the development of the working-class movement. But even with the

closing down of the International Association in the seventies, the unifying role of Marx and Engels did not cease. On the contrary, it may be said that their importance as the spiritual leaders of the working-class movement grew continuously, because the movement itself grew uninterruptedly. After the death of Marx, Engels continued alone as the counsellor and leader of the European socialists. His advice and directions were sought for equally by the German socialists, whose strength, despite government persecution, grew rapidly and steadily, and by representatives of backward countries, such as the Spaniards, Rumanians and Russians, who were obliged to ponder and weigh their first steps. They all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of Engels in his old age.

Marx and Engels, who both knew Russian and read Russian books, took a lively interest in the country, followed the Russian revolutionary movement with sympathy and maintained contact with Russian revolutionaries. They both became socialists after being *democrats*, and the democratic feeling of *hatred* for political despotism was exceedingly strong in them. This direct political feeling, combined with a profound theoretical understanding of the connection between political despotism and economic oppression, and also their rich experience of life, made Marx and Engels uncommonly responsive *politically*. That is why the heroic struggle of the handful of Russian revolutionaries against the mighty tsarist government evoked a most sympathetic echo in the hearts of these tried revolutionaries. On the other hand, the tendency, for the sake of illusory economic advantages, to turn away from the most immediate and important task of the Russian socialists, namely, the winning of political freedom, naturally appeared suspicious to them and was even regarded by them as a direct betrayal of the great cause of the social revolution. "The emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself" – Marx and Engels constantly taught. But in order to fight for its economic emancipation, the proletariat must win itself certain *political* rights. Moreover, Marx and Engels clearly saw that a political revolution in Russia would be of tremendous significance to the West-European working-class movement as well. Autocratic Russia had always been a bulwark of European reaction in general. The extraordinarily favourable international position enjoyed by Russia as a result of the war of 1870,

which for a long time sowed discord between Germany and France, of course only enhanced the importance of autocratic Russia as a reactionary force. Only a free Russia, a Russia that had no need either to oppress the Poles, Finns, Germans, Armenians or any other small nations, or constantly to set France and Germany at loggerheads, would enable modern Europe, rid of the burden of war, to breathe freely, would weaken all the reactionary elements in Europe and strengthen the European working class. That was why Engels ardently desired the establishment of political freedom in Russia for the sake of the progress of the working-class movement in the West as well. In him the Russian revolutionaries have lost their best friend.

Let us always honour the memory of Frederick Engels, a great fighter and teacher of the proletariat!

Notes

1. Marx and Engels frequently pointed out that in their intellectual development they were much indebted to the great German philosophers, particularly to Hegel. "Without German philosophy," Engels says, "scientific socialism would never have come into being."
—*Lenin*

2. This is a wonderfully rich and instructive book. Unfortunately, only a small portion of it, containing a historical outline of the development of socialism, has been translated into Russian (*The Development of Scientific Socialism*, 2nd ea., Geneva, 1892). —*Lenin*

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement -

Communist Manifesto

**HOLD ALOFT THE RED FLAG OF THE
INVINCIBLE MARXISM!
MARCH FORWARD DARINGLY IN THE
REVOLUTIONARY PATH OF THE
INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!
CELEBRATE THE BI-CENTENARY OF MARX ON THE
5TH OF MAY 2018
ALL OVER THE COUNTRY WITH REVOLUTIONARY
ENTHUSIASM!**

CC, CPI (Maoist)

"The Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it." - Marx

The theoretician of the international proletarian revolution, the most respectable among the world proletariat and the toiling masses, a great leader and a great teacher Comrade Karl Marx was born in the city of Trier in Rhine province of Prussia (Germany) on the 5th of May, 1818. His bi-centenary birthday, May 5th is approaching. The Maoist parties-organisations, the enlightened workers and the masses of various oppressed classes, oppressed social sections all over the world shall celebrate his bi-centenary birthday on this day with great revolutionary enthusiasm. On this occasion the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) pays him grand homage with utmost devotion and concern. It pledges to continue persistent revolutionary class struggle and revolutionary organizational effort in all the social sectors until fulfilling the objective of establishing Communist society in the world in the guidance of the international proletarian theory-Marxism that he formulated for this objective. Our CC calls upon the Party, PLGA, Workers' Organisations, Mass Organisations, Revolutionary People's Committees and Sympathisers to take Marxism widely into the people in the rural and the urban areas in all corners of the country, generate interest in Socialism-Communism and utilize

it to enhance their understanding. On this occasion the Central Committee calls upon all of them to study Marxism, to develop a deep understanding towards Marxism, the International Communist Movement and the historic task of the proletariat with the aim of successfully accomplishing the ongoing New Democratic Revolution in India as part of the World Socialist Revolution and establishing a Communist society.

It would be 200 years by 5th May since Karl Marx the great teacher of international proletariat was born. It is 170 years since the beginning of the International proletarian movement with a class consciousness after Marx and Engels formulated the international revolutionary proletarian theory-Marxism. The heroic Paris Commune was established nearly 150 years ago. The great Russian October Socialist Revolution took place one hundred years ago and the great People's Democratic Revolution of China took place nearly 69 years back. The International Communist Movement instilled great confidence among the proletariat, the oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people in Socialism, its future and National liberation for the past 170 years; it incited them with the dare of denying death and shook the imperialists and all the reactionaries with revolutionary storms; it achieved great victories of Socialism and National democracy and brought a great turn in the history of humankind. Though the Russian and the Chinese Socialist societies existed only for a few decades, the workers and the toiling masses in the leadership of the proletarian parties achieved magnificent successes in those societies in all spheres that were unprecedented in the human society, that the capitalist countries never achieved and especially that represented the interests of the 90 per cent of the people in the society and that took the society forward in great leaps towards Communism. At the same time there were severe mistakes, shortcomings and even big defeats in the World Communist Movement. We especially lost a number of great victories that the World Communist Movement achieved since the Paris Commune until the Chinese Cultural Revolution. This made a severe negative impact on the worldwide proletariat, oppressed nationalities and oppressed people in various forms. In view of the aim of the World

Socialist Revolution, its protracted character, its complexity and the inevitable ebbs and flows of it, the victories we achieved are partial and limited; the defeats we faced are temporary. The imperialists, all kinds of reactionaries and traitors of the world point out this temporary defeat, our mistakes and shortcomings and negate Marxism and the Communist movement even now. All these enemies have increased the multifold unceasing psychological war on the occasion of the bi-centenary of Marx by utilizing their powerful machinery of propaganda to instigate disappointment and despair towards Marxism, Revolution, People's Democracy, Socialism, Communism and the future of these among the world proletariat and the oppressed people and thus to create disbelief in them towards their historic task and to make them blind towards their historic task. They are making Gobelsian propaganda that Marxism, Revolution, People's democracy, Socialism and Communism are mad dreams; that revolutionary violence is anti-democracy, reactionary and terrorism; that the Communist party means an organization of dictators and that capitalism and bourgeois parliamentary democracy are better and permanent. But on the contrary the spectre of Communism is still haunting the imperialists and all kinds of reactionary forces and is terrifying them. The hunt of this spectre to their ultimate end is the result of the law of social evolution.

However weak the International Communist Movement may be now, it has the utmost scientific, most comprehensive, revolutionary, powerful, militant theory called Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It has a protracted, rich, utmost valuable experience and great history. The international proletariat has the rich experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (in China) that continued class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Socialist society in China, in order to eradicate the narrow-minded, selfish thoughts and ideology formed due to the private ownership on the instruments of production that are the basis for exploitation and oppression, injustice, inequalities and suppression from the minds of the people and enlighten them with the aim of

containing the danger of modern revisionism and the danger of capitalist restoration and with the aim of consolidating Socialism to achieve Communism.

In the present capitalist-imperialist system there is an unprecedented growth all over the world in the gap between the rich and the poor; between the rich countries and the poor countries; and between the rich and the poor in every country. This is the bad result of the neo-liberal policies brought forward by the imperialists since the beginning of the 1990s. The proletariat, the oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people world-wide are facing utmost horrible deeds, massacres, exploitation and oppression, injustice, atrocities, insults, difficulties, misery, dependence and displacement by the utmost greedy, selfish, blood-thirsty imperialists and their lackeys. The imperialists are destroying the forces of production in a large scale. The greedy, selfish and unscientific policies of these enemies of the people of the world are forcing the humankind and the nature to destructible repercussions. Since they are following neo-liberal policies and since the collapse of the Soviet Social-imperialism the fundamental contradictions of the world have intensified more and more. The conditions are more matured for proletarian revolutions and for the destruction of capitalist system. All the enlightened people of the world humankind are severely despising and hating the imperialists and their lackeys. In such revolutionary objective conditions, it is the great task of the international proletariat and its vanguard revolutionary communist parties-organisations to mold all the hatred and revenge of the people of the world as a great power and as a great will to destruct this rotten system and to establish a new, higher system without any of these. The bi-centenary birthday of Marx is an occasion to re-comprehend the theory (Marxism) that the great teacher of international proletariat Marx formulated, the way we applied the international proletarian revolutionary line to the concrete revolutionary conditions of our country. Let us concentrate on the theoretical tasks to revolutionise and strengthen the thinking and practice of our party and the people with Marxism on this great historic occasion.

Marxist Theory

Extending from the latter part of the 18th century up to the mid-19th century, dramatic and revolutionary growth of capitalism occurred in North-Western Europe and North American areas which resulted in the conclusive victory of capitalism over the then predominant feudal system. Marxism has taken shape in this period. This period saw one of the greatest transformations in human history and the establishment of the global domination of a few Western capitalist regimes, particularly the British. That domination led to the revolutionary social economic and political transformation in the capitalist countries.

At the core of this immense transformation stood the two earthshaking revolutions of this period – the Industrial Revolution centred in Britain and the French Revolution of 1789. Those revolutions led to numerous other bourgeois democratic revolutions. They represented the triumphant advance of the revolutionary modern bourgeoisie. Some ground for these revolutions had been laid in the numerous struggles waged by the nascent capitalist class in the preceding centuries – prominently, the 16th century Reformation (which according to Engels, was ‘the first phase of bourgeois revolution in Europe’), and the mid-17th century English Revolution. The social and economic forces and intellectual tools for the bourgeois transformation of this period had thus prepared and ripened over the years.

However, the revolutions and transformations of this period also simultaneously led to the emergence of the forces destined to counter and overcome the bourgeoisie in future. The triumphant new system itself gave birth to the struggling proletariat, and it was during this period itself that, at least in Europe, the forces and ideas conceiving the death of capitalism were taking birth. Though then extremely weak, the modern proletariat and its ideology – Marxism – were the products of the period of the greatest revolutionary transformation of the bourgeoisie. Revolutionary socialist and communist ideology was born as a reaction to the dual revolution of this period. By 1848 it had been excellently formulated in the Communist Manifesto.

Karl Marx was a great intelligent person who developed much more revolutionarily and brought to maturity the three main theoretical streams of the 19th century in the three countries where the humankind achieved utmost advancement more than all the other countries – The traditional German Philosophy, The traditional English Economy, French Socialism including French Revolutionary Theories. The excellent and comprehensive ideas of Marx in a complete form – Modern materialism, Economic theory, Modern Socialism - developed as the theory, program and tactics of the world working class movement.

Marx and Engels lived in the time when capitalist class came to power and capitalism was developing. During this period capitalism was in the phase of free trade competition. During the last phase of the life of Marx and Engels the free trade competitive phase of capitalism started to develop as that of monopoly capital. Marx and Engels saw the internal contradictions of capitalism and clearly stated the inevitability of proletarian revolutions to solve those contradictions. They handed over to the proletariat - the utmost revolutionary class in the society, the theoretical weapons that had the tremendous power to liberate not only itself but also all the oppressed people.

Pointing out the objective conditions that gave birth to Marxism Com. Mao states :

“For a very long period in history, men were necessarily confined to a one-sided understanding of history of society because, for one thing, the bias of the exploiting classes always distorted history and, for another, the small scale of production limited men’s outlook. It was not until the modern proletariat emerged along with immense forces of production (large-scale industry) that man was able to acquire a comprehensive historical understanding of the development of society and turn this knowledge into science, the science of Marxism.”(Mao - On Practice, Selected Works, Vol I, page 206)

And Com. Stalin succinctly sums up the essence of Marxism thus:

“Marxism is the science of the laws governing the development of nature and society, the science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of the victory of socialism in all countries, the science of building a communist society.”

Karl Marx, along with his close comrade-in-arms, Frederick Engels, developed the philosophy of dialectical materialism as a method and outlook. They applied the dialectical method to discover the laws of motion of social development or the materialist conception of history, i.e., historical materialism; developed the political economy which discovered the laws of motion of capitalism with its inherent class contradictions and the doctrine of surplus value-the cornerstone of Marx’s economic theory-which uncovered the source of exploitation; developed the theory of scientific socialism based on the doctrine of the class struggle; and outlined the principles governing the strategy and tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Marx gave to philosophy the revolutionary task of changing the world. This is expressed in the famous statement made by Marx in his **‘Theses on Feuerbach’**: *“The philosophers have only interpreted the world, our task is to change it”*.

Marx and Engels defined matter as material reality existing objectively and that it gets reflected in human consciousness. Marxist philosophical materialism thus resolved the fundamental question in philosophy- that concerning the relation of thinking and being - spirit and nature.

They also proved most scientifically, the second aspect in the fundamental question in philosophy, viz, can human consciousness properly reflect objective reality? Marxist theory of knowledge totally rejected agnosticism and skepticism, asserted that nothing in the world remains forever as unknowable or a “thing-in-itself”. Marxist theory of knowledge asserted that social practice is the source of knowledge. Completely rejecting rationalist and empiricist trends, it also stated that social practice is the measure of truth.

Marx synthesized the knowledge gained by humankind over the centuries and, basing himself mainly on all that was rational - in German classical philosophy, English classical political economy and French revolutionary and socialist doctrines, Marx discovered the Dialectical Materialist Conception of History. He defined the human essence as the ensemble of social relations.

In the field of political economy, Marx's greatest contribution is the analysis of Capital.

As explained by Lenin and cited by Mao in his 'On Contradiction', *"In his Capital, Marx first analyses the simplest, most ordinary and fundamental, most common and everyday relation of bourgeois (commodity) society, a relation encountered billions of times, viz. the exchange of commodities. In this very simple phenomenon (in this "cell" of bourgeois society) analysis reveals all the contradictions (or the germs of all the contradictions) of modern society. The subsequent exposition shows us the development (both growth and movement) of these contradictions and of this society in the [summation] of its individual parts, from its beginning to its end."*

Thus where the bourgeois economists saw a relation between things (the exchange of one commodity for another) Marx revealed a relation between people. The exchange of commodities expresses the tie between individual producers through the market.

In his monumental work, '*Das Capital*', he expounded the labour theory of value and showed how surplus value extracted from the worker is the specific form of exploitation under capitalism, which takes the form of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class. He showed that exploitation takes place in the capitalist mode of production behind the façade of free and equal exchange. He refuted the erroneous views of the classical economists that exploitation arises from unequal exchange of labour for the wage. Basing on this analysis and the law of contradiction Marx discovered the fundamental contradiction in capitalist society. As Com. Mao explained:

"When Marx applied this law to the study of the economic structure of capitalist society, he discovered that the basic contradiction of this

society is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of ownership. This contradiction manifests itself in the contradiction between the organized character of production in individual enterprises and the anarchic character of production in society as a whole. In terms of class relations, it manifests itself in the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.” (On Contradiction)

Marx explained capitalist crises also as another manifestation of this fundamental contradiction of capitalism.

Com. Lenin expounded the Marxist understanding regarding the crisis, while refuting the Sismodian view, that crisis manifests “*precisely in the conditions of production. To put it more briefly, the former (Sismodian) explains crises, by under-consumption, the latter (Marxist) by the anarchy of production.” (The characterization of Economic Romanticism)*

Explaining how the capitalists try to resolve the crisis, *The Communist Manifesto* puts it lucidly in this way:

“The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand, by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say,, by paving the way for extensive and more destructive crisis, and thereby diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.”

Basing on the above understanding Marx and Engels recognised that the proletariat has emerged as the most revolutionary social class and a motive force for social development. The proletariat, in the course of liberating itself from wage slavery, will also liberate the entire society from all class exploitation and oppression and advance towards a classless society. They realized that, in order to liberate itself by overthrowing capitalism the proletariat should develop its own class ideology, that it should transform from the position of class-in-itself to a class-for-itself, and that it should form its own advanced organization-the Party of the proletariat.

They proved that the contradiction between productive forces and relations of production in class society manifests itself as a class contradiction and it is this class struggle, which serves as the driving force of society. Hence they described the history of class society as history of class struggle. *The Communist Manifesto*, an immortal work of Marx and Engels which appeared over 150 years ago, remains the guide to international proletariat even to this day.

The birth of Marxism occurred in the period of one of the greatest transformations in human history and the establishment of the global domination of a few western capitalist regimes. In that period of stormy revolutions of the bourgeois-democratic epoch and from 1848 to the Paris Commune of 1871 the proletarian movement is in its nascent state. In that relatively peaceful period of preparation for the proletarian revolutions after the fall of the Commune to the turn of the century Marxism attained stable position. Through the correct analysis given by Marx and Engels on the great events of the period like the '*Paris Commune*', Marxism became established. Marx and Engels played a major role in establishing and guiding the Communist Parties and the First International. They gave the workers of various countries an internationalist outlook and camaraderie through their clarion call : "*Workers of the world Unite!*"

The Anarchist trends of Proudhon, Bakunin and the like rejected the need for the political struggle of the working class, the need for a Party of the proletariat and the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Blanquist trend relied exclusively on conspiratorial methods and the opportunist trend of Lassalle proposed a system of co-operatives which would run on government-subsidies must gradually remove capitalism and replace its place and brought forward the infamous theory of 'iron law of wages' that opposed even trade union struggles and strikes. Marxism, by defeating all these petty-bourgeois anarchic trends, developed into an ideological weapon in the hands of the proletariat.

Lassalle who believed in so-called state socialism or the democratization of the state through universal suffrage, collaborated with Bismarck. The revolutionary Left led by Liebknecht and Bebel joined with such opportunist Lassalle and formed a new party in Germany. That party framed a new opportunist program namely Gotha Program which was criticized by Marx.

Marx developed the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of rule of the proletariat and as a method of overthrowing the rule of capital by force. Marx and Engels explained the birth, development and the withering away of the State in the course of development of human society from the slave-owning society to communism. They explained that “the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie”. (The Communist Manifesto).

“The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and use it for its own purposes” is according to Marx, the most important principle derived from the experience of the Paris Commune. In other words, the proletariat should use revolutionary path to seize state power, smash the military bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Dictatorship of the proletariat is a key concept in Marxist political theory. Marx proved that *“the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; that this dictatorship itself constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.”* (Letter to Wedemeyer, March, 1852) Marx and Engels thus defeated all petty bourgeois, utopian theories of socialism and firmly established the principles of scientific socialism.

Marx made revolutionary, new theoretical propositions regarding the vanguard party of the proletariat (Communist Party), nationalities-migration, non-western societies, worker-peasant alliance, family-women-children, socialist education-culture and environment.

When Marx was engaged in this great effort his health severely deteriorated and he breathed his last (on the 14th of March 1883 in London) at the age of 65.

Marx is a very great meritorious person of the 19th century. He is a great revolutionary visionary, relentless scholar, had an unending quest for knowledge and was involved in study, writing articles, correspondence, writing documents and in the activities of the proletarian movement until his last breath constantly and tirelessly with a firm will. He is a great scientist who explored the truth from objective facts. He is absolutely against subjectivism and utopian ideas. That is why he had enormous confidence in the leadership role of the proletariat and in the transformation of capitalist society into Socialism-Communism through proletarian revolution. His personality is a reflection of great Communist values.

In spite of his utter poverty, Marx formulated the utmost revolutionary ideology, theories, organisation of the international proletarian vanguard for the liberation of international proletariat. He dedicated his life for the realization of proletarian revolutionary will. However much repression and sanctions the ruling classes of the different European countries imposed on him during his whole political life, however much difficulties he experienced out of them, he faced it courageously and lived a non-compromising life. He had profound affection towards every member of his family, towards his comrades and towards many proletarian activists of his acquaintance. His Communist life is always ideal for proletarian simplicity. The friendship of Marx and Engels will cherish forever exemplary to the international proletarian revolutionary comradesly relations.

Marx was not only severely despised by the exploiters and oppressors but very deeply loved by the innumerable toiling people suffering from exploitation and oppression.

He is ideal not only to the workers and other toiling people-the organisations of the workers and other toiling people, to the proletarian revolutionaries-Communist parties, to the international revolutionary organisations and to the Communist

Internationals but also to the students, youth-intellectuals and progressive people-progressive organisations.

The great additions of Engels to Marxism are inseparable from Marxism. It was in close collaboration with Engels that Marx developed his theory. Engels assisted Marx and enriched the latter's writings, simplifying and elaborating them where necessary. Engels also made great contributions to philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism after the death of Marx. One of the important contributions of Engels lies in his pioneering work based on anthropological (science of human evolution and development) evidence, '*Origin of the Family, Private property and the State*', in which he showed that women's oppression began with the rise of surplus and the emergence of classes and that it is inextricably linked with family, private property and the state. This basic study is the basis for the Marxist understanding on the women's question. Engels' great contributions include his writings: "*Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*" and "*Anti-Duhring*". He defended Marxism and led the ideological struggle against the opportunism in the Second International in the initial years of its existence. Thus the contributions of Engels are an inseparable part of Marxism.

In the pre-monopoly capitalist stage Marxism was established as the first phase of the development of the proletarian ideology through the development of proletarian theory and tactics. This was possible through the struggle of Marx against the various opportunist trends with a strong will in the interests of the proletariat. Marxist method had been accepted to understand and develop almost all the sciences starting with the ordinary sciences to the strategy-tactics of revolution.

Marxism is the total of the opinions and teachings of Marx. The revolutionary standpoint, political theory, the dialectical method and the all-embracing world view developed by Marx i.e., the doctrine of Marx, came to be called as Marxism. Explaining Marxism is - explaining the wealth of Marxist knowledge and its distinctness; explaining the international proletarian world

outlook, it means the Marxist world outlook and the future scenario of Communism. These things are entwined with the name of Marx and are composed in his documents. It represents the first great milestone in the development of the proletarian scientific ideology.

Marx's service to the proletariat of the world and all the toiling masses through his theoretical and practical work is inordinate. He represented the interests of the international proletarian-toiling people and the interests of the whole progressive humankind. The theory he formulated inaugurated a new era in the history of humankind. His revolutionary work made the international proletariat and the toiling people go in the direction of changing the whole world in a fundamental way. Thus he laid strong foundations to a new and advanced society for the first time in the human history through his great theoretical revelations.

Even though Marx and Engels are German, lived in the 19th century and conducted their revolutionary activities from Europe, Marxism is not limited to Germany and Europe. Marxism is the science of rules formulated from a scientific summary of social development. It is not only rooted in all the international developments but is also the future depiction of the new society. Marxism is scientific, utmost revolutionary, comprehensive, lively and militant. Its spirit lies in dialectical, historical materialism. Marxism is not at all dogmatism. It is a lively proletarian revolutionary theory that is a guide to practice to change the present society absolutely into a more advanced one i.e., into a classless society.

Since the time Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto, the International Communist Movement started recognizing the scientific socialist theories-Marxism and gradually this recognition spread all over the world along with the worker's movement in the last decades of that century. It was later accepted as the universal guiding theory of the international proletariat by the revolutionary communist parties and enlightened workers. The theory of Marx developed as Leninism i.e., as Marxism-

Leninism in different new historical conditions and guided the International Communist Movement.

During the last years of Marx and Engels the free competition of capitalism gradually began to develop as monopoly capitalism. Starting from 1870s to the initial years of the 20th century capitalism developed into monopoly capitalism. The division of the world market between the capitalist countries was completed. Colonialism emerged. All the class contradictions of capitalism intensified. Lenin was born and grew at the time of relative peace when the international proletariat was preparing for revolutions and led not only the Russian revolution but also the World Communist Movement in the initial period of the revolutions.

Under the historical conditions of the epoch of imperialism and in the midst of the flames of the socialist revolution, Lenin inherited, resolutely defended the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. He creatively applied them to Russian revolution and the specific practice of world proletariat revolutions and developed them. Comrade Stalin briefly summarized Leninism in this way – Leninism is “Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions”. “Leninism is proletarian theory and tactics in general and the theory and tactics of the proletarian dictatorship in particular.”

Comrade Lenin made great contribution to enrich the three components of Marxism– Marxist philosophy, Political economy and Scientific socialism in the new historic conditions. The science of Marxism took a qualitative leap to its second higher stage of Marxism-Leninism. This qualitative leap called Marxism-Leninism occurred from the struggle against the opportunists of the Second International and from the process of proletarian revolution in the imperialist phase of capitalism.

The teachings of Lenin regarding the proletarian party, imperialism, revisionism, theoretical struggle, proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship, war and peace, class struggle in socialist society, state, national and colonial question, peasant question, women’s question, socialism and communism are yet lively and exemplary even now.

Comrade Stalin, the close associate of Lenin creatively applied, protected and developed Marxism-Leninism in certain spheres. The additions of Stalin are an integral part of Leninism. Basing on the theoretical foundations of Comrade Lenin he played great leadership role in building socialism in the first socialist country of the world, the USSR and in the International Communist Movement.

After Lenin, Mao solved the problems of the proletarian revolution in the new historic conditions regarding the colonial policy, neo-colonial policy and social imperialism and added new innovations to Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao creatively applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the revolutionary practice of China and the revolutionary practice of the international proletariat. He protected, inherited and developed Marxism-Leninism. He developed the three components of Marxism – Marxist philosophy, Political economy, Scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage. Com. Mao has further developed the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. He developed the concepts of Protracted People’s War and New Democratic Revolution in the course of 28 years of revolutionary struggle in colonial, semi-colonial, semi-feudal China, in a situation totally different from the capitalist Europe. These theories of Comrade Mao are a unique contribution to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

Chinese Revolution was successfully completed in 1949. After that, he made some most brilliant contributions in the process of a theoretical struggle against the various revisionist tendencies that arose in the Communist Party of China and through the process of leading a worldwide struggle against Khrushchov revisionism and modern revisionism. That struggle is popularly known as The Great Debate in the history of the International Communist Movement. He made great hypotheses regarding neo-colonialism, social-imperialism, war-revolution, socialist construction and the constant class struggle in socialist society. He initiated and led the earth-shaking GPCR which marked a historical turning point in the history of International Communist

Movement. During this period he developed the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to prevent the restoration of capitalism thereby consolidating and strengthening the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the very purpose of advancing it towards communism on a world scale. In addition to these he made great contributions to Marxism-Leninism regarding art, literature, women's question and other aspects. On the whole, Com. Mao developed the science of Marxism-Leninism to its third, higher and qualitatively new stage.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated theory today. It is the most advanced and scientific ideology of the world proletariat. This is as a whole the science of all the sciences. It is a comprehensive philosophical system, political economy, scientific socialism and the strategy-tactics of the proletariat that understands the world and transforms it through revolution. MLM is the utmost powerful and wonderful great theoretical weapon to the proletariat. We can combat and defeat bourgeois class ideology and all brands of revisionism with this.

Today the Communist Party that accepts Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its universal guiding theory and is in revolutionary practice is the genuine Marxist Party or the genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party.

After the demise of Mao modern revisionist Hua-Deng traitor clique seized power through reactionary conspiracy with which the world proletariat lost its last revolutionary base. All over the world counter-revolution achieved success on revolution and capitalist class on the proletariat temporarily. There was confusion once again in the world communist movement. The genuine Communist Parties in many countries that were firmly committed to revolutionary Marxism (MLM) and worked independently basing on their subjective strength and the people, rejected the modern revisionism of counter-revolutionary Deng. On the contrary, the Communist Parties which spoke Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought in words and followed the Deng revisionist line in practice, became very weak or have totally vanished. The

organized world communist movement became very weak. When Socialist countries were existing, in addition to the betrayal of the revisionist leadership in the communist parties of the respective countries, due to the mistakes in the efforts of the revolutionary section of these parties to consolidate socialism, in the theoretical and political efforts to defeat the modern revisionist section that was capitalist roaders who came in the way of socialism, in the efforts to mobilise the vast toiling people in socialist construction; due to the impact of the capitalism system that was a predominant system in the world on the people of the socialist countries; and due to the innumerable conspiracies of the imperialists to destruct the socialist system, there was this much severe loss to world revolution.

Therefore we have to learn from the failures of the World Socialist Revolution – adopt proper fundamental line and policies to successfully accomplish the process of socialist construction in the socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat with the aim of establishing Communism and also have to mobilise the proletarian and other broad toiling masses in all the fields in a conscious manner. Depending on the victories in the cultural revolutions continuing to defeat the counter-revolutionary effort of the retrogressive (that represent the outdated reactionary exploitive classes of the old societies in new forms) forces that come in the way of revolutionary transformation that goes on for a long time with the aim of achieving Communism under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Socialist society and for the total emancipation of the people from the ideology and culture of the earlier class societies; depending on the defeat of the intervention and offensive of the capitalist-imperialist countries from outside; depending on the efficient leadership role of the Communist Party so that the proletariat and broad masses of the socialist society fight back the effect of the capitalist-imperialist societies that exist on the basis of class exploitation and social oppression and on the basis of selfish ideology; depending on the success of the revolutions of the proletariat-broad masses in various countries to overthrow the capitalist rule and establish socialism;

depending on the efforts for new experiments of all the societies of the world according to advancement by mutually and constantly receiving all that is advanced and by applying it creatively; and depending on the facing of new challenges that come forth in various sectors, finally a society without any class-social disparities, i.e., classless society-Communism shall come into existence.

Just like on the occasion in the past when the International Communist Movement faced revisionist betrayal and losses, revolutionary Marxism (MLM) divorced from revisionism, rejected to surrender and is continuing resistance. Genuine Communist Parties that are continuing People's War in several semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries and that are fulfilling revolutionary tasks in many imperialist countries are inspiring the International Communist Revolutionary camp. The proletariat, oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people of the world are struggling against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction in spontaneous as well as planned manner widely than ever. Backgrounds of struggle and forms of struggle are different but the struggles did not stop. Enlightened by the guidance of invincible Marxism-Leninism-Maoism workers and Revolutionary Communist Parties with abundant experiences unprecedented in the history of the international working class movement are re-consolidating to wipe out imperialism and modern revisionism and establish People's democracy, Socialism-Communism. The victory of the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries shall not last long.

There were many unique, surprising and magnificent revolutionary changes all over the world even in the sectors of class struggle, production and scientific experiments in the past 170 years. As a result new challenges and new opportunities came forth for social revolutions. It is the great task of the revolutionary parties and democratic organisations to courageously face these challenges and utilize the opportunities and efficiently lead social revolutions.

For the past 170 years the international revolutionary proletariat could develop the communist movement from one

phase to another only through carrying out severe class struggles against the capitalist system and through fierce class wars. The main reason for the great victories attained by the world proletariat is the revolutionary class wars it made against capitalism and reaction in all spheres.

The class conflict between the proletariat and the capitalists reflected as the struggle between the Marxists and the revisionists in the theoretical sphere. Revolutionary Marxism developed only through a non-compromising theoretical struggle with revisionism as a part of the world revolutionary communist movement.

In its struggle with capital, the great world socialist revolution is changing its war centers and advancing. In such a situation, as a vanguard organization of the revolutionary proletariat in India, CPI (Maoist) realized the importance of its role in the world socialist revolution and is making efforts to work accordingly. Revolutionary proletarian parties and organisations in many countries all over the world are preparing for building revolutionary movements or are leading the movements in their countries with this understanding.

Path of the International proletarian revolution - Indian Communist Movement

'Our-means me and my famous friend's teaching is not a dogma, it is a guide for practice'.

- Engels

"We must never violate the fundamental principles of Marxism. If we do so there shall be mistakes. Viewing Marxism with a metaphysical outlook and considering it as that without development is nothing but dogmatism. It is nothing but revisionism to reject the fundamental principles of Marxism and to reject its universal truth. " **- Mao**

From Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution, Page : 3

According to the Marxist perspective, "The history of social development throughout the world since the emergence of class divided society is the history of class struggles itself. In the process of social development the revolutionary struggles of the peoples

of different countries proceed through different stages and these struggles will have their peculiar characteristics too; but they are always subordinate to the general laws of development of the history. The motion of development of world history through class struggle is towards the very establishment of a society without class and without exploitation, towards socialism and communism. The revolutionary movement of the Indian people is also advancing through different stages; it has got its own peculiarities too. But it remains within the general laws of development towards socialism and communism.

The world-historic objective of the international proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Parties of the whole world, is in full conformity with the laws of development of history. The historic goal of the Indian working class as well as of the working class of the whole world, is to establish socialism and communism in the world as a whole.

The Great October revolution was nothing but an inevitable outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the international proletariat and the people. The Great Chinese Revolution was the continuation of that process. The Indian Revolution too is an inseparable part of the revolutionary struggles of the international proletariat and the people.

As Comrade Mao said, without “the correct class analysis of the objective conditions of the whole world and of world politics and economics, that is, the correct class analysis on the basis of Marxism-Leninism of the fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world and their mutual relations and influences”, it is impossible to make a correct appraisal of the international situation and of the internal situation of India; it is impossible to formulate the general line determining the main direction of the revolutionary struggles of the working class and the people of all countries or to realise its significance; and it is also impossible to determine the correct strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution in conformity with that general line. The concrete objective condition of India and the question of the Indian revolution should

be judged only in the light of the international situation and the revolutionary struggles of the people of the whole world”.

The objective of strategy and tactics in any country and at any time shall be to accomplish that specific phase of revolution basing on the program related to that phase. It is very important to keep in view the guiding principle that Comrade Stalin suggested - The theory of Marxism-Leninism must guide the program, program must guide the strategy and strategy must guide the tactics. We can formulate strategy correctly only by depending on the data obtained from this theory and program and the inferences extracted from this theory and program.

The Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution should be formulated by creatively applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country. This means that the Strategy and Tactics should be formulated by basing on an objective class analysis of the Indian society, the character of the Indian State, the fundamental contradictions and the principal contradiction and by taking into account the specific characteristics, the special features as well as the peculiarities of the Indian situation.

The strategy of the Indian Revolution in the present stage should serve to fulfill the New Democratic program by successfully completing the New Democratic Revolution. The tactics that are to be formulated in every twist and turn of the movement in the various regions at various times should be subordinated to the strategy and serve to effectively implement the above strategy. Such is the dialectical relationship between the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the Program, Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution.

To put it briefly, the objective condition of the present day world manifests in the fundamental contradictions of the present-day world and their inter-relations and inter-influences. These fundamental contradictions are: a) The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and people; b) The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the

capitalist countries; c) The contradiction between various imperialist countries.

The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and oppressed people is the principal contradiction in the present-day world. The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the main centres of the national democratic revolutions, national liberation movements to bring down the imperialists and reactionaries from power and achieve national independence and democracy. The end of direct colonial rule in the aftermath of the Second World War due to considerable weakening of imperialism and the growing national liberation struggles world-wide, had compelled the imperialists to switch over to new methods of exploitation, control and rule of the former colonies i.e. neo-colonialism. In this respect they depend on their compradors of these countries selected and trained by them. This neo-colonialism is the more sinister, crueler and more pernicious form of colonialism and has extended its Octopus tentacles over the countries of entire Asia, Africa and Latin America. The oppressed nationalities and the oppressed people are fighting against neo-colonialism just like they fought against colonialism. In the later period too due to the fundamental contradictions in the world there are very fast considerable changes in social, economic, political, military, cultural, technical and environmental sectors in the imperialist countries and colonial, semi-colonial countries that made a considerable impact on the workers' movements. We must see these changes as part of the neo-colonial policy followed by the imperialists and the social imperialists in the new conditions. The revolutionary proletarian parties can develop correct tactics through comprehensively understanding them with a dialectical historical materialistic perspective. Thus the proletarian parties can successfully advance the revolutionary movements with new tactics in the new conditions. We have the history of the advancement of the world workers' movement and the great history of the great victories it achieved through the revolutionary effort of the proletarian parties in such scientific methods, since Marx and Engels wrote Communist Manifesto. These are the

important aspects to be considered when we analyse the social situation in these countries.

Marxist-Leninist theory became popular in our country after the great October Socialist Revolution of Russia in the leadership of Comrade Lenin became successful. Communist Party of India (CPI) was formed in 1925 with the influence of the Russian October Socialist revolution, with the influence of Marxism-Leninism and due to the heroic struggles of the proletariat against the British Empire. Since the formation of the CPI to the heroic historic Naxalbari peasant rebellion, a number of militant movements-outbreaks of workers, peasants, adivasis, Dalits, Students and other sections against imperialism and great revolutionary opportunities came forward before 1947. Later there was an utmost favorable revolutionary condition for the construction of Armed Agrarian Revolutionary movement against imperialism and its compradors. But the CPI leadership not only most utterly failed to utilize these but also betrayed the heroic Telangana Armed Peasant struggle and degenerated as a bourgeois parliamentary party. Since then this revisionist leadership behaved like a co-thief and reliable agent to the ruling classes. This revisionist leadership of the two parties [CPI & CPI(M)] acted as advocates to the revisionism of the betrayer of revolution, the modern revisionist Khrushchev. CPI (M) opposed the heroic Naxalbari rebellion as a social fascist party and the CPI absolutely opposed this rebellion. These parties speak of Marxism; practice revisionism. Thus since the beginning upto 1951 the CPI leadership mainly followed right opportunist path and for a while left path. This leadership by making such right and left theoretical-political mistakes, by carrying away in destructive opportunist paths made horrible damage to the Indian Revolution.

The origin of this lies in the wrong understanding of that leadership regarding Marxist world outlook, Marxian revolutionary character and the path of international proletarian revolution. They had idealist perspective and left bourgeois nationalism. Therefore, the leadership of CPI-CPM never sincerely accepted the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism that

were accepted by the international revolutionary proletariat and their parties and proved to be correct even at the time of the formation of CPI itself and the valuable lessons given by the history of international workers' movement, especially the heroic Paris Commune, the success of the great Russian October revolution and the success of the great New Democratic Revolution of China—the path of Protracted People's War. To put it in one word they acted totally against the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. So this revisionist leadership did not realize the importance of the theoretical, political path to be followed by a genuine revolutionary Marxist Party. Regarding this matter Comrade Mao said thus – “The correctness and incorrectness of the theoretical and political line decides everything”.

However, the heroic cadres of the CPI joined hands with the struggling people and led many revolutionary struggles. Many laid their valuable lives to achieve the high ideal of accomplishing the Indian Democratic Revolution. Many genuine revolutionary cadres representing the revolutionary ranks joined with the people and stood in the forefront of their struggles. They continued their theoretical, political struggle against the opportunistic, erroneous and the revisionist lines and treacheries of the leadership that is dominating in the CPI, and thereafter in the CPI(M). Such cadres always faced the anger of the leadership. Although initially the theoretical and political fight of these revolutionary cadres was scattered, they gradually gained experience and began to consolidate. With this, gradually the opportunist leadership was more and more exposed among the party ranks. But during the late 1950's and in 1960's this struggle assumed totally new angles. The Great Debate conducted by the CPC led by comrade Mao Tse-tung against the modern revisionism put forward by Khrushchev gang, marked this new beginning. So far as this Great Debate continued to intensify further and further and finally culminated in the earthshaking GPCR, so this struggle in our country the theoretical and political struggle of the revolutionary cadres against the leadership of the Communist Party also continued to intensify further and further. This led to the total

breaking point with the revisionist leadership and the revisionist line they followed. The beginning of the GPCR proved to be a new turning point in this process. Under the direct impact of this process, the forces representing the struggle against revisionism of the then leadership of the CPI, and then CPI(M), began to uphold and assimilate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, both in theory and more particularly in their revolutionary practice. Thereby, these forces condemned the program of the 7th Congress of the CPI (M) as revisionism and the leadership as modern revisionist clique. Thus along with the most outstanding and front-ranking leaders like comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee and a large number of Maoist forces emerged on the revolutionary political scene. Comrade Charu Mazumdar wrote and released Eight documents solving the fundamental problems of Indian New Democratic Revolution and made preparations for armed agrarian revolution among the peasantry in Darjeeling area; Chintha-Dakshindesh in the leadership of Com. Kanhai Chatterjee began theoretical, political and organizational work for Indian New Democratic Revolution, the great Naxalbari Armed Uprising led by Com. Charu Mazumdar in May 1967, became a clarion call of "*Spring thunder over India*". Thereafter, the history of the country's communist movement took a qualitatively new turn. The Naxalbari rebellion not only helped the revolutionary forces to greatly expose revisionism and by breaking from it to form new revolutionary communist organizations, it marked the first conscious application of MLM and the shining path of seizure of political power through the protracted people's war in the Indian sub-continent also that was already formulated and illuminated by Comrade Mao.

To put it briefly, the main reason for the Naxalbari rebellion, for the formation of CPI(M-L) (on the 22nd of April, 1969) and MCC (on the 20th of October 1969) as the vanguard party of the proletarian revolution or for Indian New Democratic Revolution-Protracted People's War is the correct understanding of Marxism and the international proletarian path by the genuine revolutionary forces in the Indian Communist movement and plunging into practice in a daring manner to make it successful.

The revolutionary movement all over the country temporarily fell into setback within five years due to the counter revolutionary offensive, due to the subjective mistakes-lack of experience of the revolutionary forces and due to the disruptive actions of the right, left and opportunist forces that arose among the revolutionary forces. Instead, efforts were made to build the revolutionary movement amidst many difficulties in the light of MLM, in the leadership that represents the genuine revolutionary forces in CPI(ML) and the leadership of MCC, taking lessons from the past practice, rectifying mistakes unified the party ranks. The leadership of these two parties adopting appropriate tactics according to the social conditions worked to build the revolutionary movement. With this by the end of 1970s another new spate began in the Indian Revolutionary Movement. Both these two Maoist revolutionary streams basing on correct revolutionary line put up theoretical struggle against various kinds of revisionism and the right and left opportunist trends. They rectified their mistakes with a self-critical attitude basing on the genuine revolutionary line. They defeated the right, left opportunist trends that came forth in the Party internally. They continued the legacy of all the revolutionary aspects in the Indian communist movement. In this process they merged the genuine revolutionary forces with them. As a result of it, on the 21st September 2004 these two streams merged and the CPI(Maoist) emerged. The formation of CPI(Maoist) is the result of the creative application of international proletarian path to the concrete conditions of our country and the enrichment of it. This is another great step forward in the history of the Indian Communist movement.

After the formation of our party - CPI (Maoist), People's Liberation Guerrilla Army and people in the leadership of our party daringly fought back the counter-revolutionary repressive campaigns that the Indian ruling classes unleashed with the support of the imperialists, especially the US imperialists in an unprecedented and intensified manner. In this process we achieved many great unprecedented victories with the sacrifices of thousands of martyrs. As a result of the creative application of

the general line of new democratic revolution that goes on in the path of protracted people's war having agrarian revolution as its axis, we formed guerilla bases in some guerilla zones of the country as a concrete form of establishing liberated areas. As part of it we formed organs of new democratic political power – Revolutionary People's Committees. We consolidated them from the village level to the division level. In several areas of the country we mobilized the people in the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggles and expanded and intensified the guerilla war. We fought against the modern revisionist line of Prachanda-Bhattarai; we opposed modern revisionism put forward by Avakian. As a detachment of the vanguard of international proletariat, we are continuing protracted people's war in the light of MLM for the success of new democratic revolution in India. Thus we held aloft the international red flag of the proletariat. We much more strengthened the party line and enhanced the unity of the party by making theoretical struggle and defeating the right and left opportunist trends. We conducted education-rectification campaign and bolshevization campaign to train up the party, people's liberation guerilla army and the mass organisations theoretically, politically and organizationally and to rectify the wrong trends in the party. We could create a more favorable condition for the political mobilization of the revolutionary and democratic forces amidst the severe repression of the ruling classes on the revolutionary movement all over the country. Although the revolutionary movement and our party are facing critical position in the country, the party is achieving Bolshevik spirit that can fight and advance with the rich lessons gained from practice.

However due to the shortcomings in the theoretical, political, organizational and struggle efforts to develop the party, PLGA and the mass base in quantity and quality as per the level and extent of the people's war, as per the counter-revolutionary offensive, as per the changes in the economic, political and cultural conditions and tasks to achieve the specific objectives our movement is facing critical position. We can protect and develop our subjective force by rectifying these shortcomings and mistakes.

In this process we can consolidate ourselves and develop our subjective strength and mass base quantitatively and qualitatively. Thus our party shall develop into a much more strong party in the country, can mobilise the people widely into the sphere of politics and expand and intensify guerilla war. Thus it can create another spate of struggles in the Indian Revolutionary Movement.

Our Party as the consolidated vanguard of the Indian proletariat, will lead the New Democratic Revolution in India to victory in the path of international proletarian revolution established by the great Marxist teachers Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, Stalin and Mao. It will go ahead staunchly in the same direction until the establishment of Socialism and Communism on a world scale.

Our party the CPI (Maoist) as the vanguard of the Indian proletariat, abides to proletarian internationalism. In addition to uniting with all the genuine revolutionary Communist parties-organisations-forces of the world with the aim of making success the Protracted People's War in India and the World Socialist Revolution on the international scale, it shall unite with the worldwide proletariat, oppressed nationalities and oppressed people; it shall learn from the past and the present working class movements and class struggles of the country and the world; it shall make theoretical struggle against modern revisionism that constantly stands as a hurdle to the working class movement and class struggle of the world and against the left, right and opportunist trends that arise in various forms; it stands in support to the working class movements, to the movements of the oppressed nationalities and the movements of the oppressed people against the imperialists and reactionaries of the world, to the best of its strength for the coordination and consolidation of the same. For this purpose, it strives to play its bit of role for the formation of an international centre of revolutionary communist parties as the appropriate form of organization in the present conditions.

India is one of the very strong centres of imperialism and world reaction. So the advancement and success of the New Democratic

Revolution in India aimed at imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class and feudalism shall not only liberate the people of India from the merciless exploitation and suppression of imperialism but also takes the struggle of the people of the whole world for independence, democracy, socialism and peace to a new stage. The success of Indian New Democratic Revolution and the establishment of People's democratic government in India play an important role in speeding up the World Socialist Revolution. It will stand up as a sign for the important and historical advancement in the effort to establish a new world which got freedom from imperialism, capitalism and the exploitation of man by man.

Our Party CPI (Maoist) by placing the Program of New Democratic Revolution in India before the people is dedicating itself to this great cause and setting itself to the task of achieving socialism. Our ultimate goal is communism. After the People's Democratic Revolution, the production relations will be revolutionized step by step, in the process of removing the class distinction between the exploiter and the exploited. It will continue the efforts to eradicate Brahminical ideology, caste and other such social oppression and social discrimination by promoting a scientific socialistic outlook. It will continue to move forward by continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and thereby continue to consolidate the socialist society as a strong base area for the world proletarian revolution. This socialist state will be the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will guarantee democracy for the vast majority of the people while exercising dictatorship on the handful of the exploiters. It takes up proletarian Cultural Revolution with the understanding that there will be classes, class contradictions and class struggles even in socialist society, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism of uninterruptedly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through this process, it will oppose and defeat every attempt of capitalist roaders, imperialists and modern revisionists to restore capitalism. Through this process it will continue the struggle against any deformities introduced in

the socialist system. Especially it fights against bureaucracy in the leadership of the Party, People's Army and the governments. Thereby, it continues to ensure that people consciously and actively participate in the state and are not alienated either from the proletarian party or from the socialist state. The contradictions in the socialist society will be solved. It will creatively and consciously make efforts to solve the contradictions within socialist society and to remove the inequalities that are left in this society. In the process, it will advance towards the elimination of class society and, thereby, the withering away of the state, i.e. advancing towards establishing communism on a world scale.

Tasks

Let us comprehensively understand Marxism by studying it deeply and extensively; let us deepen our world outlook. The great Marxist teachers-Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao – laid their lives to formulate and develop the Marxist theory. They secured these theories in their innumerable and utmost valuable writings. We must see them as a very important historic revolutionary literature. We must take their great efforts as our ideal and the entire Party – from the Central Committee members to the primary members must study Marxism with patience, will, attention and in depth; especially we have to study many important writings out of them. We have to understand all the valuable things in it. We have to creatively apply them to the present specific revolutionary practice. Only thus we can continue our practice in the light of theory and will be able to change the country and the world according to the rules of social development; we can develop the theory much more in the process of practice. There are two methods for our study: One – the correct method, means the Marxist method; Second – Incorrect method, means dogmatic method. Marxism is totally opposed to dogmatic method.

Along with Marxism we have to pay attention to study the present domestic and world conditions the history of our country, the history of our revolutionary movement and the history of the counter-revolution continued along with it, along with our

movement the movements of various socio-political streams, various philosophical trends – the conflicts between them that took place and are taking place and particularly the impact they made and are making on the society. Thus by paying attention on study alone we can correctly synthesise and apply creatively the objective specific conditions with a Marxist world outlook. By following this method alone we can develop our tactics according to the conditions of the society and class struggle that are in constant motion and mobilise the vast people politically in class struggle. Due to the mistakes in following this method, it means due to the subjective trend we not only cannot avoid the mistakes in practice but will also fail in providing efficient leadership. Therefore we must follow this method.

We must concentrate on theoretical education to unite the entire party. Theoretical education is one of the most important tasks among all activities of the Party. While studying the science of Marxism and applying its principles is one aspect, participating directly in class struggle and learning from the masses is another. Based on the knowledge obtained in the above process, the Party's policies should be further enriched and the Party ranks should be de-veloped theoretically. Therefore uniform education is essential to unify the entire Party based on study and concrete application of theory. Mao explained the importance of theory in one sentence thus :"*Theoretical education is the key to unify the entire Party. Without this, the Party cannot achieve a single political task.*" We have to confine to these in order to achieve it. The central and the state committees must concentrate to conduct the political classes in our party from the central level to the primary level in the light of the theory in a more regular and efficient manner so that they contribute to understand the concrete problems of our revolution, to solve them properly and advance the movement.

We must take up revolution constantly in the cultural sphere. In India what predominates is primarily imperialist and feudal culture and ideas. It is basically this imperialist and feudal culture that is being widely propagated by the ruling classes, and it is these ideas that have penetrated widely throughout society.

Regarding imperialist culture idealizing the imperialist countries and promoting the elitist consumerist culture, basically it destroys patriotic values. Feudal culture is primarily the Brahminical caste-based culture of engrained superiority. This Brahminical culture puts its stamp on nearly all aspects of social interaction and thinking, from approach to labour, women, oppressed castes, other communities, marriage norms, birth, death, language, etc and even has numerous caste symbols. Ironically the so-called modern imperialist culture easily adjusts with the archaic and retrogressive Brahminical culture. Both imperialist and feudal culture has to be continuously opposed and replaced by democratic and socialist culture. The task at the present stage of the revolution in the cultural front is the establishment of new democratic culture i.e., a scientific, democratic and mass culture, by uprooting the semi-colonial, semi-feudal culture along with the modern revisionist ideology. The people's democratic culture is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal culture. It is an heir to all the secular, genuine, democratic and scientific aspects of the rich cultural heritage of the oppressed masses that are passed on by history.

It is impossible to arm the people ideologically, make them conscious and organise them for the people's war without the widest propaganda of people's democratic culture based on Maoism. As Mao said: *"In overthrowing a political power the first and regular task is to work in on the ideological front and to create public opinion."* To overthrow the exploiting classes and their state machinery, the first and foremost task throughout the course of the new democratic revolution is to wage ideological struggle and create public opinion in favor of agrarian revolutionary war and the protracted people's war.

Mao said that revisionism is main danger. Modern revisionism is one of the chief enemies of MLM and the people's democratic ideology and revolution. The anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolutionary culture of the people cannot be established without fighting against modern revisionism. In this respect MLM is the strongest weapon in the fight against modern revisionism.

Besides, in India, feudal thinking is deep-rooted and is manifested in many ways, particularly as casteism, biases against religious minorities, religious narrow mindedness, communalism, untouchability, patriarchy, and numerous other forms. The Party must educate the masses against all such anti-democratic values and culture and replace them with those based on equality, self-respect, secularism, dignity of labour and values, culture based on proletarian outlook.

For the success of the Indian revolution the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front has to be organised and constantly strengthened. The people's democratic culture must be an inseparable part of the general anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary people's democratic front. One of the tasks of this cultural front is to educate the workers, peasants and the toiling masses about the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal agrarian revolutionary struggle and the protracted people's war.

We must deeply criticize the outdated, reactionary, casual theories. It is our theoretical task to remove the non-proletarian ideology and its influence from the minds of the people, revolutionise them and mold them into a revolutionary materialist force. Without fighting to root out the chauvinisms of caste, religion, nation and national chauvinism of the irrational, outdated Brahmanic ideology that is aggressively being introduced in the recent decades and had been going on for a long time to tie the people of the society to ideological slavery and all such reactionary anti-progressive ideology and theories from the society we cannot establish new, scientific, progressive, democratic, socialist ideology. We must constantly take up fight in the ideological sphere not only in the party but in all the social spheres. It is necessary for our party to play an efficient role in this sphere not only internally but also in the society. We have to develop ideological unity in our Party and must aim our ideological offensive mainly on the Brahmanic ideology, modern revisionism and postmodernism to establish our party into a powerful, efficient leadership organization and to develop the active role of people in the people's war. We must form appropriate organisations to take up

theoretical and political propaganda among the people in an efficient manner.

The Party must relentlessly strive to declassify itself. The revolutionary proletarian party must deepen its world outlook, proletarian character, proletarian line, the historic mission of establishment of Socialism-Communism, rectifying-improving work style and life style, taking up internal struggle as part of class struggle to help this and reconstruct itself ideologically (to declassify). The Communist Party must strive relentlessly, collectively and the members individually and consciously not only now, not only after the New Democratic Revolution but as long as the society needs the Communist Party and until reaching Communism. Only thus, the majority people of the society will be influenced with our correct ideology, politics, class struggle and practice and a situation comes where the difference between the Communist Party and the people shall disappear step by step. For this purpose we have to play an influencing role in constantly studying MLM, combining theory with practice, participating in class struggle, firmly integrating with the people, being sincere in criticism and self-criticism, learning from practice, actively participating in the rectification campaigns, standing on the side of the correct line in the theoretical, political struggle between two lines and other such things. We must not take them up in a superficial, partial, formal and casual manner.

Today our movement and Party are over 50 years and most of the comrades in the Party belong to the third generation. Majority of them belong to peasantry and various sections of the petty bourgeoisie. It is our immediate task to declassify their world outlook, work style, life style and all the above mentioned aspects in a much deeper manner. Most of the rest of the comrades are old comrades but they too need to deeply declassify themselves constantly due to their social background or the influences of the present society. They will have to make conscious efforts for this.

Therefore in view of the immediate objective to be achieved and the character of Protracted People's War to achieve that aim, our Party must make constant, conscious and planned efforts to

develop itself ideologically, politically and organizationally as a united, strong-willed, sturdy and efficient proletarian vanguard. Only if we do so we can efficiently advance the people in the People's War. We can utilize all the present effort as a foundation for the construction of Socialist society after victory. It means we can continue the whole effort for achieving the immediate objective with a future view (with the aim of establishing Socialism-Communism).

Conclusion

Proletariat of the world, all the oppressed nationalities, all the oppressed people, hold the Red Flag of Marxism to overthrow imperialism and all the reactionaries! Integrate sturdily! Fight courageously! The people shall gain the ultimate victory! Realize the character of the imperialists, all kinds of reactionaries, revisionists, social democrats, the exploitive oppressive class, their liquidative policies and their deceptive tricks! Enlighten! Though the imperialists, all the reactionaries and their lackeys appear to be real tigers tactically in view of immediate struggle, in fact when seen in a protracted view, see that they are strategically paper tigers, fight against them daringly and seize victory! Break to pieces not only the capitalist chains but all the chains of class, caste, nationality, gender, religion and other such and march forward to sing the song of the liberation of the humankind! The victories achieved by the proletariat and the oppressed people in the light of Marxism are invaluable in the history of humankind. The international proletariat has in its hands the most powerful theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and it will destruct the old world through world socialist revolution and definitely create a new world.

The day when the workers, peasants, middle class people, national bourgeoisie, various oppressed social sections - the Dalit, Adivasi, Women, Religious minority - the people, the people of the oppressed nationalities unite in the light of Marxism, in the leadership of CPI (Maoist), the day when the flames of People's war spread all over the country, that day the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists, landlords and their cruel state

mechanism shall go to ashes and the Federation of free People's Democratic Republics with the perspective of great Socialism-Communism shall emerge. No force on the face of the earth can stop this. Then the Indian New Democratic Revolution shall fulfill the historic task of the international proletariat that works as a main string for the world humankind to bring down permanently the dark era of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard the Communist revolutionaries who took up the weapon of the great scientific theory of Marxism shall stand as the symbol of principled nature, commitment to theory, proletarian integrity, proletarian internationalism, critical view, unselfishness, fearlessness and sacrifice. They know that they are conducting an utmost difficult, cruel world socialist revolution that has many ups and downs and twists and turns and has a protracted character. In spite of any number of losses of the great victories they achieved and any number of defeats in the process of revolution, in the light of the invincible revolutionary theories that they formulated by summarizing the utmost valuable experiences they gained in this process, they shall fight again and again until they achieve the final victory. No reactionary on this earth has the strength to divert them from the struggle they are making to achieve this objective. The defeats of the oppressed people are temporary; the victories of the enemies of the people are also temporary. According to the rules of social development ultimately the enemies of the people shall be permanently destroyed and the oppressed people shall certainly gain permanent success.

Comrades!

On the occasion of the bicentenary celebrations of Karl Marx we have to propagate in our Party-Revolutionary People's Organisations-People about his inspiring life, about Marxism, about the aspect of the development of Marxism into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the conditions of new historic-class struggle-construction of Socialism, about the great victories of the proletariat-oppressed people in the guidance of this theory and

their importance, about the defeats-mistakes-lack of experience in this process and about the lessons learnt from all these; must study the famous writings of the great teachers; must apply the fundamental principles of MLM and the path of international working class to the concrete conditions of our country and take up Education campaign of the lessons learnt from practice. The proletarian vanguard organization of Indian Revolution the CPI (Maoist) proudly states that it shall firmly and daringly march forward successfully in the path shown by the revolutionary theoretician of the international proletariat, the director of the revolutionary path Karl Marx, hold aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism and in the path of Protracted People's War for the success of New Democratic Revolution as an integral part of the World Socialist Revolution with the ultimate aim of establishing Communism.

- **Long live the memorable fame of Marx!**
- **Long live Marxism, the theory that directs the path of World Socialist Revolution!**
- **Unite under the revolutionary banner of invincible Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**
- **Workers of all the countries! Unite!**
- **Long live World Socialist Revolution!**
- **Down with capitalism-imperialism!**
- **Long live the memory of the lakhs of martyrs who laid their lives in the World Socialist Revolution!**

Circular 1/2018

Upto AC/PPC members

Let us intensify and expand people's struggles and guerilla war by enhancing the mass base and strengthening the PLGA!

Let us defeat the counter-revolutionary 'SAMADHAN' strategic offensive of the central and the state governments to wipe out the

Indian Revolutionary Movement!

Central Military Commission

CPI (Maoist)

Dear Comrades!

We are aware that after the Burkapal ambush in Dandakaranya last year May, the central government formulated the counter revolutionary SAMADHAN offensive strategy-tactics with the ill intention to eliminate the Indian Revolutionary Movement in the coming five years (2017-2022). Like the counter revolutionary Operation Green Hunt in the country from 2009 to 2017 May the present SAMADHAN too shall be a war and an offensive on the oppressed classes, oppressed social communities, oppressed nationalities, religious minorities and all the people of India. SAMADHAN too is a strategic offensive.

The central government had been grandly propagating 'NavaBharath' nirman (construction of a New India) for the past one year. Though the Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced that the construction of new India bears the objective of building a developed India free of corruption, terrorism, casteism and communalism, the actual objectives behind this declared agenda are quite different. That is to build an India in the interests of Imperialism, Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and Big landlord classes and to stabilize their power. On one hand they want India to be a force of expansion in South Asia in order to face China. On the other hand they want to –

aggressively implement neo liberal policies; indiscriminately loot the worker, peasant and other toiling masses and the natural wealth and suppress the resistance of the toiling people; strengthen Brahmanic Hindu fascism by suppressing the oppressed castes, especially the Dalits, Adivasis and religious minorities in order to stabilize the hegemony of the oppressor castes in the country; suppress the Maoists making class struggle and armed struggle against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and big landlord classes; suppress the liberation struggles of Kashmir and North East; and thus establish 'Brahmanic Hindutva fascist state' that serves the interests of the imperialists. These are the actual objectives of the construction of 'New India'. Since the organized and armed force of the Maoist movement is the main hurdle for the construction of new India, they are concentrating more on it. Anyhow 'SAMADHAN' is aimed to attack the oppressed classes, oppressed social communities, oppressed nationalities and religious minorities that are in the way of construction of new India and go ahead with it. Putting both these together we can understand the intensity and the extent of the fascist character of 'SAMADHAN'.

The SAMADHAN is based on the Low Intensity Conflict war strategy of counter-insurgency and counter guerilla warfare. They formulate phase-wise suppressive schemes according to LIC to suppress the people's rebellions. Clear, Hold, Build and Develop are the phases. In order to achieve the aims of these phases they take up coordinated political, economic, social, cultural activities and psychological operations along with the military operations. Presently hold and build operations of the second and the third phases are going on in most of the places of our movement in the country. In thirty districts where there is maximum influence of the movement, they are taking up clear and hold operations and basing on its success build phase operations are taken up. In places where the movement temporarily setback they are taking up develop phase operations. These phase-wise operations are mainly according to our guerilla war and its results. It means that the result the enemy achieves in these phase wise operations is only relative. If the enemy is taking up hold operations in an area it does not mean that they eliminated us totally. They arrest the members of the

local organisations in a big manner, detain them, attack the local organization and the guerilla forces, kill a few and weaken the mass base and the organized strength of the people. Then, in spite of the presence of the party and the guerilla forces the state starts hold operations. It takes up the rest of the phase operations too in a similar manner. We must expand and intensify our political and organizational efforts, the people's struggles and guerilla war, achieve positive results and fight back these phases.

Since the 'SAMADHAN' offensive started the police forces in the areas of our movement (various kinds of Para-military forces, the police forces of various states and the commando forces of the centre and the states with various names), took up aggressive offensive operations in an intense and extensive manner. In the Trijunction area there are constant operations. The ruling classes are taking up severe offensive in fascist methods on the revolutionary activities, in particular the activists of the Mass Organisations in order to lessen the influence of revolutionary and democratic forces of the country.

On the whole 305 revolutionaries and revolutionary people were martyred in the past one and a half years in the countrywide fascist offensive. Out of them there are – CCM Comrade Kuppu Devraj, SZCM of the Western Ghats Comrade Ajitha, ten ZC/DC/DvC/CyPC comrades, five Sub-Zonal/Sub-Divisional Committee comrades, 56 AC/PPC comrades; 62 Party Members (55 PRs and 7 part-timers); 100 PLGA members; 44 comrades of local organisations (ten activists of mass organisations and 34 militia activists); and 20 revolutionary people.

All these offensives reveal the intensity and the fascist character of the 'SAMADHAN' offensive. During this period the PLGA forces and the strategic-tactical united Fronts in the leadership of our party strived to intensify and extend the people's struggles and the guerilla war even in difficult conditions. During the past one and a half years the PLGA forces conducted 550 small, medium and big guerilla operations depending on the mass base and eliminated 198 special police, Para-military, Commando forces and injured 357. The PLGA seized 50 modern weapons and 3,781 rounds of ammunition, wiped out 13 anti-people political leaders and 148 enemy agents. The strategic and tactical United Fronts led the people on their economic, political, social and other

such basic and daily life problems and many countrywide people's struggles, protests and resistance struggles against the state violence. All these helped the revolutionary movement sustain in difficult conditions.

The Central Home Ministry reviewed the results of the period of ten months (2017 May-2018 March) of the attacks since the beginning of 2017 and the strategic offensive of SAMADHAN. It declared that they could change 44 out of the 'Naxalite influenced' 126 districts of the country into 'districts liberated' from Naxalites, as a result of the SAMADHAN strategic offensive. It also stated that it could remove 5 districts out of the category of 35 districts 'most affected' with the Maoist movement and that since 44 districts were 'liberated from Naxalites', the areas under the impact of the Maoist movement are coming down. Though the central government knew that Maoist activities are going on in a few districts in the Trijunction area of Tamilnadu, Kerala and Karnataka in the Western Ghats, in a few districts in Asom and in a few districts in other states of the country, it did not put them in the list of the districts of Maoist influence.

The central and the state governments are shifting the IPS and other police officers deployed in the districts where our movement weakened to those that are strong. With this there is a relative flexibility for the central and the state governments in the suppressive actions of the revolutionary movement and there shall be a relative rise in pressure on the revolutionary areas. The offensive shall intensify.

The exploitive ruling classes analyse the increase and decrease of the number of districts of Naxal influence as per this LIC theoretical framework. Whatever its analysis may be, it will always undermine the strength of the movement and overstate their strength to keep the revolutionary camp in a low morale. This is part of the psychological war. We have to analyse the strength of our movement according to the rules of Maoist People's War and our strategy-tactics (the enemy offensive of the respective areas; whether we have red retaliation areas as a result of our people's war; whether there are guerilla zones; whether there are guerilla zones/areas that setback; whether there are guerilla bases). Basing on this analysis we have to adopt appropriate tactics in the respective areas.

The central government declared those districts where our revolutionary movement has weakened, where it was affected and where our movement did not pick up, as 'Maoist less districts' by 2011-12 itself. It declared those districts that we could not sustain as guerilla zones for the past two years in Bihar-Jharkhand as 'liberated from Naxals'. Ambikapur, Jaspur and Korea districts of North Chhattisgarh too were declared as such districts. Such districts in other states too were declared as 'liberated from Naxals'.

The central government reviewed the SAMADHAN offensive that it had been taking up for the past one year and decided to take the operations in the build phase to develop phase. The central government declares this normally as changing the state of the influence of the movement. **The develop phase operations are aimed to strengthen the exploitive government by taking up propaganda, development, vigilance and offensive operations to defeat the movement and see that the Maoist movement does not rise again.** The central and the state governments state that in order to achieve this aim they are making a decisive war in all the areas of the Maoist movement in the country including Dandakaranya. In a bid to affect the moral strength of the Party, PLGA forces, mass organisations, the people and the whole revolutionary camp and to surrender the weak elements, the governments are stating that the Maoists are now making a war of defeat. Until the encounter in Halbi Thumirigunda-Kasnur, the Paramilitary officers and the other police officers said that the intensity and the extent of the Maoists is increasing, that it is not possible to suppress the Maoists by 2022 and that it be extended for one more year. After this and the Ayipenta encounter, they started giving statements that they shall suppress the Maoist movement by 2022 and that the Maoists must surrender with weapons and if not so they shall eliminate the Maoists with incidents like Kasnur.

How must we understand the 'SAMADHAN' offensive going on for the past one year and the statements of the central and the state governments? What are the strategy-tactics that the enemy is following to change the states of the influence of the revolutionary movement into Maoist less states and districts? What are the strategy-tactics we are to follow to defeat the enemy offensive? Let us discuss these aspects.

It is true that some of our subjective forces have been affected due to the 'SAMADHAN' offensive that added to the ongoing enemy offensive. While some of them became martyrs in the enemy offensive, a few weak elements surrendered. A few areas of revolutionary movement weakened. A few set-back. After the formation of People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) the ongoing guerilla war destroyed the enemy power that resulted in the formation of Revolutionary People's Committees (RPC) in a few areas, zones/districts/divisions and guerilla bases were established. In these areas now the government built road, transport, communications and information systems along with 'carpet security'. It is true that they are relatively successful in this. With these the exploitive government machinery is strengthening in places where it has weakened and reviving where it was destroyed. Their propaganda about successes is half true and a part of psychological war. The Indian Revolutionary movement is making guerilla war in the phase of strategic self-defense. We need to analyse the statements of the enemy with MLM perspective. Until there is a fundamental change in the character of the respective struggle areas, all the unfavorable factors are quantitative changes. However, though with the result of these quantitative changes, what is the situation of the present movement in the respective Special Areas/Special Zones/States; Zones/Districts/Divisions? What is the state of the balance of forces of the enemy and us? What is the state of the preparation of the people, the state of ally forces and that of the contradictions among the ruling classes? The respective Regional Bureaus, Special Area/Special Zone/State Committees must specifically discuss these issues and analyse correctly. Depending on this assessment they must formulate appropriate programs and tactics to progress the areas.

The multipronged tactics of the state to eliminate the Indian Revolutionary movement

The Central Committee and the Central Military Commission has already written about the counter revolutionary 'SAMADHAN' strategy-tactics of the central government for suppressing the Indian Revolutionary Movement on various occasions. So we only mention certain important issues.

1. Strengthening of 'carpet security' system by deploying Para-military, Commando and Special police forces in the areas of revolutionary movement. Intensifying counter guerilla operations and cordon, search and kill operations basing on carpet security

Presently six lakhs of Para-military, Commando and police forces were deployed in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Maharashtra, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh along with Tamilnadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Assam. Thirty thousand Para-military, Commando and police forces were deployed for the suppression of the revolutionary movements in those states in the past one and a half years. Sixteen new camps were set up in Chhattisgarh from 2017 November to 2018 mid-May. Another 28 new camps were announced to be set up. In spite of deployment of such a huge number of forces to unleash the SAMADHAN offensive in fascist methods the state wants many more forces for the elimination of Maoists. So they are increasing the number of police, commando and Para-military forces constantly in the revolutionary areas. As a part of it the Chhattisgarh government is establishing three Chhattisgarh Armed Force (CAF) Battalions. As per the decision in 2016, four IRBs and a Bastariya Battalion of the CRPF are formed and deployed to suppress the movement. In addition to these the Chhattisgarh Special Task Force (STF), District Reserve Group (DRG) and other such Commando forces are said to be not enough for the suppression of the revolutionary movement. The Chhattisgarh government is forming a Commando Battalion-Black Panthers to take up counter guerilla operations like the Greyhounds forces of the Andhra-Telangana. During the past one year the concerned state governments increased police forces in all the areas of the revolutionary movement. Two new state police battalions were formed in Telangana and deployed in Jayasankar Bhoopalapalli and Bhadradi Kothagudem districts. They are especially deployed to stop the entrance of Maoists into Telangana from the Dandakaranya forest.

Fifty thousand forces were brought together from Rajnandgaon and other districts of Bastar area for cordon, search and kill operations on our PLGA Battalion in the South sub-Zonal Bureau. Operation Prahar-3 was conducted in the month of June in which the police forces faced

losses. The central and the state governments stated that they shall intensify cordon, search and kill operations on the Maoists basing on the increased carpet security.

The rise in 'carpet security' became a severe hurdle for the movements of our Party, PLGA units and for mass work-military work. There are more problems in plain area and in places where the mass base is weak. So we have to consider the terrain, mass base, PLGA formations and other things and formulate methods for mass work and military work.

2. Intensifying counter guerilla operations in guerilla bases, strategic areas and newly extended areas

The area is divided into sectors, sub-sectors and cordon, search and kill operations are conducted from all sides continuously basing on the carpet security. Similarly they are concentrating on borders of the states, guerilla bases, strategic areas and expanded areas.

As a part of these counter guerilla operations the operations are being held to eliminate the leadership starting from the Central Committee to the local level. They state they shall 'make aggressive attacks penetrating into the Maoist camps and eliminate the Maoists'. The state is trying to defeat the revolutionary movement by eliminating the leadership forces leading the revolutionary movement through such operations. They are making increasing attacks on the guerilla bases and strategic areas, trying to destroy guerilla bases of guerilla war and to push the PLGA into a vulnerable situation. They are making attacks on the strategic areas and are trying to disturb our mechanism of coordination. They are also trying to increase attacks on our areas of expansion to stop further expansion. We have to adopt appropriate tactics and work methods to face them. We have to develop and change the already formulated tactics on par with the enemy.

3. Taking up successful counter guerilla operations basing on the strength and expansion of the intelligence system

As a part of the SAMADHAN strategy they much more expanded and strengthened the intelligence system. Large scale funds are spent for Human intelligence and technical intelligence systems and intelligence information collected. A satellite is being constructed

especially with the support of Israel to identify the movements of Maoist guerillas. Severe attempts are made to change the persons helping us in civil and military supplies to become informers and covert. Modern technology is being utilized to intercept our communications. There is vigilance on our mobile phone usage. When they seize mobile phones, tablets and computers from us the police collect our information. The Chhattisgarh government is preparing one to ten informers in every village of the area of the movement. The police put an eye on the movement of our leadership comrades and our guerilla units through this intelligence system; they identify, follow and attack us. Our mistakes in implementing the rules of guerilla war, especially those in implementing secret method of work have become a source for the enemy to know our information and are facilitating attacks. So the Party Committees-Commands need to develop their understanding and training regarding technical intelligence, appropriately plan for implementation and pay attention to constantly inspect the implementation of the plan so that our guerilla units move accordingly. There should be no liberalism and we must see it critically and concentrate to give a blow to the enemy.

4. Reforms to see that the petty bourgeois sections on the rise in the Adivasi areas do not join the revolutionary movement

It is a normal rule of war that those that bring the middle sections (meaning those who are neither on the ruling side nor the revolutionary side) on to their side shall achieve success. This is also one of the important rules of LIC. In spite of their unprecedented exploitation and oppression on the oppressed classes, oppressed social communities and oppressed nationalities, the exploitive class makes a goebbelsian propaganda that they are striving for the development of the oppressed masses and that the revolutionary section (revolutionaries that struggle for liberation of class, society and nationality) are against the development of the oppressed people. It tries to maintain a section on their side. As a part of it the central government, United Nations and the Chhattisgarh government together conducted a seminar of the world Adivasi traders and industrialists in Dantewada in 2017 November. After this seminar a section of the petty bourgeois (students-youth, intellectuals, traders and others) of the Adivasi

society are being provided opportunities for self-employment like e-governance, e-business/banking, e-literacy activists, e-rickshaw drivers, Kadaknadh poultry farmers, traders, producers and traders of paddy grown with local fertilisers without the usage of any chemicals, producers and traders of tulip floriculturists. Though this has been going on for some time such seminars are on the rise.

The central government announced 115 districts of the country as 'Aakanksha (aspiring) districts' this April (now the number has been reduced to 105). Ten districts of Chhattisgarh in the influence of our movement are included in these aspiring districts. For the past 5-6 years a few selected adivasi students of seven districts of Bastar have been brought to Dantewada district after which the 'development' programs have gained momentum in the 'aspiring district' scheme. There are 18 educational institutions in the Geedam-Javanga educational city in Dantewada district. 5,500 students are being educated and trained starting from primary level education to technical and professional courses. In another scheme named 'Choolo Asman'(Reach the sky) intermediate students are provided training for Medical and Engineering entrance examinations. Another one thousand students are molded to become employees in the domestic and foreign corporate houses. As a part of women's self-employment 1500 women were imparted training in driving to run e-rickshaws and also 150 e-rickshaws were distributed to the women. The traditional agricultural company with the name Bhoomgadi mobilized 1600 peasants. It is producing and trading 'Aadim' (primitive) brand paddy.

All these amount to the exploitation of the natural resources by the domestic and foreign corporate houses and to prepare employees to serve them. In addition to this the exploitive classes utilize them as their social basis. On the other hand this is posed to be the development of adivasis.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi started 'Ayushman Bharath' and Van dhan scheme from Jangla-Bijapur in April. As a part of it they provided opportunities to the rich sections of the Adivasis to collect, store, process, brand and sell-export forest produce and are making attempts to mold them as tribal traders. In a bid to allow the domestic and foreign corporate organisations to loot the wealth of Bastar, a very

small section of the adivasis are turned to be truck owners (transporters), as contractors in the establishment of basic infrastructure and real estate businessmen. They are said to be adivasi entrepreneurs and capitalists. We have to politically expose the conspiracies and sabotage of the exploitive classes in portraying this as the development of adivasis, while in fact they are exploiting and oppressing them.

5. Intensifying attacks on the activists of the Mass Organisations in the name of urban Maoists'

'SAMADHAN' offensive will not be unleashed only on the areas of guerilla zone and red resistance areas. With the ill intention to wipe out the Indian Revolutionary movement and to suppress the activities of the Mass Organisations in the urban areas they started to propagate that 'urban Maoists' are dangerous forces. In the month of June this year they arrested five activists of the mass organisations from Delhi, Nagpur and Poona and sent them to jail with false cases. This is an indication of increasing attacks on the activists in the country in the coming days. Fascist offensive shall intensify on the activists of the mass organisations.

6. Obstructing Party funds

As a part of the suppressive measures the central government identified the means of Party funds and took up an action plan to stop them. It formed a multi-disciplinary taskforce constituting the Enforcement Directorate (ED), Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), National Investigation Agency (NIA) and another two agencies for the implementation of this action plan. This taskforce and the state governments together keep a vigil on the activities and transactions of persons relating to tendu, bamboo, trade, mining, provision of basic infrastructure, real estate and other such trade, industrial and service sectors. They foist cases on all those they doubt to have been giving us money. According to the directions of the central government the Chhattisgarh and the Maharashtra governments stopped the tendu leaf contractors from giving us funds. They tried to turn the contractors and managers as informers. We were attacked while collecting funds.

Let us implement dialectical materialistic analytical method and class line to overcome the severe subjectivity and liberalism in us to

defeat SAMADHAN offensive; let us lessen the losses by sharpening the style of Maoist struggle; let us enhance mass base basing on the positive experiences gained in the areas of the movement and strengthen the Party and the PLGA; let us intensify and expand people's war-guerilla war.

Most of the circulars of the CC, SAC/SZC/SC related to the multi-pronged counter offensive tactics to defeat the enemy offensive shall be the guidelines even now. We mention only a few important aspects to develop an understanding to defeat SAMADHAN offensive.

1. We must bring a change in our theoretical, political and military understanding in understanding the severe change in the enemy offensive

There are subjectivity, liberalism, individualism, spontaneity, sectarianism in the Party Committees and the Commands in creatively implementing the ordinary principles of guerilla war and the resolutions and circulars of the upper committees of the party to the specific conditions. In addition to these, we faced severe losses where the committees and the commands were irresponsible. Therefore these committees and the commands will have to be more responsible, go deep into the origins of the problem and make efforts to overcome their theoretical, political and military weaknesses. They must transform their practice. They must identify the changes on both the sides in war. They must identify the strong and the weak aspects of both the sides, concentrate the weaknesses of the enemy and defeat them. We are unable to comprehensively understand the situation due to our partial and limited perspective. We undermine or overdo the strength of the enemy and do the same with our strength. It means we are not analyzing the actual conditions in a realistic manner, that we understand only the favorable conditions and do not understand the difficult condition. This is expressed in the form of empiricism. We must shed this subjective attitude. There is liberalism in the form of casual attitude, individualism in the form of not implementing the decisions and methods decided and sectarianism in the form of not mobilizing the broad masses into the class struggle and limiting to a few persons. We must shed all these.

We developed the tactics of revolutionary guerilla war from our many experiences according to the concrete conditions. Many training camps are going on regarding IAD, ambush, raids, fire and movement, unarmed combat, BMC, PLGA handbook, Company drills, Battalion drills, booby traps, mine warfare and other such things. However owing to liberal tendency, neither the party leadership nor the fighters implement them. We can avoid losses if we overcome liberalism and if the leadership is active and rectifies the mistakes and indiscipline in a timely manner. Thus we can fight the enemy in a political way with class hatred.

2. We must rectify the mistakes in implementing the rules and methods of self-defense

The exploitive ruling classes took up the offensive with a comprehensive strategy in the rural and the urban areas all over the country to wipe out the revolutionary movement. The state is concentrating its offensive on all the guerilla bases, guerilla zones and red resistance areas, Dandakaranya being its main target. As the enemy offensive intensifies, the number of armed forces, weapons, training, its maneuvers, logistics, basic facilities and related budget allocations too are increasing in a large scale. In order to defeat the present SAMADHAN offensive we have to take up active war of self-defense. We must persistently enhance the preparation for war among our forces.

The recent countrywide losses are the indices of the intensified enemy offensive on one hand and the mistakes and weaknesses of the various levels of leadership, activists and the forces in implementing the rules of guerilla war and the secret method of functioning on the other. Due to the overwhelming numbers of the enemy at times we face losses in war. However we can avoid most of the losses if we strictly practice the rules of guerilla war and secret methods of functioning.

We are letting out our information to the police from our relations with anti-people elements contrary to our rules and resolutions, for supplies and other such necessities, due to the lack of critical understanding about enemy network, due to the methods, habits and legalist trends in the work style we got used during the relatively

flexible period. Especially in the Tumirigunda-Kasnur encounter in which we faced a heavy loss there were many serious mistakes – we camped on the side of River Indravathi where there was no way for advance-retreat; after the enemy attacked our camp neither the members of the Divisional Committee nor the DvC comrade who was the commander for that formation had the initiative to command; after the enemy offensive began our comrades were in covers and resisted for two hours but did not retreat before the enemy encircled the camp; seeing no way to retreat one of our comrades hastily gave the caution to ‘dive in the river’; many comrades followed it and dived out of which some could not swim along with the weapons; some were injured; thus more comrades were martyred in the river more than in the firing with the enemy in the camp. In the Neelambur encounter, there was an under assessment of the enemy owing to subjectivity in theoretical, political and military angles, liberalism and legalism; they violated the directions given by the CC and the SZC; they adopted non-guerilla methods; there were serious weaknesses in protecting the party leadership, party secrets and communist guerilla values; all these led to the loss of higher level leadership.

Whichever the guerilla unit may be (LGS, Platoon, Company or the Battalion); whether they are centralized or decentralized; whether they are in daily activities or special campaigns, they have to follow guerilla war rules and be secret in their movements. We must travel during the night time; leave the paths and travel in the forest; engage reliable people and comrades of local organisations in flanks as scouts and guides in the rear during journey; see that the camping site is favorable for advance and retreat, camouflage, cover and concealment in the camps; daily patrols surrounding the camp, sentry and observation posts; making changes in the sentry, patrolling and observation system according to the situation; deploying ambush teams; arranging many obstacles along with mines and claymores; give ordinary bombs, cordex bombs and arrow bombs to the militia and where we cannot form militia one or two persons should be given the responsibility to alert the people, Party and the PLGA forces immediately after they see the police movements both in the day and the night; give bombs, cordex bombs, arrow bombs to them and allot them responsibilities. The state

is in a state of offense and so a part of our forces must constantly engage in ambush on the way of police patrols and give them a blow or eliminate them. Starting from the armed militia whether it is the secondary forces, main forces or any unit of the PLGA must definitely implement the military rules we adopted. Through all these amidst carpet security and large number of enemy forces, we can escape without facing loss and moreover can give a blow to the enemy. In case we are attacked we have to follow the rules of guerilla war and implement self-defense-offense methods in a proper manner. We have to implement C-4 correctly. The commanding must be especially precise. When we are attacked we must retreat with fire and movement even before we are encircled. While one group/section makes firing-offense to contain the enemy another group/section must retreat. Each and every section/LOS must have arrow bombs and Barrel Grenade Launchers (BGL). We must get hold of opportunities for advance-retreat by throwing them on the enemy. Above all we must resist the enemy with courage and dare.

In order to implement the rules of guerilla war, first the leadership cadres, commanders and the forces must shed casualness, petty bourgeois weaknesses and the life style and habits, and idleness that do not suit guerilla life. We must work hard.

We must achieve experience and skill in centralization and decentralization of our forces in the state of carpet security. While the decentralized forces make all the preparations during the TCOC or during other kinds of work, immediately after the forces are centralized we must complete the specified work and disperse. If there are any hurdles in the specified work we must once again decentralize, do away with the hurdles and again centralize. When the forces are centralized we must appoint only militarily efficient and daring comrades as commanders. They must have the initiative in commanding concerning self-defense and offense.

Many limitations are coming forth in conducting war operations due to the damage of war equipment out of our mistakes in the supply system and in the maintenance of dumps. We must rectify these mistakes and enhance the extent of war operations.

We have been talking about most of these methods of self-defense and offense mentioned above for a long time. But we are not practicing them properly and this is a serious weakness. So the leadership ranks must shed liberalism and weakness in rectifying this shortcoming. Thus we must change our self-defense and defense methods according to the present conditions.

3. In order to defeat the SAMADHAN offensive the leadership forces in our Party, PLGA and the United Front must be much more bolshevized and alien trends be certainly rectified

One of the main reasons that led to the difficult situation is the inability to achieve proper results in rectifying alien class trends that have been continuing in our Party for a long time. So the Central Committee, the respective Regional Bureaus, SAC/SZC/SC must strive a lot to rectify the same. First the leadership cadres must rectify the alien class tendencies and change the lower level cadres and forces. We must take disciplinary actions on those who turned diehards with alien class characteristics.

We have to start bolshevization campaign in places where it had not yet started and take it up to the lower levels. In places where the first phase of bolshevization is over, the leadership forces (CC, SZC and DvC) must improve their study of MLM theory. This must help them in applying the MLM rules according to the social conditions and the specific situation of class struggle-people's war. We must make social investigation as a part of it. We must identify the changes in the relations of production and in class relations in the respective areas and formulate tactics that intensify class struggles against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and landlord classes and that develops people's war-guerilla war. Basing on them we have to enhance the mass base to overcome the difficult situation and the temporary setback. We must defeat the SAMADHAN offensive by intensifying and expanding the people's war-guerilla war basing on a strong mass base.

We must make social investigation to identify the changes due to the reforms of the central and the state governments to mold the petty bourgeois sections in the adivasi areas as entrepreneurs and

industrialists or the other economic, social and political reforms. We must have a political program to mobilise the increasing petty bourgeois sections of the adivasi society and place appropriate forms of struggle and organization to achieve the same. As a part of this we have to take up struggles on autonomy of adivasis. In places where the RPC are functioning we must make the adivasi, non-adivasi and petty bourgeois sections an extensive part of the formation of new democratic economic and political system and thus see that they do not fall for the reforms of the exploitive classes.

4. We must relentlessly take up consolidation of the organisations damaged in the enemy offensive

The state is taking up constant operations in our areas of the movement and is damaging various levels of our Party, PLGA, UF (Revolutionary Mass Organisations and Revolutionary People's Committees) through encounters, fake encounters, arrests and fake surrender programs. We have to pay attention on the revival and re-consolidation of such organisations starting from the village level. We have to adopt methods appropriate to the specific conditions in the respective areas. If there is a long gap with the area affected with enemy offensive and if the revolutionary activities are not revived the state shall establish its hegemony. We should not let this happen.

5. Let us mobilise the broad masses into anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggle basing on the positive experiences in the political and organizational spheres, let us enhance mass base and train new leadership forces

In the recent time there are a few positive experiences in the political sphere. PLGA forces, revolutionary mass organisations and people are taking up guerilla war-people's war in various levels in the leadership of our Party in the various Special Areas/Special Zones/States. Party is spreading the revolutionary movement to new areas. The enemy forces, their agents, informer-covert networks are eliminated basing on mass base and courage amidst severe repression and encirclement. We are intensifying class struggle with land problem as the centre in the rural areas, building and developing the organs of revolutionary people's state power, developing the living standards of

the people, people are made part of the land leveling programs, movements to increase productivity, building many struggles on the economic, social, political and problems of daily life, especially for Jal-Jungle-Zameen-Ijjath-Adhikar, against displacement, against state violence and thus strengthening the mass base. The people's agitations that broke against the amendments in CNT, SPT acts and the Land acquisition Act-2013 must be integrated with the ongoing people's war. Though separate Telangana was formed, the people are getting clearer that the fundamental problems or the problems of daily life are not solved. So mobilizing the people for democratic Telangana, mobilizing them politically and taking up the building of people's movement is a good attempt. In the Trijunction area the political, economic and problems of daily life of the people are being taken up and the movement is gradually getting rooted. Here we must take up the task of building struggles on the fundamental problems of the people and enhance the mass base by advancing the movement. We have to pay attention on consolidating our subjective forces in the process of struggle. We conducted training programs and rectification programs to bolshevise the Party, PLGA and to consolidate and are taking up in a few other places. Leadership Training Program (LTP), Military Leadership Training Program (MLTP) for the past four years in the CRB area was a good experience in training up the new leadership forces. Wherever possible we have been conducting the conferences of revolutionary mass organisations from the bottom to the top, strengthen the leadership, see that the mass organisations function regularly and thus strengthen them. In the urban areas our forces are building student, worker and women sectors on a broad basis wherever they are able to work. Civil rights movements are going ahead against the state violence of the mercenary government forces and their secret murderous gangs of the exploitive ruling classes, in a bid to eliminate the revolutionary movement on the whole. There are people's movements on a broad basis against the attempt of the Hindu fascist offensive on the religious minorities, Dalits, Adivasis, Women, Oppressed nationalities, progressive and democratic forces to establish 'Hindu raj' in the name of formation of 'New India'. They are taking up revolutionary propaganda on various political issues and are trying to inculcate revolutionary spirit in the revolutionary forces.

All the Special Area/Special Zone/State Committees, Zonal/District/Divisional Committees must adopt programs for broad mobilization in the present political conditions, lead such struggles with dynamicity, militancy and courage, must be brave enough not to fear the enemy offensive and must be prepared for sacrifice. Thus they can organize the broad masses into the class struggle, enhance the mass base and pave a way to overcome the difficult situation. We must study the past experiences in all the levels and in all the fields. As a part of it we have to study the urban organization, organisation in the plain areas, guerilla war in the plain areas and the tactics of guerilla war in difficult situation. Let us defeat SAMADHAN offensive by shedding the negative and consolidating the positive experiences and by developing new forces in leadership.

6. Let us intensify and expand people's war-guerilla war basing on the experiences in the military field in the areas of revolutionary movement of the country and defeat SAMADHAN offensive

Since the countrywide revolutionary movement entered a difficult situation the central and the state governments are stopping the military supplies necessary for war, in spite of which we have been facing the enemy offensive for the past five years. We also fought back the schemes of the exploitive ruling classes that aimed to eliminate the Indian Revolutionary Movement with campaigns like Mission-2016 and Mission-2017. We gained many valuable experiences in conducting people's war-guerilla war in the red resistance areas, guerilla zones and guerilla bases in the past five years. In Dandakaranya primary stage Improvised Artillery was established basing on the local sources and snipers were trained. The sniper teams gained good results in practice, mine warfare was intensified and expanded through IED and primary artillery and various kinds of thousands of traditional traps were dug and booby trap war was developed. The successful Burkapal ambush conducted by the secondary forces of the South Sub-Zonal Bureau and the Telangana forces with the PLGA Battalion as the centre in Dandakaranya is a rich experience in the recent time. In Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area, IED were prepared in a large scale with the help of improvised explosives and arranged in a vast area, they were utilized in the ambushes, area ambushes and the police forces were attacked.

We also gained many valuable lessons from the negative experiences of the ambushes. Any kind of ambush must deploy scout/security/stop parties in support to the assault parties, there must be various kinds of maneuvers to separate a small or a big part of the enemy force encircle and eliminate it. We need to have a clear-cut scheme for this. We must specifically rehearse to implement it successfully and gain hold on it. The Commands must pay attention on this aspect. In BJ and DK we heroically fought back many large suppression operations of the enemy through counter attacks. The AOB guerilla zone overcame the heavy loss from Ramaguda incident and is taking up small and medium kind of operations thus providing the experience and the self-confidence that the revolutionary movement shall continue. In the MKVB (Malkangiri-Koraput-Visakha border) division the militia independently took up TCOC for 20 days and fulfilled it successfully. The militia is actively working in many forms to protect our Party from the enemy offensive.

We must exchange the above mentioned experiences all over the country. Basing on them we have to intensify and expand the guerilla war in the countrywide red resistance areas, guerilla zones and in the guerilla bases. However much the state fortifies the police stations and camps in carpet security we must transform them into their own killing fields. Whether in the day or in the night the police patrols must be communicated among the people and the guerilla forces be made alert. For this purpose the people and the militia must be armed with various kinds of explosive material. We must develop a communication system in people's traditional methods to know information about the enemy.

We must give responsibility to the local organisations to produce traditional weapons in a big way in areas where people's militia and RPCs exist and even where they do not exist to arm the people, people's militia and the local organisations. These must intensify and expand the people's war-guerilla war so that the enemy forces are injured or wiped out each and every day. All the forces of PLGA must be armed with one or the other weapon. This method must be used in all the places according to the positive results where the leadership forces participate in the war operations and campaigns with a strong will. All

kinds of weapons and all kinds of forms of struggle must be utilized and carpet security system must be made defunct. Thus SAMADHAN offensive must be defeated.

The Regional Bureau, Special Area/Special Zone/State Committees, Sub-zonal bureaus, Zonal/District/Divisional Committees are making certain resolutions to overcome the problems and unfavorable aspects coming in the way of mass work-military work in the carpet security areas and plain areas. We are also gaining certain positive results. The concerned Regional Bureaus, Special Area/Special Zone/State Committees must analyse these experiences and formulate certain guidelines to solve the problem. For this purpose we have to keep the below mentioned issues in view. The Party must stick on to the people amidst severe repression. It must mobilise the people on their basic problems, problems of daily life, political, economic and social problems. The military formations must organize the people and the people's militia in the people's war-guerilla war. In view of these we need an organizational system of units of mass work and military work.

We have to enhance the strength and capabilities of our Party and the PLGA basing on proletarian perspective, class line, and the rules of people's war-guerilla war in order to defeat the new strategy of SAMADHAN of the enemy to wipe out the Indian Revolutionary movement. The cadres of our Party and the PLGA must inculcate proletarian sharpness to face the smart leadership of the enemy. In order to face the aggressive strategy we must make guerilla war in an aggressive manner. In order to face the motivation and training the forces of our Party and PLGA must constantly imbibe themselves with proletarian politics; we must develop our training so as to fight back the counter guerilla war tactics of the enemy. In order to fight back the actionable intelligence we have to expand people's intelligence basing on the broad masses. We must fight back and defeat the attacks of the enemy basing on dash board based indicators by updating and developing the information about the enemy's intelligence as per the present conditions, the terrain of the areas and the balance of forces in the areas of the movement. We must depend on the people to enhance our financial sources and fight back the enemy's plan to stop funds to us.

7. We must give a blow to the intelligence system of the state and must fight back its attempts to collect our information basing on modern technology

We must not fall into liberalism and casualness in facing the informer system. We must not be sectarian. We must follow mass line-class line and not be mechanical. However much the state trains up informers we must identify them with people's vigilance and control them in various forms and wipe out a few.

The state is preparing informers in large numbers all over the areas of the movement as a part of its intelligence system. Most of the informers are anti-people, lumpen elements but they are from poor and middle class adivasi, Dalit and backward classes. We must take up constant political efforts among the oppressed masses not to become informers. We must take up political and military campaigns among the people regarding the problem of informers all over the areas of the movement. We must conduct meetings in the villages, explain to the informer, explain to his/her family, warn them, beat them if necessary and wipe out a few. In case of teachers, anganwadis, nurses, we have to control them through their organisations. If there is no result we have to take up actions such as beating or wiping out. We must organize the people of all the classes and sections and lessen the intensity of the problem of informers by enhancing the mass base.

We must take care not to let out our information through electronic gadgets and communication equipment.

8. We must mold the Mass Organisations so as to face the intensifying attacks

The 'SAMADHAN' offensive is not only on the guerilla zones and armed guerillas. In the coming days counter-revolutionary attacks shall intensify on the activists of the Mass Organisations. There shall be increasing attacks of the enemy on the activists of the Mass Organisations in the name of 'urban Maoists are dangerous' and other such things. The Mass Organisations must be prepared to fight back this SAMADHAN offensive basing on the experiences of the earlier fight against the enemy attacks. The offensive should be fought back by mobilizing the masses widely into anti-imperialist, anti-comprador

bureaucratic bourgeois, anti-feudal class struggles, consolidate the people coming forth in these struggles and thus strengthen. We must adopt appropriate precautions and methods of work to fight back the attacks of the enemy in deceptive methods on our activists.

9. Let us fail the ill attempts of the central and the state governments to stop the source of funds to our Party

As per our financial policy every State Committee must have financial stocks enough for three years. They must identify the sources and opportunities for collecting funds in their areas and collect funds with utmost precautions and secrecy. We must inculcate the consciousness to fund the revolutionary movement among the people and collect funds from them according to their affordability. The funds must be allotted as per the importance of political propaganda and the necessities of war. We must control waste expenditure and maintain thrift. Only then we can fail the attempt of the enemy to give a blow to the revolutionary movement by stopping funds.

Comrades!

We have to analyse the counter revolutionary SAMADHAN offensive of the enemy in a strategic and tactical angle. We have to consider the enemy offensive as that of a 'real tiger' concerning tactics and implement all the above mentioned self-defense-offense methods in a serious manner. Strategically we must see it as the offensive of a 'paper tiger'. Class struggle shall continue as long as classes exist and as long as there are cruel attacks by the exploitive classes on the oppressed classes. This is an unconditional universal rule. If we can guide the protest, resistance and struggles of the oppressed classes amidst these cruel attacks, they will be consolidated and armed and shall bring down and eliminate the exploitive classes. As a result of the sharpening fundamental contradictions domestically and internationally the people of all the classes and all the sections are in struggle. This objective situation is a big source and a basis to defeat the enemy. We defeated the Salwa judum, Sendra, Nagarik Suraksha Samithi, Harmadvahini, Santhisena and other such counter-revolutionary white militia of the central and the state governments and defeated their attacks. We defeated Salwa Judum earlier. We fought

back Mission 2016 and 2017 and Operation Green Hunt. Let us protect our leadership ranks, Commanders and our forces from the enemy attacks. Let us organize the broad masses against the exploitive classes, organize and arm them and thus enhance our mass base. Let us defeat the SAMADHAN offensive by intensifying and expanding guerilla war depending on the developing mass base.

Let us defeat the enemy offensive utilizing the developing favorable conditions in the country and all over the world

Comrades!

The fundamental contradictions in the country and all over the world are sharpening and the conditions are turning favorable to revolution. The economic and financial crises that began first in 2008 in the US and later in Europe had not yet been solved. The crisis of over production is haunting the imperialist economic system. The destruction of clothes costing more than Rs.200 crores by a readymade cloth shop in France is a recent example. The protectionist policies of the US in the economic sphere intensified its contradictions with Europe and China. They are gradually leading to trade wars. The US announced 25 per cent duties on steel imports and 10 per cent on Aluminium from China on the 1st of March this year. This extended to a 25 per cent duty on 1300 kinds of Chinese products amounting to 50 billion dollars (nearly Rs.3.4 lakh crores). As a counter to this, China too announced import duty on 106 products of the US amounting to Rs.3.4 lakh crores), followed by the European Union. Thus while a commercial war is going on between the US and China, the US also decided to increase duties on the imports of cars and other such things from the European countries. It also warned that it would impose duties on Japan. Thus a situation of increasing commercial wars between the US and Europe and the US and Japan arose. All these developments are a result of the protectionist policies followed by Trump to sustain the economically weakened US once again as a strong force as 'America first'. Japan formed the Japan Regional and Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) with Europe, China and ten Asian countries. The currency war between the US dollar and the Chinese Yuan intensified. Future shall witness many more such conflicts. These conflicts in the economic sphere might spread to the military field. The ill effects of all these shall haunt the whole world.

The civil war in Syria in West Asia does not seem to end. This turned to be a platform of cold war between the US and the Russian alliances. The US is constantly conspiring to encourage enmity between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Conflicts between Israel and Syria are on the rise. The US identified Jerusalem as the capital city of Israel and shifted its embassy that resulted in an intensity of expansionist attacks of Israel on Palestine. The people of Palestine are taking up militant struggles with severe anger against these attacks.

In the Korean island the presidents of the US and North Korea met in Singapore in the month of June and discussed about nuclear disarmament. Though the imperialist corporate media highlighted it, this meeting naturally ended without any result.

Syria-Middle East, Korean island, South China Sea areas yet continue to be the centres of conflict and pose danger to world peace.

Due to the exploitation and oppression of imperialism and the Indian ruling classes on the agricultural sector and the peasantry, the rural economic system was crushed and the lives of the peasantry turned pathetic. This led to militant struggles of the peasants for the past two years. The 180 km long march of agricultural labor and the adivasis from Nasik of Maharashtra on March 1st that reached Mumbai on the 12th is a recent example. The peasant struggles for the past two years stand as a model to show that the conditions to organize the peasantry and the rural people on their problems are turning more and more favorable.

For the past four years all the people of the oppressed classes are organized in militant struggles against the attacks of the Brahmanic Hindu fascist forces all over the country on all the classes, social communities and oppressed nationalities.

The militant participation of Dalits, Adivasis, Students and youth in the All India Bandh on April 2nd called by the Dalit organisations of the country in protest to the judgment of the Supreme Court of March 20th to undermine the SC, ST atrocities prevention Act is a strong basis to resist Brahmanic Hindu fascist forces.

There were protests by the Dalits and backward sections all over Maharashtra in protest to the attacks of the Brahmanic Hindutva forces

in Bheema Koregaon on January 1st this year. Worried with the developing consciousness and militancy among the Dalits against the Brahmanic Hindu fascism the central and the state governments arrested five activists of the Mass Organisations from Delhi, Nagpur and Poona and put them in jail on false cases. But this shall only increase the militancy among the Dalits.

The four years of Narendra Modi's rule shattered the illusions in the people. The Modi government came to power promising it would 'bring good days' (ache din laayenge). It could not only did not keep its promise to bring down the sky rocketing prices of daily necessities and the prices of petrol and diesel and provision of one crore jobs but with the suicide of 45 thousand farmers; demonetization-GST that affected the economic system; the increasing non-performing assets; bank scams and other such scams, brought 'bad days' (boore din) to the poor and the middle class people. Each day witnesses attacks on the Dalits, Adivasis and religious minorities, sexual assaults and murders on women that reveals the fakeness and deception of the slogan, 'Sab ke saath sab kaa vikaas' (development to all together with all). All the slogans of Modi are exposed among the ordinary people that they are in the interests of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and landlords. So the Brahmanic Hindu fascists give the slogan of 'vikaas' (development) on one side as a part of the agenda to establish Brahmanic Hindu fascist state and on the other bring forth the slogan of constructing Ram temple in Ayodhya. They are thus instigating Hindu communalism all over the country and plan to come to power in the coming Parliament and Assembly elections. The BJP conspiratorially withdrew support to the PDP government in Kashmir saying it adopted a soft attitude towards the 'separatists' and imposed President's rule. It is instigating national chauvinism, Hindu communalism and false patriotism against Pakistan saying that it is intervening in the internal affairs of the country, that it is repeatedly violating the ceasefire agreement on the borders and against the nationality liberation struggle of Kashmir, in a bid to win the elections.

We must expose the failures of the Modi government and its anti-national, anti-people, Hindu fascist policies serving for the interests of imperialism, Comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and big landlords

among the people. There must be constant political propaganda among the people so that they do not fall into Hindu communalism and national chauvinism. We must thus way build people's movements all over the country on a broad basis against the rising Brahmanic Hindu fascism in the leadership of Narendra Modi.

The BJP might come to power in the coming parliamentary elections by instigating Hindu communalism in the name of construction of Ram temple in Ayodhya, in the name of Kashmir problem instigating religious division and through instigating national chauvinism against Pakistan posing border problem. A coalition government might be formed in the leadership of the Congress. If BJP returns to power the SAMADHAN fascist offensive shall intensify. If the Congress comes to power, if not with the name of SAMADHAN, an offensive with some other name shall intensify on the revolutionary movement. LIC strategy shall be the guidance to this offensive also. The offensive shall target the elimination of the countrywide revolutionary movement. It is our task to make efforts to defeat this offensive. So, all the Special Area/Special Zonal/State Committees must formulate an ordinary plan for the coming four years and a specific plan for two years. This plan must guide self-defense-offense; centralization-decentralisation-command; expansion of areas from Zone/Division limits to the Special Area/Special Zone/State limits and adopt advance and retreat methods in a broad area. All these must help to increase the mass base, to strengthen the Party and the PLGA and to enhance the way of struggle and fighting.

Let us struggle in legal, illegal, open and secret forms on the class problems and the problems of various social sections, on the problems of oppressed nationalities to fulfill the above task. Let us in this process develop political mobilization, organization and struggle in a more powerful manner. We must thus utilize the conditions favorable for revolution, defeat the SAMADHAN offensive and advance the Indian New Democratic Revolution.

2018 July 25

**Revolutionary Greetings,
Central Military Commission**

**CPI (Maoist)
January 2019**

(contd. from P138)

sentimental form of men's relation to the alien, natural and social, forces which dominate them, so long as men remain under the control of these forces. However, we have seen repeatedly that in existing bourgeois society men are dominated by the economic conditions created by themselves, by the means of production which they themselves have produced, as if by an alien force. The actual basis of the religious reflective activity therefore continues to exist, and with it the religious reflection itself. And although bourgeois political economy has given a certain insight into the causal connection of this alien domination, this makes no essential difference. Bourgeois economics can neither prevent crises in general, nor protect the individual capitalists from losses, bad debts and bankruptcy, nor secure the individual workers against unemployment and destitution. It is still true that man proposes and God (that is, the alien domination of the capitalist mode of production) disposes. Mere knowledge, even if it went much further and deeper than that of bourgeois economic science, is not enough to bring social forces under the domination of society. What is above all necessary for this, is a social *act*. And when this act has been accomplished, when society, by taking possession of all means of production and using them on a planned basis, has freed itself and all its members from the bondage in which they are now held by these means of production which they themselves have produced but which confront them as an irresistible alien force, when therefore man no longer merely proposes, but also disposes — only then will the last alien force which is still reflected in religion vanish; and with it will also vanish the religious reflection itself, for the simple reason that then there will be nothing left to reflect.

- Frederick Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, 1876-78

“.....Religion is being prohibited.

All religion, however, is nothing but the fantastic reflection in men’s minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces. In the beginnings of history it was the forces of nature which were first so reflected, and which in the course of further evolution underwent the most manifold and varied personifications among the various peoples. This early process has been traced back by comparative mythology, at least in the case of the Indo-European peoples, to its origin in the Indian Vedas, and in its further evolution it has been demonstrated in detail among the Indians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans and, so far as material is available, also among the Celts, Lithuanians and Slavs. But it is not long before, side by side with the forces of nature, social forces begin to be active — forces which confront man as equally alien and at first equally inexplicable, dominating him with the same apparent natural necessity as the forces of nature themselves. The fantastic figures, which at first only reflected the mysterious forces of nature, at this point acquire social attributes, become representatives of the forces of history. At a still further stage of evolution, all the natural and social attributes of the numerous gods are transferred to *one* almighty god, who is but a reflection of the abstract man. Such was the origin of monotheism, which was historically the last product of the vulgarised philosophy of the later Greeks and found its incarnation in the exclusively national god of the Jews, Jehovah. In this convenient, handy and universally adaptable form, religion can continue to exist as the immediate, that is, the

(contd. in P137)