**Aim and Lessons of Naxalbari Peasant Struggle that**

**Showed the path of liberation for the Indian people**

*(The historic Naxalbari Peasant Struggle indeed took place like a Spring Thunder in the month of May 1967. A few months later on the 6th of January 1968, the official organ of the erstwhile MCC, ‘Dakshin Desh’, Volume 2, Issue No. 16 was brought out as a Special issue on ‘Naxalbari Agrarian Revolution’. None of the articles published in this magazine ever carried the name of the author. So it is difficult to say who wrote this article. Anyway any special article, theoretical article or editorial article, especially an important article like the historic aim and lessons of the Naxalbari Peasant Struggle might have been written by Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee. Even if some other comrade had written he must have certainly edited it. Along with the other special articles on the occasion of celebration of Fifty years of the historic Naxalbari Peasant struggle we are publishing this too as a special article. This would give a good understanding of many aspects of that historic peasant struggle to the comrades of the present generation. It would also give a good understanding about why this struggle is still so relevant – Editorial Board).*

**A guide to the oppressed masses**

The toilers of the country were under severe exploitation of their owners, the Capitalist and Feudal classes in the Mines and Companies and the lands and paddy go-downs. The toiling masses had no way out of being crushed under the helms of exploitation. The Middle class Intellectuals, Students and Teachers could not avail the necessary means for their food. There was no Revolutionary Party to show the proper path. Exactly at such a time the Naxalbari Peasant masses showed the way. The laborers who experienced innumerous atrocities showed the light of Revolutionary path. The Naxalbari Peasant masses are genuine friends of the toiling masses. They paved the path of Armed Struggle to seize Power. They made brilliant effort as vanguards of a genuine revolutionary path for the oppressed masses.

**Its International aim – To expose the forms of Revisionism, Neo-Revisionism**

The contribution of Naxalbari Peasant masses is considerable in one more aspect. Various Parties claiming to be proletarian parties were following all kinds of opportunist and non-revolutionary paths in the name of proletarian class struggle. They were trying to attract the revolutionary masses to the theory of Parliamentary democracy. Exactly at that time the great and heroic struggle of Naxalbari peasants removed the veil of not only the Indian opportunists and revisionists but also Khrushchev’s ‘Peaceful transition’ theory once more. Thus Naxalbari Revolutionary struggle has an international objective too. In this regard Naxalbari Peasant struggle demonstrates unity and brotherhood towards Vietnam struggle. It thus stands as an inseparable part of the World Socialist Revolution. The peasantry of Naxalbari once more brought forth the practical expression of the revolutionary theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. It announced that Imperialism and Revisionism are only paper tigers. Their Parliamentary democratic theory too is a mock cry of this paper tiger. The toiling masses put to neo-colonial exploitation and rule can liberate themselves only through destroying this in the leadership of the proletariat and through Agrarian Revolution. There is no other way. Naxalbari highlighted the above mentioned revolutionary teaching. Here lies the boundless importance and specialty of Naxalbari.

**Naxalbari struggle is a national struggle**

India is an agriculture based country. Seventy per cent of the people of the country are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood even now. The peasantry is suffering with hunger deaths. Due to exploitation by the feudal lords the lives of the peasantry are severely suffocated and have become horrible. Those who wish the development of the country must wish the development of the peasantry. It is because everyone feels that country means peasantry. Majority of the people in the country are dependent on agriculture. In order to bring a change in this present situation Armed Agrarian Revolution is the only path. It means the purchasing power of the ordinary peasants must be enhanced. If the purchasing power is less, majority people of the country can never extend support for industries and businesses. If the national industries do not develop, the development of the country too is not possible. The problem of the workers, middle class intellectuals, teachers-students is the same as that of the peasantry and is nothing different. Thus the struggle of the peasantry is a national struggle. If there is no success in this ‘National Revolutionary struggle’, the crisis in the national industries too would not be solved. It means the difficulties of the toiling masses too are nothing less. Naxalbari peasant struggle is an inseparable part of the national struggle. The only way for solving the problems of nationalities and sub-nationalities starting from Punjab to Asom and from Kashmir to Kanyakumari is the path of Armed Agrarian Revolution and nothing else. It means the national struggle of the peasants would pave the way for the liberation of all the nationalities. This national importance of Naxalbari peasant struggle too must be understood. This is a considerable factor too. Naxalbari is inseparable from the national struggle and similarly the enemy of Naxalbari is a stark enemy of all the nationalities too. Naxalbari declared open these enemies and all their compradors.

**Who are friends and who are enemies?**

Naxalbari clearly declared to the country that landlords, domestic-foreign capitalists and their masters, the US imperialists are the stark enemies of the toiling masses of the country. It is because these enemies indulge in atrocities on the peasants and labourers utilizing the police and military that protects Parliamentary democracy. They also unleash exploitation. Any part of this reactionary state including cabinet or that with a revolutionary name is in fact a so-called legal form to unleash exploitation on the toiling masses. Naxalbari clearly exposed the reactionary compradors and comprador left parties in the veil of revolution. It also made it clear that the united strength of the vital forces of peasantry-middle class intellectuals in the leadership of the proletariat are the friendly forces of the people in the actual sense. Thus Naxalbari struggle declared who are friends who are enemies.

**Not thirst for land, a dynamic process**

The reactionaries propagate that the Terai Peasant Struggle is basically a struggle with a thirst for land. They mean to say it is a struggle only for land. Their objective is clear. They wish to limit the movement within the four walls of economism or economic demands. Opportunist left roaders think nothing else than economic struggle. They do not wish to understand more. Even if they do so they would only repeat such kind of words due to economism. Land is a big source for seizing power. This is beyond doubt. It is also a big instrument for production. The Feudal class deprives the ordinary peasants of right of ownership on land and exploits them. It had been exploiting them. Eighty per cent of the agricultural land of the country is in the hands of the Feudal classes. According to the statistics of the government the amount of loans of the peasants from the money-lenders (Mahajans) reached to one thousand crores. The interest on these loans reached one hundred crores. Thus the peasants lose everything out of loan and interest and become poor. Along with the broad peasant class labourers, middle class and intellectuals too suffer from the exploitation of the landlords. For centuries together the Feudal landlord class not only made the peasants as their property but also made their family members as land-slaves. The peasants of Terai know very well that land has great importance. So they hit the base. They started the struggle to achieve power on land. Seizure of land temporarily is not the solution for the problem of land of the peasants. So Naxalbari peasantry plunged into struggle to maintain permanent power on land. It will be able to destroy the enemy camps in village to village only by achieving power or efficiency. As a result it can establish a liberated area of the peasants or an independent, fundamental base area of the people. Starting from here the people of each struggling nationality in India can root out the neo-colonial administrative system.

Thirst for land is not the only source of Naxalbari struggle. On the contrary there are some more objective reasons for this. If thirst for land was the only thing then the struggle would have come to a stop when the government distributed waste land to the villagers. But it did not happen so. On the contrary the struggle became and is becoming severe. It is because Terai peasants clearly know that the government distributes waste land temporarily to the people for superficial betterment and deceives them and the condition of the farmers would not change. Until the state of the Feudal class is destroyed the peasantry cannot achieve power on land. This is the fundamental, new teaching of the Terai peasants. These are new politics. This is the theory of People’s War of Armed Resistance. This is the new consciousness of the peasantry of Bengal that would eliminate the old and the new Feudal practice for the past generations. This consciousness is a total and qualitative change.

But this does not mean that Terai peasantry became Socialist humans. We must talk against all kinds of propaganda of the opportunist reactionaries. We have to emphasize that according to the Marxist perspective, we should not view anything separate but as a part of the collective. It means that we have to say that we have to see the peasant struggle in this area as a part of a dynamic process. It must be seen as the beginning of people’s democratic revolution. Saying that it achieved totality right in the beginning would be against the Marxist perspective. Putting it objectively, during the time when those who claim to be Marxists sing the ‘song’ of Parliamentary democracy and wish to make the broad masses absolutely dumbfounded, Terai peasantry started people’s democratic revolution with a new consciousness. This is qualitatively new. This dynamic process of this incident has a special importance and a remarkable plane.

**Revolutionary politics – Liberated Area in an embryonic form in the Rural Areas**

As said above Naxalbari peasantry highlighted the politics that had a qualitative change. These revolutionary politics held the Red Flag of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao’s ideology. It once more proved the practice of the revolutionary theory that was taught from Marx to Mao – that weapon is the primary source of seizing power through revolution. It also proved that revolutionary masses are the ultimate decisive power. The entire bourgeois and reactionary state is only a paper tiger. The liberation of the toiling masses is possible only through the armed power in the hands of revolutionary politics and through the destruction of the reactionary state with armed power. The revolutionary peasantry of North Bengal once more declared this in a standard manner.

Revolutionary organisation too was formed depending on this revolutionary theory. The activists did not claim to be revolutionaries simply by giving superficial long speeches. They are being tested in a standard difficult path in words and deeds. They took the valuable theory of Comrade Mao as the standard and are analyzing who are revolutionaries, who are counter-revolutionaries and who are against revolution.

The activists who are tested in these standards started efforts to build a primary liberated area related to organization (Party). Enemy is very much afraid of the primary liberated areas. The toiling masses are secure in this area. In fact the primary liberated areas in the rural area of South Vietnam are creating problems to the extremely diehard U.S. Imperialism. The present extremely important task is to establish a liberated area of the people as said above and that which puts the enemy in real apprehensions. Naxalbari peasantry started implementing this primary task in the leadership of the proletariat. Depending on this liberated area the program of destroying the power of the imperialists, their compradors by plucking the total of their 32 horns with nuclear weapons will begin. At the time of taking pledge to establish liberated area in Naxalbari it once more reminds us that we have to hit the weakest place in the exploitation and oppression of the enemy according to the Marxist revolutionary teaching. Such a liberated area would be the focus of revolutionary forces. This group of liberated areas shall be the mother who gives birth to revolutionary forces. This mother shall bring them up. It shall take them into its lap, strengthen the revolutionary forces that emerged from it and dedicates its whole strength to fill youth enthusiasm into them. This will become everything, a big school or a university for revolutionary politics, organization and social, economic and cultural training. These primary liberated areas would build or create the broadest liberated areas like a powerful fort in the People’s War. As a result the work of crushing U.S. Imperialism and its compradors would be speeded up The whole revolutionary masses would learn to make People’s War against U.S. Imperialism and its compradors. Though they do not have any earlier experience, now they will take the weapons into their hands and learn war. They would expertise in making People’s War. US Imperialism would have a blow here and another blow there and would be put to ashes in the raging People’s War. This is already facing People’s War inevitably due to its deeds. It is possible to build this primary fort of People’s War in the broad rural areas only in the path of Naxalbari. We, Communists must learn the lesson that we would become efficient in liberating the Indian masses facing exploitation and oppression only through hundreds of such liberated areas. Only thus we would be efficient in crushing US Imperialism and its servants. Naxalbari peasantry built such liberated area in the leadership of proletariat in Naxalbari. In this regard they stood firm with Mao Thought. They implemented Mao Thought in practice and once more highlighted the universal truth of this Thought.

The lesson Naxalbari taught is the objective or practical form of Comrade Mao’s teaching. This is the real form of this lesson, the lesson that liberated areas must be built in rural areas. Thus revolutionary liberated areas would emerge one after another and gain the strength to encircle all the towns. This would be so strong that the enemy would not be able to escape.

The present immediate task of Revolutionary Communists is to turn the fire raged in Naxalbari into a flame. It is necessary to build revolutionary resistance by building liberated areas in the broad rural areas and encircle the towns. Naxalbari showed this way of revolutionary resistance.

**Revolutionary Resistance – A Lesson**

Naxalbari Peasant resistance is very much different from the normal much popular forms of resistance of the farmers. This resistance was not only for a few economic demands or to gain land but the aim of the resistance is very broad and great. ‘It is a political resistance’ - it is the resistance to bring down imperialism, the armed resistance against the police-military of the domestic and foreign capitalist class and the feudal lords. The whole bourgeois class and its compradors are very much afraid of this qualitatively different resistance. In fact they were full of apprehensions.

**We must change our work style**

As the crisis of the reactionaries in the country is getting very severe, the crisis of the toilers too is nothing less. In fact the crisis of the toilers will be the revolutionary crisis. But why did this crisis occur? It is because in spite of the rising of many kinds of movements and struggles, all those are not united in one stream. It means the Trade Union movement, the problems and struggles of the middle class people and other such things are not united with the primary struggle, i.e., the peasant struggle in the country. Now Naxalbari rejected this problematic path and showed the correct one. It utilized the situation of revolutionary crisis and united the people’s struggles and movements with the peasant struggle. Here a revolutionary organization that depends upon the revolutionary theory of the Terai peasant-working class will emerge. But this organization is not the one dependent on the popular petty bourgeois work style. A revolutionary work style has come into practice in this area with high intellect.

Instead of the bookish knowledge and the long grand lectures of the leaders materialist perspective is needed every second. The observation and analysis of the whole changes every day and every second shall be the Marxist Dialectical Materialist perspective. We have to observe, think and analyze all the issues with this perspective. The Naxalbari peasantry in the leadership of the proletariat stood firm on this realistic method.

**Let us love workers-peasants – let us pay attention to them**

Communists must learn to love workers in the plane of Agrarian Revolution. They must pay attention towards the workers-peasants. The genuine Communists there loved the Naxalbari peasantry. They paid attention towards them. They stood on behalf of them and only thus they are prepared to expend their whole strength. In addition to the love and attention Communists must learn one more thing, to build movements like Naxalbari. They have to become students to the peasants. It means they have to respect productive labor. They have to turn students to the productive class.

In order to become genuine Communists one will have to become a student of the broad masses. Students cannot learn if they act like adviser, like one who knows everything or like teachers or scholars. Similarly Communists too cannot be enough efficient in understanding the ordinary people if they act so. In order to become good teacher one has to become a good student. Similarly in order to become a genuine Communist one has to first become a live dictionary. It means one has to become a student of the workers-peasants. One must reach the workers-peasants with a pure heart shredding aside all kinds of wrong understandings arising out of blind beliefs. One must learn a lot from them. One must identify one’s life style with their life style. Starting from the morning to the evening, while sitting or standing, while going around, even in sleep, one must think about peasants, their difficulties and miseries. Only then one can play a proper role in speeding up the work of making the People’s Democratic Revolution in the country successful. Only then the Communist would become able in liberating the peasants and in accomplishing the initial effort of the Agrarian Revolution. If one knows the basic fact of the process of daily life of the peasants one can fight to the end. They can make all the peasants part of the struggle. So Communists must become part of the living process of the peasants. The students of Marxism in our country have in fact become the students of Gandhism. The so-called Communists who speak high like them have betrayed the peasants and the peasant movement.

Earlier many peasant movements have absolutely failed – the Congress leadership and the back stab of the reactionary compradors suppressed these movements. Now those who claim to be Communists and take up the name of Gandhi too as a big responsibility backstabbed the peasant struggles in a disloyal and shameless manner. This whole petty bourgeois class of the left does not respect the peasant movements. It does not realize the peasants as primary inspiring power of the new era. In practice all those have become a gang of big talk. The broad peasant masses too do not confide in them. These leaders understand the peasants as uneducated, fools and a dead material who wave their heads loyally saying ‘Yes Sir’. The Capitalists too understand their exploited as slaves. There is no difference between them and the so-called Communists. Since both of them collaborated, Naxalbari showed the way of liberation from the exploitative rule. It showed the way to make efforts. It means it explained the importance of revolutionary work. Doing revolutionary work and criticizing the wrongs in this is an instrument that primarily and decisively directs the ideal theoretical fight. Genuine Communists have to pay attention towards the workers and peasants and love them. This is the revolutionary work, a great work. One has to learn how to do this work. In order to advance this work one has to now become a restless warrior. One has to learn what the toiling masses have to say. Learning lessons from their experience too is an inseparable part of revolutionary work. It is not only ordinarily listening to what they say. One must listen with absolute attention. Spiritual persons say about it like hearing the epic stories of vedas and religion and working according to them. Similarly we Communists must formulate the primary theory to make total effort for the good of the workers and peasants. We should not in any manner impose our opinions on the peasants. We must give importance to their words and opinions. We have to give importance to the worker-peasant unity according to proletarian politics and also bear the effort to unite the workers and the peasants on our shoulders. It must be understood that this means attention towards the peasants and loving them. Our efforts too must be in such a manner. In any movement, all must be mobilized and get down to a discussion-review in order to make all the people part of it. It is not the decisions of the movement in the papers in a subjective manner. On the contrary, the cooperation of all is needed, opinions and different opinions are necessary and decisions are necessary to make decisions related to the actual movement depending on the objective situation. The program for the movement must not be formulated separately, only depending on what the leaders say. This is the only way to rectify our weaknesses and shortcomings between our words and deeds.

We have to stop spreading useless words and rumors. We have to remember that work and only work would prevent all kinds of diseases. We have to give much importance to secret method of functioning and issues. We have to totally change all kinds of petty bourgeois practice, thoughts and ideas and transform our life into new forms. One has to do hard work in order to become a genuine Communist on one’s own, have a sacrificing nature and adopt methods of living ordinarily. One must live without lavishness, without waste expenditure and absolutely with ordinary and minimum expenditure.

Our colleague comrades of Naxalbari molded themselves in this manner. The present history is looking forward with great hopes on such Revolutionary Communists, as to who would build Revolutionary Communist Party, who would make the People’s Democratic Revolution successful, who would build Socialism and who would totally eliminate US imperialism and its compradors from India.

**Let us build Revolutionary Party**

The Naxalbari Peasant Struggle handed over one more important lesson. In the present time when the reactionaries on the whole are suffocated in crisis, when the crisis out of their exploitation and oppression pushed them into severe difficulties, the crisis of revolutionary forces too clearly came forward for the sake of the toiling masses. Dry grass is spread on four sides, now a spark is necessary and this would create a prairie fire soon, declared Naxalbari. This spark is nothing else but coordinating the revolutionary forces and subjective preparation to build revolutionary Party, the work that shows the commitment of revolutionary activities. This would soon build hundreds of Naxalbaris in India. The spark of Naxalbari shall spread fire all over India. The domestic and the foreign Comprador Capitalists, the Zamindar-Jotdar class and their masters, the US imperialists shall fall in this fire and get burnt.