

# PARTY RESOLUTION



**TAMIL NADU MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY**

## PARTY RESOLUTION

### **1. AN ASSESSMENT ABOUT THE PRESENT WORLD POLITICAL FORCES**

1.1. In the Soviet Union built by the great Lenin and Stalin, which later on degenerated into social imperialism under the revisionists, the restoration of capitalism has been completed. Not only it is no longer a nominal socialist country, but also scattered into several states. Even though these splintered states have formed an organisation called Common wealth among themselves and continue with their former armaments, militarily it is no longer an hegemonic super power competing with the American imperialism. Its slide down started long before its disintegration, even before the Yeltsin gang usurped power. The revisionists' Soviet Union dancing to the tune of American imperialism during the Gulf war amply proved it.

1.2. The down fall of Russian Social Imperialism has created a situation, whereby the American Imperialism emerged as the only powerful hegemonic super power in the world. This has provided it with an opportunity to express its scheme-ambition-for world hegemony. Right from the Gulf War it has been implementing that scheme. It is frantically straining to suppress and to exploit the countries of the world in political, economic, military and in various other fields.

1.3. However, the recklessness of American imperialism is also a sign of its weakness. Its economy is caught in a crisis of unprecedented scale. At the same time both Japan and the European economic Community particularly Germany are rapidly growing as its rivals for hegemonic position. America is very much worried about this development and it fears that its hegemonic dreams may not be fulfilled peacefully without any obstruction.

1.4. The splintered Russia is engrossed in an attempt to save its political and military illusions from being dishelved by retaining, to some extent, its political and military might by contriving a Common Wealth. Canada, Australia, China and other imperialist-capitalist countries like East European Countries are neither hegemonic super powers nor are they in a position to bid for it.

1.5. The Gulf war proved that, the American hegemonic super power and the imperialist powers competing with it for hegemony, like Japan and European Community, particularly Germany, in spite of rivalry and contradictions among themselves, will mutually co-operate against the third world countries in oppressing and controlling their anti-imperialist activities and in strengthening the hands of American imperialism.

1.6. The imperialists are creating an illusion about the dawn of an age of peace and an era of peaceful negotiations to solve the problems, with the utter down fall of Soviet Union. In fact it is only a tactics to conceal behind the curtain of negotiations and the hegemonic and imperialist attempts of American Imperialism and the other imperialists. The world knows that, the American Imperialism is carrying on its blitz-kreig hegemonic activities under the pretext of peaceful negotiations and by utilising the United Nations Organisation as its tool.

1.7. These pretensions of negotiations of the imperialists are being used to show, as if the contradictions among the imperialists has been resolved and the possibilities for a war has disappeared. In fact, the rivalry among the imperialists for hegemony cannot be resolved through peace. Since wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists, the imperialists cannot conceal the persisting danger of wars.

1.8. Among the third world countries, countries like India are the regional (sub) imperialist powers. In order to utilise this kind of regional (sub) imperialist powers as a tool, to oppress and to control the other regional countries the imperialists are supporting them. As long as the activities of these regional (sub) imperialist powers are in favour of the imperialists and are against the small nations and peoples, they follow a policy of non-intervention towards them. At the same time, these sub imperialist powers participate in regional organisations like South Asian Region Countries for Co-operation (SARCC) for their hegemonic purposes. The constituent countries of these organisations desire mutual help, in order to suppress the democratic and national liberation struggles and uprisings in their own countries and to consolidate their bargaining power with the imperialists. Even though the sub imperialist powers don't have the strength to take up a stand against imperialism, when such contingency or conditions arise, the imperialists will not hesitate to suppress them jointly.

1.9. Regional countries often ventilate their hatred towards the hegemonic activities of the regional (sub) imperialist powers. But, in spite of it, they want to continue as its members for the sake of its own ruling classes.

1.10. Thus the present condition of the world political forces widely differs from what it was during the seventies and eighties. The countries which belonged to the first and second worlds during the seventies and eighties are at present divided into hegemonic super power, super powers competing for hegemony and the other capitalist-imperialist countries. China which belonged to the Third World has now joined the ranks of capitalist countries. The Russian social imperialism which was an hegemonic super power, is now trailing behind Japan and the European Community particularly Germany is competing with America for hegemony. America which was one of the hegemonic super powers continues to be in the fore front as the sole hegemonic super power in the world. In the Third World there are differences like regional (sub) imperialist powers and other regional countries. However, the ruling classes of these countries are not different in their being mostly pro-imperialist and most reactionary gang in ruthlessly suppressing the national and democratic uprisings.

1.11. At present in Asia, Africa and Latin America and all over the world either small scale or large scale anti-racial and national liberation movements and anti-imperialist struggles are taking place. But no state in the world is in real sympathy or helpful towards these struggles and movements.

1.12. At present the proletarian movement is weak throughout the world. But, it is in no way a bar to resolutely support the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic struggles and activities and the national liberation movements taking place all over the world and to oppose all sorts of aggressions. They should resolutely expose and oppose all sorts of hegemonic and imperialist activities of the hegemonic super power, the imperialists and the regional (sub) imperialist countries. By differentiating the enemies and thereby understanding the contradictions among them, they should not fail to use it against hegemony and imperialism and in favour of anti racial struggles, national liberation movements and the world wide people's revolutionary struggles.

1.13. Countries want independence; nations want liberation; people want revolution. Revolutionaries all over the world should prove themselves to be the allies and leaders of the independence of countries, liberation of nations and revolutionary uprisings of the people at all times.

## **2. THE NEED FOR AN EXHAUSTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY**

2.1. Comrade Mao identified revisionism as an ideology of capitalism and fought against Khrushchev revisionism and Lieu-Deng revisionism. He also exposed the degeneration of Russia into a social imperialism as a result of Khrushchev revisionism.

2.2. Now, to the utter disgrace of neo-revisionists who refused to heed Mao, unadulterated capitalism has been inaugurated in Russia. Socialism has been removed officially. Communist Party has been dissolved. The Deng gang which usurped power after Mao restored capitalism in China also.

2.3. In socialist society classes and class struggles continue to exist. The struggle between socialist path and capitalist path exists. Mao cautioned about the prevailing danger of a capitalist restoration and pointed out that, in this struggle it will take a long time to finally decide as to who will score the final and decisive victory. He further added that, only by continuing the revolution, by relentlessly waging class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism could be developed step by step into communism.

2.4. The revisionist gangs which openly restored capitalism in Russia and China, started off by denying the existence of classes and class struggle in a socialist society and the necessity to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of proletariat. Hence, to accept Mao's formulations about the class struggle in a socialist society is the first condition for a society to continue to exist as a socialist society.

2.5. After the Khrushchev gang usurped power in Russia the contingency of no more a socialist camp arose; after the Deng gang usurped power in China the contingency of no more a socialist country arose.

2.6. It is a period of great setbacks to socialism. It is a great loss to the struggling and toiling masses, nations and countries throughout the world.

2.7. The setbacks to socialism has delighted the imperialists. They are shouting from the house tops that, socialism and Marxism has become outmoded; its defeat has been proved; socialism and communism are mere illusions; the only path before humanity is the market economy and capitalism; and so on and so forth.

2.8. But, within a few hours after the restoration of capitalism and market economy, news about severe crisis and opposition they are encountering are pouring down. It is repeatedly proving that, it is not capitalism but communism is the only solution before the mankind.

2.9. Whatever may be the rabbles raised by the capitalists about the defeat of socialism, it is only temporary. Not even a century had lapsed since the dawn of scientific socialist society. Compared with the earlier social systems, it is only a very short a period since its inception. No social system has ever established itself in a so short a period or at the first instant.

2.10. Even though the socialist social system had existed only for a very short period and has met a temporary set-back, the achievements and lessons it bequeathed to the world are numerous. In a majority of countries, it is only socialism which has accomplished the task of overthrowing feudalism and fulfilled the democratic task, in an era in which capitalism had compromised with feudalism. It had flourished as a true friend of the toiling masses, oppressed people, countries and nations against imperialism. It had raised the standard of living of the people and created lofty ethical values. Above all else, it has left behind rich lessons about the construction of socialist society.

2.11. Comrade Mao summed up and bequeathed to us various formulations and propositions about the socialist society. However, the experiences of the socialist societies which so far existed in the world, the class struggle which took place in those societies and the problems faced in continuing the class struggle under the dictatorship of proletariat should be summed up through further concrete analysis.

2.12. All the proletarian revolutions yet to take place throughout the world are bound to face the problems of socialist construction. Hence, the experiences of socialist societies should be subjected to broad discussions and critical analysis and the experiences about its various aspects should be summed up. It is essential for the success of future socialist revolutions.

### 3. THE COMPRADOR-BRAHMINICAL IMPERIALISM CALLED INDIAN NATION

3.1. In India, there exists two distinct, fundamentally and mutually opposing political trends which are inseparable from the democratic revolution. The first one is the comprador-brahminical imperialist trend of the Indian ruling classes, in the guise of Indian Nation. It is an anti-democratic fascist trend with comprador bourgeoisie economy and Hindu brahminism as its base. The second trend is opposed to it. It is a democratic trend of the various nationalities in India with different languages, culture and history developing into fulfilled modern nations. This trend which embody the interests of vast majority of toiling masses of the nationalities, is having the principles of national economy and national sovereignty as its base. None of the proletariat of the nationalities in India can fulfill its task of democratic revolution without aligning itself with this second trend, which is opposed to the first trend.

3.2. But the Indian ruling classes are denying the right of national self-determination-national sovereignty-of all the nationalities in India and oppressing and preventing them from developing into fulfilled modern nations. They are crushing them by denying all their national rights. Moreover they are constantly attempting to subdue the neighbouring states by threats and to bring them under their domination.

3.3. The Indian ruling classes are covering up this reactionary imperialism behind the curtain of Indian nationalism. In the absence of any common language for the people of India, neither the people of India are of one nationality nor India is a nation; despite this fact the ruling classes are engaged in these sort of attempts.

3.4. To prove India as a nation the Indian ruling classes assert, that the people all over India are bound by the same culture and this cultural unity has a history of more than two thousand years.

3.5. What they call as uniform culture and cultural unity is nothing but Hindu religious culture spread all over India. This Hindu religious culture or cultural tradition is nothing but a caste ridden social system with the brahmin caste at its head. In India this caste system prevails from top to bottom. Likewise the Vedas, Upanishads, Dharma Sastras, Epics, Puranas and Geetha which bestow divinity and sacredness to this caste ridden social system are spread all over India. They exist as pillory base for the Hindu brahminic culture binding Indian people together. No amount of metaphysical colouring can hide its nature of brahminical domination.

3.6. Moreover to show India as one nation, they are striving to create a common language for it. The language they want to convert into a common language of India is the outmoded Sanskrit language. Even though this language is not in current usage, it is the language of Hindu religious scriptures and the common language of brahmin priests who are placed at the highest pedestal in the Hindu religion.

3.7. Since it is not possible to immediately convert a language which is not in current usage as a common language, they have announced Sanskritised Hindi language as a common language of India which was created as language of the upper castes-classes-in Arya vartha, with the extensive use of alphabets, numerals and a great number of Sanskrit words. Apart from announcing Sanskrit as one of

the Indian National languages, saying that it is a sacred language (language of Gods), they are making great efforts for its development by giving special concessions to it. At the same time, in order to enrich Hindi with more and more Sanskrit words and to thrust it fully on the people of India, they are making great efforts by giving that language special concessions.

3.8. When the British imperialists colonised India, they imposed English as administrative language throughout the country. Now the new rulers are methodically working to totally replace English by Hindi and later on to gradually replace Hindi by Sanskrit.

3.9. The caste based social system with the brahmins at its head and the domination of Sanskritised Hindi language with brahmin influence are the truths which reveals the Hindu brahminical essence of "Indian Nationalism".

3.10. The comprador big bourgeoisie which is the ruling class in India, is constantly taking much care to preserve the Hindu brahminical essence of the Indian nationalism. The fact that, Sanskrit, the language of 'Gods' and Hindi, the language under the influence of the language of 'Gods' are recognised as languages deserving special concessions and the fact that, the state itself is persistently and in all possible ways spreading and preserving the Hindu religious institutions and literatures like Vedas, Puranas and Epics which preserve the sacredness of brahminism, are the examples which prove this.

3.11. The Indian comprador bourgeoisie are protecting their extensive market, by constantly nursing brahminism and thereby holding various nationalities in India under one state behind the facade of Indian nationalism. Moreover since brahminism divides the people of nationalities on caste lines, it is constantly preventing them from becoming either class conscious or nationality conscious and keeps them in a backward condition, and thus it is preventing them from joining the national and democratic movements. This paves the path for the exploitation and loot of the comprador big bourgeoisie to continue safely throughout India.

3.12. Thus, the brahminical forces are making use of the Hindu religion, in order to safeguard their caste domination in the caste based social set up existing throughout India. The comprador big bourgeois forces are curbing the rights and the sovereignty of various nationalities under the facade of Indian nationalism, in order to safeguard their market. Both of them are jointly suppressing their language, arts and literature. This is not nationalism but reactionary imperialism.

3.13. This imperialist oppression of the comprador capitalist and brahminical forces find safety in keeping the people of various nationalities perpetually in a backward semi-feudal system of production. Therefore they are in an inseparable alliance with the feudal forces of all the nationalities. Moreover, the hierarchical, caste dominated social system with the brahmin caste at its head-the brahminical social system-has a specific character in the pre-capitalist backward feudal productive relations in India. This paves the path for the feudal forces to freely suck the labour of peasants through the methods of caste domination. Thus, the feudal domination and the brahminical caste domination are inseparable.

3.14. The CPI(ML) has defined India as semi-colonial country. This definition clarifies the imperialist dependence and formal political independence of India. But, it is not expressing its imperialist nature of suppressing the sovereignty of various nationalities under the cloak of Indian nationalism and its Hindu brahminical nature. Therefore, the definition of India as a comprador-brahminical imperialism alone is most appropriate. In this the word 'comprador' apart from including the characterisation of imperialist dependence and nominal independence of the semi-colony, the 'comprador-brahminical imperialism' expresses the denying of

sovereignty to various nationalities and subjecting them to imperialist oppression of the comprador capitalist brahminical forces. Moreover, the definition of India as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country is wrong, as it is nothing but anti-imperialist, anti-feudal Indian Nationalism called imperialist economism, which denies the multi-national character of the country.

3.15. To accept the existence of various nationalities in India and their right to self-determination alone will not put an end to this imperialist economism. To put an end to it the definition has to be changed as comprador-brahminical imperialism instead of semi-feudal semi-colonial country.

#### **4. THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION IN INDIA**

4.1. In India, various nationalities in the stage of democratic revolution have their own distinct people, language, territory, culture and history. Moreover, they are in the process of developing into modern nations. The fulfillment of this process is linked with the success of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution taking place in those nationalities.

4.2. All these nationalities are subject nationalities denied sovereignty by the Indian comprador-brahminical imperialism. Hence, the anti-imperialist anti-feudal democratic revolutions taking place in these nationalities will be successful only when they are linked with the national liberation-liberation from Indian comprador-brahminical imperialism.

4.3. This sort of national liberation movements are opposed by the comprador big bourgeoisie eager to fatten itself with the imperialist capital investments, and the brahminical and feudal forces subsisting on the backward production relations, in every nationality. The national bourgeois forces have neither the desire nor the strength to build this kind of revolutionary national liberation movements. Utilising the national aspirations of the people they are engaged in attempts to strengthen their position within the comprador-brahminical imperialism called Indian nationalism.

4.4. Therefore, the historical task of building and guiding the national liberation and democratic revolutionary movements with anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-comprador-brahminical imperialist programme in every nationality is left to the proletariat of the respective nationalities.

4.5. Therefore in every nationality proletarian parties with anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-comprador-brahminical imperialist democratic revolution, as a minimum programme and socialism and communism as maximum programme should be built and the national liberation movements should be taken forward.

4.6. Even though pre-revolutionary Russia and China were countries with various nationalities in the stage of democratic revolution, the proletarian parties of those countries did not put forward this sort of conclusion about the national liberation revolutions, but confined themselves merely with the recognition of the right of self-determination to the nationalities is a fact. But it is impossible for us to follow the same approach which the proletarian parties followed in those countries, because the concrete situation in this country is entirely different from that of those countries.

4.7. Among the nationalities of pre-revolutionary Russia and China there were differences of oppressing and oppressed nationalities. But in India the right of self-determination is denied to all the nationalities and they exist as oppressed and subject nationalities. Here it is the Indian comprador-brahminical imperialism in the cloak of Indian nationalism which oppress the nationalities and which

is not a nationality at all. This is the first difference. Moreover the proletarian parties in the oppressing nationalities of those countries apart from being strong and capable of leading the revolution, by placing a programme recognising the right of self-determination of various nationalities, they were the harbingers to the vanguards of the proletariat of various nationalities to merge in one single party. The absence of such conditions in India is the second difference.

4.8. In a backward multi-national country whether one party and simultaneous revolution or separate party and national liberation revolution is decided by the strength and behaviour of the proletarian party in the oppressing nationality. Because, when the proletariat of the oppressing nationality is strong and capable of leading the revolution, its success paves the path for the national liberation of the other oppressed nationalities. Since this helps the proletarian parties of the oppressed nationalities to quicken the successful completion of its national and democratic tasks, it becomes possible and correct for them to accept the assurance of the proletariat of the oppressing nationality and to join in one party and in simultaneous revolution. When the proletarian movement of the oppressing nationality is not in a strong enough position to lead or in conditions were the very oppressing nationality do not exist, such a possibility do not arise. Moreover, since the success of the proletariat of one oppressed nationality alone cannot pave the path for the success of national liberation of the other nationalities, in such conditions one party and simultaneous revolution is not possible and wrong.

4.9. In India since there is no nationality called oppressing nationality, here the question of one party and simultaneous revolution does not arise (there is no room to examine whether there is a strong proletarian movement in it) Such kind of thinking in India, instead of helping the completion of national liberation and democratic revolution will do more harm. There is no other way for the proletariat of each nationality other than to build their own party and to carry forward the democratic revolution along with the national liberation in a combined form.

4.10. At the same time, even though there is no big nationality here, oppressing all the other nationalities, there are big oppressed nationalities oppressing some small nationalities (i.e. Ghorikas in West Bengal, Bodos in Assam etc). In such regions, if there are strong proletarian parties in the oppressed big nationalities and which assures the right of self-determination to the small nationalities being oppressed by it, then in that case one party and simultaneous revolution is possible and correct for the proletariat of those two nationalities.

4.11. In India after the complete over throw of imperialism, feudalism and comprador-brahminical imperialism whether it will continue as a federation of various national republics with the present boundaries or will it transform into various federations of various national republics are to be decided by their own free will, after the completion of their national liberation revolution. Any programme about state boundaries which do not accord with this is nothing but imperialism.

## 5. IMPERIALIST ECONOMISM OF THE INDIAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

5.1. The Indian communist movement from its very inception did not perceive the real essence of Indian nation. The congress party formed the concept of Indian nation on the basis of Hindu brahminism. In contrast the Indian communist movement had the concept of Indian nation on the basis of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism.

5.2. Modern nations took shape only in anti-feudal democratic upsurges. In the era of imperialism these upsurges were directed against imperialism also. In conditions where the bourgeois<sup>u</sup> was incapable of leading these upsurges or if it took compromising stand, the proletariat encountered the task of



conducting the bourgeois democratic uprisings and paving the path for socialist revolution.

5.3. National upsurge is not just an anti-feudal or an anti-feudal anti-imperialist task. It is merely an economic aspect. Nation and national upsurges are possible only when this economic aspect is linked with the people of a territory having common national characters like language etc. Rejecting the common national aspects like language etc. and with mere economic aspect alone or by combining the economic aspect with common aspects like religious unity etc. could create neither modern nations nor national upsurges.

5.4. The Indian communist movement forming the concept of Indian nation without the national aspects like language, etc., and exclusively depending upon the economic aspects like anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, is nothing but imperialist economism. Since it rejects the facts that various nationalities in India are in the process of changing into modern nations with full sovereignty and that even if modern sovereign nations willingly merge, it will be a mere federation of independent national republics but not an Indian Nation, it is nothing but imperialism which denies the national rights of the nationalities in India. Since it is put forward on the basis of economic unity called anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, it is nothing but imperialist economism.

5.5. The Indian communist movement learnt about the Marxian concepts of nation and nationality for the first time in 1942-43. But, even after that, it did not sever itself from imperialist economism. In spite of including the right to self-determination for the nationalities in the party programme, it formulated its resolutions and activities with the object of preserving the unity of "Indian nation".

5.6. The undivided communist party included a resolution about the self-determination of nationalities in its programme not as a result of concrete analysis of the national and democratic question in India; but it merely copied the programme of the Russian Communist Party. In other words, the resolution was included not with an understanding of the relations between democratic revolution and national formation and as a solution for successfully leading the democratic revolution, but as a tactics to preserve the "Indian national" unity.

5.7. After the Communist movement split into CPI and CPI(M), both the parties in the name of preserving the unity of Indian nation, deleted the right to self-determination of nationalities from their party programmes. Through this they openly declared that their entire anti-imperialist anti-feudal democracy is subject to the condition of "Indian national unity". This totally converted those parties into the guardians of "Indian nation", i.e. guardians of comprador-brahminical imperialism and consecutively into totally degenerated revisionist parliamentary parties.

5.8. The CPI(ML) formed in opposition to revisionism and parliamentarianism of these parties, reincluded in its programme the resolution called the right to self-determination of the nationalities. This party, in contrast to CPI and CPI(M)'s categorisation of Indian big bourgeois <sup>as</sup> national bourgeoisie, correctly categorised it as comprador bourgeoisie and upheld the path of armed struggle rejecting the parliamentary path. Through this, it withstood as an uncompromising party against the Indian ruling classes.

5.9. At the same time, the categorisation of India as a semi-colonial semi-feudal country was not a definition which would put an end to imperialist economism called anti-imperialist anti-feudal Indian nationalism. Even the inclusion of the right to self-determination of nationalities in the party programme was not a conclusion derived through the concrete analysis of the nationality question in India, but a mere restoration of what was found in the party programme of the 1942-53 period. Therefore the party remained as a party not yet rescued from imperialist economism. The party programme

described the anti-imperialist struggle of the colonial period as a "national liberation" struggle and the political situations as "national situation".

5.10. Imperialist economism did not allow the party to identify itself with any of the nationalities, i.e. with its national and democratic movements and history; as a consequence it became a party of national voidism and was isolated from the toiling masses of the nationalities. The CPI(ML) which came into being after both CPI and CPI(M) became the sentinels of Indian nationalism and degenerated into parties of comprador-brahminical imperialism, due to its left adventurism-policy of individual annihilation and abandoning the mass organisations and mass movements, etc.-was not only totally isolated from the people but also got split up into various groups. Its national voidism became the cause not only for the isolation of the party from the people, but also for the revolutionary intellectuals becoming a prey to the national voidist and imperialist ideological trends.

5.11. National voidism, the product of imperialist economism apart from being the cause for philosophical poverty, dogmatism, ignorance of history, empiricism, etc., in the party, was also the cause for the spontaneous style of work in the movement. The CPI, CPI(M) and all groups of the CPI(ML) are not an exception to this spontaneity.

5.12. Any style of work which does not prepare people consciously for the capture of political power through a revolution is spontaneity. For both CPI and CPI(M) mobilising people through economic struggles for their revisionist and parliamentarianist politics is their life long work style. On the contrary, sections of CPI(ML) which rejected parliamentarianism are having the work style of attracting the people through extremist activities or organising the people through economic struggles and struggles for local demands and thereby mobilising them for the pure economist politics; i.e. the anti-imperialist anti-feudal new democratic revolution which is not linked with any national movement of any nationality. Since the politics of national voidism is not a politics that will lead the people to capture power in a revolutionary way, the style of work of CPI(ML) like that of CPI and CPI(M) is also incapable of consciously mobilising people for the revolutionary politics. Thus, the CPI, CPI(M) and various sections of CPI(ML), in spite of their differences in the matter of revisionism and extremism, are at one with regard to their spontaneous style of work.

5.13. In India the basic cause for the reverses and stagnation in the proletarian revolutionary movement are the imperialist economism, national voidism and spontaneous style of work. Only by putting an end to these maladies, the success of proletarian revolutionary movement in India can be ensured. This is possible, only when India is correctly categorised as a comprador-brahminical imperialism. Because only this categorisation guides the proletariat to take over the leadership and to conduct the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution in a combined form with the national liberation.

5.14. The founding of the Indian Communist movement proclaimed Marxism-Leninism as the ideology of the revolutionary movement in India. After the split in the Indian Communist Movement, when both CPI and CPI(M) became unadulterated revisionists and the parties of ruling classes, it was only that ideology which was instrumental in giving birth to the CPI(ML), which declared armed struggle. This party gave a correct categorisation about the Indian big bourgeoisie. As a continuation of this, the proletariat of every nationality face the task of putting an end to all sorts of right and left deviations and imperialist economism which existed in the Indian Communist movement, by categorising India as a comprador-brahminical imperialism. The proletariat of every nationality today face the task of carrying forward the revolutionary movement with the programme of democratic revolution combined with the liberation of their own nationality.

## B

### 6. THE REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION OF TAMILNADU UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF TAMIL NADU MARXIST LENINIST PARTY

6.1. Of all the rights national sovereignty is the greatest democratic right for a nationality. It is needless to say that, the life of the people of a nationality deprived of sovereignty is filled with drudgery and misery. By abandoning this truth the proletariat of a nationality cannot lead the democratic revolution to success. In such a condition, only by building the revolutionary democratic movement as a part of national liberation, a nation can be led to socialism and communism. If the proletariat commits mistakes in this, those people will become a prey either to bourgeois nationalism or to the national oppression and will inevitably be subjected to untold miseries.

6.2. The Communist party organisations which existed so far in Tamilnadu had been the subsidiaries of the Indian communist movement, i.e. the parties of imperialist economism. It is proved historically and ideologically that the parties of imperialist economism cannot provide revolutionary leadership to the proletariat of a nationality and lead it to victory.

6.3. Tamilnadu is a subject nation, its right to self-determination is denied and its sovereignty is seized by the Indian comprador-brahminical imperialism. Therefore, here the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution can be conducted successfully only in a combined form with the Tamilnadu national liberation. This task cannot be fulfilled by the parties of imperialist economism.

6.4. Therefore, the proletariat of Tamilnadu should build the Tamilnadu Marxist Leninist Party in opposition to imperialism, feudalism and the Indian comprador-brahminical imperialism, combining new democratic revolution with Tamilnadu national liberation as its minimum programme and socialism and communism as its strategic programme. This is necessary not only for the prosperous future of the Tamil people but also for the proletarian inter-nationalism.

6.5. Tamilnadu Marxist-Leninist Party can be built as a vanguard of the Tamilnadu proletariat, only through the struggle against imperialist economism, national voidism and spontaneity.

6.6. During this struggle vigilance should be maintained against the trends like bourgeois nationalism, casteism and legalism. If it is national voidism to abandon national liberation by putting forward democratic revolution, it will be bourgeois nationalism to abandon democratic revolution by putting forward national liberation. This appears in history as an ideology of the reactionary forces. Casteism appears, when the struggle against caste oppression and caste differentiation which is a part of the national liberation struggle is separated from or ranged against national liberation struggle. At the same time it is legalism to abandon national liberation by projecting the slogan of self-determination.

6.7. The various Indian ML groups functioning at present in Tamilnadu are national voidist organisations victimised to imperialist economism. Their national voidism will not disappear by their opportunistic stand on nationality question. The support for the liberation of Eelam by the Bolshevik group, the slogan of independent Tamilnadu by the Vanguard group, the intermittent shower of affection on Tamil and Tamil nationality by the SOC, are all mere opportunistic stands, which cannot rescue them from national voidism. As long as they uphold the Indian new democratic programme unconnected with any of the nationalities, none of their stands can rescue them from imperialist economism and national voidism.

6.8. Imperialist economism and national voidism has made sections of CPI(ML) as the critics of militant people's organisations and movements; or at best as the most militant fighters of economism, or as those who will indulge in certain extremist activities. They are incapable of leading militant people's revolutionary organisations and political movements. These ideologies are an obstacle to the

CPI(ML) to develop into an organisation capable of leading them. As long as it remains as CPI(ML) the proletariat can neither wriggle out from these ideologies nor can they elevate themselves from the status of mere critics of militant struggles and organisations to that of a leading force.

6.9. In Tamilnadu, E.V.R Periyar for the first time raised his voice for the liberation of Tamil Nadu in 1938. He raised his voice against brahminism also. But he was not the one who accepted Marxism-Leninism. He worked neither as a revolutionary democrat nor as a national freedom fighter. His political and social activities did not go beyond the bounds of a social reformer.

6.10. None of the sections of Dravidian movement which inherited him turned either into a revolutionary democratic movement or into a national liberation movement. They became either a rationalist movement, or a movement for job reservation or degenerated into parliamentarianist parties.

6.11. In Tamilnadu, Comrade Thamilarasan for the first time took initiative to achieve the objectives of liberation of Tamilnadu and the Tamilnadu democratic revolution under the leadership of Tamilnadu Communist Party; with that aim he initiated steps for an organised movement. He took this stand without getting rid of the extremist stand of the CPI(ML) of comrade Charu Majumdar. Moreover he did not arrive at this stand through an ideological struggle against imperialist economism of the CPI(ML). Therefore his activities were confined to left extremism abandoning the ideological work. A revolutionary national democratic movement in Tamilnadu cannot be built through such activities.

6.12. Moreover, even though there are several small organisations and individuals all over Tamilnadu, who earnestly desire the liberation of Tamilnadu, they arrived at their stand not on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideological explanations nor do they possess an organisation and practical activities for the liberation.

6.13. In these conditions, the Tamilnadu Marxist Leninist Party which is to be built as a vanguard of the proletariat of Tamilnadu confronts the task of building a powerful national and democratic movement in Tamilnadu and carrying it forward by combining the revolution for national liberation with the future objectives of socialism and communism.

6.14. This party which is to be built in Tamilnadu will wield the ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism Mao thought. The revolution for national liberation which it will build, will enrich proletarian inter-nationalism and will be a part of the world socialist revolution. To fulfill this great task it should mobilise the people - workers, peasants and all the revolutionary forces - of Tamil Nadu under the leadership of the proletariat of Tamilnadu for the national liberation revolution.

6.15. The comprador-brahminical forces are making unremitting efforts, to inculcate Hindu religious consciousness in the great majority of people, who are in backward, casteist and primitive clan consciousness and to mobilise them for their Indian national imperialist objectives. On the contrary, the proletariat should mobilise them for the liberation revolution, by inculcating national class consciousness in the great majority of people who are in a very backward, casteist and primitive clan consciousness.

6.16. For the success of national liberation revolution of Tamilnadu not only imperialism and feudalism but also the comprador-brahminical imperialism should be defeated. This great task is also confronted by the proletarian parties of the other nationalities existing in India. Therefore, as far as possible close relations, if possible joint activities and joint organisations with the proletarian parties and the democratic movements of other nationalities should be developed through the party and the mass organisations. This is necessary to quicken and strengthen the victory of national liberation

revolution. Moreover it is necessary for the proletariat of Tamil Nadu to maintain close relations with the inter-national proletariat against world imperialism, particularly with the proletarian and democratic movements of the countries affected by the Indian expansionist activities, for the fulfillment of its national and international objectives.

6.17. For the victory of a revolution, three magic weapons, i.e. revolutionary party, united front and people's army are necessary. In other words, any revolutionary movement can succeed only through ideological, political and armed struggle. Without a revolutionary party neither a revolutionary united front nor a people's army is possible. Of these the political struggle is principal and the armed struggle is decisive.

6.18. A revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party is built only through ideological struggle. For this purpose, it is primarily necessary to establish an ideological base. Only through this a revolutionary party, followed by a political force and an armed force under its leadership can be built and the revolution can be led to success.

6.19. Let us apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao's thought to the concrete conditions of Tamilnadu. Let us fulfill our national and international obligations. Those who do not fulfill their national obligations cannot be internationalists. Certainly imperialist economists and national voidists cannot be internationalists. Let us build Tamilnadu Marxist Leninist Party; Let us resolve to carry forward the revolution for the liberation of Tamilnadu.

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**(Adopted by the first conference of Tamil Nadu Marxist Leninist Party (TNMLP) held during 12-15 Dec 1992)**