

**'Fractured Freedom – A Prison Memoir'
– A Document of Betrayal**

**Central Committee
Communist Party of India (Maoist)
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Kobad Ghandy's book, *Fractured Freedom – A Prison Memoir*, is published after his release on bail from ten years of prison life. His book is a typical autobiographical one rather than a chronicle of experiences in incarceration. Kobad, not prepared to admit the fact that he had been a long time member of the Central Committee of CPI (Maoist), wrote the book as an outsider with an anti-people stand about the ongoing movement that he personally led. In the long transition period, when socialism itself metamorphosed into rotten capitalism, Kobad's somersault is no surprise. In this book he wrote about his wealthy background, narrated his social activism, mentioned his prison life, more importantly the lessons he learnt in his work- during the last 40 years- and his thoughts for the future. Throughout the book he feigned as if he were never a Maoist party leader. He attempted to destroy, as far as he could, the prestige of the movement led by the Maoist party. Socialism and Communism are not possible in the present conditions, Kobad says. Shorn off good values, socialism doomed in Russia and China, he reveals. Indian Communists too are bereft of lofty values and lacks internal democracy as well, Kobad laments. Kobad concludes that in order to solve the problems faced by the human society, mainly we all need to imbibe spiritual values that can achieve freedom and happiness. Overall, *Fractured Freedom* is an inglorious mish mash of untruths and half truths.

Fractured Freedom is really not concerned about human freedom. But it appears as an appeal to the powers at the helm only to ensure his future freedom (as a slave to the state). None is surprised by Kobad's topsy-turvy writings. History is a witness to many such examples of leaders surrendering when they become shaky in withstanding to the government's onslaught. SA Dange (communist) and VD Savarkar (founder of Hindutva theory) are a few instances. Both of them urged the British to save their skins. Now, someone writes a full length book and elucidates how he should be reassessed by the government. In fact, Kobad wrote 6 articles namely *Freedom and People's Emancipation* from prison. They are no less demeaning than the infamous letters by Dange and Savarkar. The title of this series is misleading as they serve only to demoralize people. Bernard De' Mello, the then Deputy Editor of *Economic and Political Weekly* responded to the articles in which he negated Kobad's spiritual outlook. He expressed concern for Kobad. He wrote, sounding a caution. 'Kobad, following Oscar Wilde, you say that jail is "structured to break a person both physically and psychologically'. From what you write, I feel assured that you will continue your personal struggle to not let that happen to you. Take care'. Bernard's apprehensions turned out to be true.

Change is nature's inviolable law- bad things turn into good and good ones transform into bad. But, a life of a revolutionary is dedicated for the people and that means for the sake of revolution. When his comrades are still fighting in the war front, sacrificing their lives and the war is still going on; could prison life alone break him? Or, were the seeds of his change sown in his mind even before his arrest? Readers of *Fractured Freedom* cannot fully comprehend why Kobad who lived the life of a revolutionary for four decades is now taking the avatar of a 'spiritual saint'. He himself concedes that the situation has deeply worsened in comparison to the earlier times, the lives of the people have become miserable and the system needs a shake up.

Fractured Freedom raises such important questions, but obfuscates the basis for the emergence of these questions, knowingly diverting the alternate ways and trying to prove the real solution as misplaced one. Kobad is regurgitating the half-baked concepts of values, freedom, and happiness spelt out by the ancient spiritual gurus as a panacea. The foes of Indian revolution might be grinning from ear to ear but friends are truly upset. Such pirouettes by Kobad, might provide good *mirch masala* for a movie director. However, the media, partisan of caste and class, highlights the arrest of Kobad, but it cannot see revolutionaries- Anuradha, Sridhar Srinivasan, who became martyrs in Maharashtra and Milind Teltumbde, Bhaskar Hichami, Srujana, Rajita, Sateesh and the hundreds of martyrs who laid down their lives in the ongoing People's War for the sake of Gadchiroli people. The harsh reality of war of class struggle is clearly beyond the capture of media's glitter. And the people's war is the most dangerous for the present rotten system as it alone overthrows the current system. *Fractured Freedom* has to be examined from the Marxism-Leninism-Maoist outlook of the people's warriors who are even today fighting and sacrificing their lives to bring a society endowed with the best human values.

Ideals in the abyss

A youth renouncing his wealth, his elite Parsi and national bourgeois background, a promising corporate career, becomes a communist and starts working for the exploited people. He was a role model for dalits and adivasis and all other oppressed people of the country. He spends his share of the wealth for the movement. A laudable act. Leaving rich life, living with dalits and workers and dedicating himself to the people with revolutionary outlook- all make him great in the eyes of the people. But, after spending 40 years, mainly immersing all his youth in the movement, why has he turned his back on the revolutionary path? This is certainly an issue to ponder over. In the present market system where profit is the main aim, and as Kobad writes, money is a decisive thing, so, naturally Kobad becomes a hot topic for the media. It is not surprising to see the yawns of the rich class occupying the front pages of the print media and attracting attention of the corporate drawing rooms. But the topics of toiling masses call for least attention. 'What was the need for a Parsi man to become a Maoist?' becomes the headline. But when the same Parsi abandons the path of class struggle, it is not viewed critically. It is as if the arena of class struggle stands as the impregnable fortress beyond the reach of media in the dissemination of information about struggles. This exploitive system does not respect labour. So why does it give importance to laborers and those in struggle for their sake? Only the upper classes get prominence in the media.

After a person sacrifices his riches and becomes a Communist, why did he need to emphasise his Parsian prestige? The book trumpets his background in such a way that compared to the immense sacrifice he made, his defection from the path of revolution was attempted to appear as of no consequence. What was the need to give so many details about his Parsi and elite class background in a jail memoir? Why should he discuss so much about his corporate friends? Is this to show that Kobad left a damn good career and joined the revolution? (Well, today, his society says that he went to reform the society). This sort of adventurist romanticism gains sympathy from the upper middle classes who sit in the drawing rooms clanking the glasses and raising a toast to Kobad. Cheers! Kobad relishes this applause. In this show of sacrifice, the reception and support of those corporate or elite class friends, Kobad is cozy. All these put together, he wants to place an example before the activists from dalit and proletarian class that if the government is angry with you, you shall not be able to bear it. And one needs to be from a rich class to bear it. He wants to demonstrate the profoundness of his sacrifice to the activists. His example suggests: 'Work for revolution in youth, and in the old age organise to save your skin'. What does he want to attain by showing his rich background and the present strong support from the elite class? Undoubtedly he wants to hit two birds at one shot. One is to show the government that he still belonged to the same class that received him cheerfully. The second is that people must feel he is great. This is an uber example of distorted values. Kobad left aside the riches and dedicated his life for the sake of revolution but why is he craving for normal life now? Does he not understand that the ruling class shall make his life a medium and use it against the revolutionary movement? Is he not self negating through such writings? Is this not an insult to the thousands of martyrs who laid down their lives? Is this not a betrayal to the thousands and lakhs of activists, people's fighters and revolutionary people who are still fighting in the arena of war? It definitely is. How big the person might be, how respectful their past was, if, in the present, they go into the wrong path it is sure that they degenerate in the future. Therefore, we have to examine and decide the past and the present of Kobad Ghandy not with the weight of his past but with the present reality and on the yardstick of dialectical materialism, that is in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In spite of his ideal past, his present outlook as delineated in *Fractured Freedom* soiled all the positive of his past.

There are a lot of ideal examples of sacrifice of all the wealth and prospects and dedication totally for the sake of human society in the history of the world. If Kobad had set the ideal that he discussed in the book he would not have written so. Jesus Christ climbed the cross to stand for his thoughts but did not bend. Mohammad Paigambar went on fighting but did not bend. Buddha sacrificed his princely status and was on the verge of death during his worship but he didn't disband his objective and brought forth a new philosophy into the world. Socrates was prepared to consume

poison to stick on to his ideology. Starting from the great teacher Marx, we have hundreds of examples such as Julius Fuzick, Charu Mazumdar, Kanhai Chatterjee and recently Kanchan Nanavare, who became a martyr in a prison of Maharashtra, all created a history of sacrifice. Then why is Kobad, who dedicated his life for the sake of the people, so fond of his life? One is due to the state repression. The second is his outlook regarding his improper understanding the process of revolutionary transformation. Third is his work style and work method. Lastly, his role in the class struggle.

Kobad published the front cover of the Aavhan Natya Manch in his book. He mentioned Martyr Vilas Ghogre in his book. Comrade Ghogre wrote this song.

*“Our life is for revolution – Our objective in life is revolution
We sing in death – Red Salutes to Revolution...
The whole life goes forward – in a tortuous path
Hurdles umpteen may come – but we continue to hold weapons
Enemies of revolution, listen! – we sacrifice our lives to revolution
We sing in death – Red Salutes to Revolution...
As the tanks fire canons – let us challenge the enemy forces
Revolution is our ideal – Red Army marches forward
When enemies are panicky– we carry on unflinching
We sing in death – Red Salutes to Revolution...
As the weapons roar – the people’s army steps forth
The sky turns red and crimson – let us advance in mass line
Tomorrow the Sun shall rise – the hearts of exploiters shall quiver
We sing in death – Red Salutes to Revolution”*

He published this cover of ‘Aavhan’ but rejected essence of the songs inside the book.

Now the revolutionary wave might not be present, but has the necessity of revolution waned? It is easy to cruise along the flow but swimming against the tide demands resolute pluck. Some people jumped into revolution with certain expectations that are not successful during their life time and this makes their knees too weak. Intellectuals, who expect a speedy success, compare Indian revolution with Russia and China’s, are drowned in disappointment. They must be questioned: What concrete theoretical attempts they have made to solve these questions? What theoretical writings did Kobad contribute to break the obstacles that are in the way of revolution in his long life as a member of the highest committee in the Party? If he wants to stay put with the status quo why did he wait for so long? He continued in the revolution for a long time, perhaps due to the companionship of the towering revolutionary Comrade Anuradha. Kobad was imprisoned within a short while after she became martyr. He belonged to the third category- thinking always only in black and white and hopping from one extreme to another, as per his own analysis. Perhaps, in Com. Anuradha’s death, he lacked the constant succour that would have balanced his trait of running in between extremes with impetuosity. Apart from these conditions, intensifying repression and incarcerated life mellowed him from materialism to idealism. He would have reached the same position, sooner than later, even if he had not gone to jail.

Kobad’s political journey and collapse

One who lives as a Communist all through one’s life is only a real communist. Kobad abandoned his political journey as a communist mid-way. In order to understand why an individual reaches abandons their cherished ideals, we need to understand the process of the individual’s revolutionary practice, the attitude at the time of ups and downs in class struggle and revolutionary movement and a critical view of the individual’s grit and guts when facing the enemy. Let us see Kobad from these aspects.

Kobad enthusiastically joined the revolutionary movement from national bourgeois family. He stayed in the revolutionary movement for 40 years. He worked in the highest level in the party. Of late, he left the theory and revolution that he believed and took up the path of spiritualism. We

need to analyse the basis of his revolutionary political practice so as to understand the reasons for this change.

When in the end of the decade of 1960s the Spring Thunder of Naxalbari in India and revolutionary struggles and national liberation struggles of the world were going on, Kobad went to London for higher studies in 1968. He faced racial discrimination and studied the colonial exploitation of the British imperialism on India. He found a solution for these in Marxism and dialectical materialism. He came into touch with Maoist organisations and studied Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Influenced with the politics he took part in a number of demonstrations. He participated in the seminars to express solidarity to Naxalbari. He became seriously involved in the practice of revolutionary movement and then left his higher studies to reach home and serve the people of his country in 1972. At that time the regional chauvinist and communal Shiv Sena party took up the slogans- 'jobs only for the locals' and 'Maharashtra for the sons of the soil'. It was resorting to murderous attacks on the people of southern states who went to Mumbai for livelihood. It was storming the trade unions of the Communist Party and was killing prominent leaders. It was assaulting the dalit and working masses and suppressing them. In 1971 Indira Gandhi waged war (Bangladesh) against Pakistan. She instigated national chauvinism. Expansionist, national chauvinists and hegemonic forces such as Shiv Sena were gaining the upper hand in the country. In the pretext of Indo-Pak war, Indira Gandhi government cruelly killed revolutionaries. Indian Army eliminated revolutionaries in fake encounters in cold-blood in Kolkata city. CM of Andhra Pradesh Vengalrao, killed hundreds of revolutionaries such as Satyam, Kailasam, Panigrahi, Panchadi Krishnamurthy and Nirmala, in a bid to suppress the revolutionary struggle of tribal people of Srikakulam. 15 days after his arrest the leader of CPI (ML) and the architect of Naxalbari, Comrade Charu Mazumdar was killed by the Indira Gandhi government in police custody on 28th July 1972. It was the time when the entire country was teeming with open conflicts between revolution and counter-revolution. Youth, students and the people of entire oppressed classes were filled with extreme discontent. Universities were pulsating with revolutionary politics. Students were restless towards revolution. On the whole the revolutionary situation was getting intense. It was the time of rising revolutionary tide countrywide.

Revolutionary stream, during the wave of transformation in the 1960s and 70s, attracted many intellectuals. Then it was common to have progressive thinking. It is no surprise that Kobad was attracted to left politics. When a Doon School student with multifaceted talents chooses profession in revolution, he gains a distinct place among his class. Kobad admitted in his book that his class and his elite background gave him that freedom to do so. Kobad faced racial discrimination to some extent. A rosy picture is painted how he got attracted to the revolution. Such a decision for a Doon School student is absolutely intellectual and not from any personal experience. When anyone from elite class joins revolution they come because of intellectual reasons. Some of these sections declassify themselves and dedicate their entire life. Some people runoff midway. Revolution is a need for the working class. In spite of it, some of them too run away. Whoever continues to be a communist throughout one's life is a genuine communist.

Several of those from the elite class, who had a role in the Naxalbari struggle declassified themselves, mingled with the tribal, dalit and oppressed people, spent their intellect for the upliftment of the poor people and the society and made sacrifices. Comrade Charu Mazumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee live forever in the people's struggles. But Dange is not owned even by the CPI.

Kobad belonged to a rich class but was inspired with the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and voluntarily chose revolutionary work in India. He denied a high position in the bourgeois society, entered revolutionary politics, firmly believed in MLM, got into practice and worked for 40 years. This gave a distinct place for him among the people of the country. Similarly, he took up international work as a representative of the party that brought him a considerable international identity. He was ideal and enthusiastic among the party cadres also.

Kobad started his revolutionary practice in Mayanagar, a slum area of the Dalit people in Mumbai city as soon as he returned from London. He organised the youth and took up fight for basic facilities. He came to know of caste oppression. He came into touch with 'ProYoM' (Progressive Youth Movement) during this time. He subsequently came in contact with the students of Elphinstone College. Comrade Anuradha Shanbag was a student of this college.

He also met with workers' group and trade unions. Thus he came into touch with comrade Ravi (Vemuri Chandrashekhar) of the workers' group. Ravi was earlier working in the Srikakulam movement. When repression intensified and encounters began, he reached Mumbai and took up a job. Kobad learnt the revolutionary politics and experiences of Srikakulam and Naxalbari through him. He developed further understanding towards revolutionary politics and practice. Then Kobad was in his youth. He gained Marxist knowledge and engaged in revolutionary practice in an active and enthusiastic manner.

He started organising students and workers of Mumbai city. He went into the dalit colonies. He wrote in his book that at that time the Dalit Panther movement was on the rise. The dalit colonies gave shelter to the activists of the Dalit panthers to save them from Shiv Sena and state repression. The Dalit people were organising for their rights. During this time, in cities like Mumbai too, people were organising in struggles with the influence of Naxalbari and Dalit panthers. Kobad became one of the first persons in the party organisation in the process of organising workers, students, youth and Dalit people, inspired by Naxalbari. Party work was in the primary stage at that time. He started *Kalam*, a magazine for students. The magazine remarkably attracted the students. It became popular among the students in Hyderabad, Kolkata and Delhi. Kobad and his colleagues were not a significant force. But they did secret political propaganda and were not exposed. So, they were not arrested during the Emergency.

After the Emergency, Kobad actively took part in the struggle for democratic rights that broke out all over the country. He formed CPDR in Mumbai city. He was popular as the leader of civil rights movement of the country. He organised a countrywide civil rights movement (as per the guidance of the party). He was in this sphere of activity for a while. So, he was not seen as a party leader by the government. Kobad prepared a report of investigation into an encounter in Moyinbinpet of Sironcha tehsil of Maharashtra wherein Peddi Shankar became martyr. He worked with Justice BM Tarkunde Committee. His team prepared a report on repression on Karimnagar and Adilabad peasant struggles and exposed state repression.

Kobad took part in talks with the leader of CPI (ML) AP State, Kondapalli Seetaramiah, together with Ravi in 1979. He agreed with the documents of the party -Self-Critical Report, The Tactical Line and was ready to unite with the AP State Committee. The APSC also held talks with the party in Tamil Nadu. Then a unified party CPI (ML) [People's War] was formed on 22nd April, 1980 with the branches in Tamil Nadu, AP (including Karnataka) and Maharashtra. Kobad was elected as the member of the Central Committee of People's War.

Workers of Mumbai textile mill went on strike against privatisation in 1982. The CC of the PW party guided the agitation. Mumbai party prepared a background basing on the workers' struggle. It prepared a document suggesting Mumbai comrades to build revolutionary movement in Mumbai and Vidarbh of Maharashtra. The Central Committee of the Party explained in a letter to the Mumbai comrades that in addition to organising the party among the working class in Mumbai, have to raise recruitment and expand the party in Vidarbh, develop agrarian revolutionary activity in Vidarbh, work among the working class and Dalit people, strengthen the civil rights movement and develop the movement in Vidarbh which would support the Dandakaranya movement (specifically the Gadchiroli movement). The document was written with a long-term perspective. The Maharashtra party had engaged itself in the implementation of these suggestions. Comrades of Mumbai shifted to Vidarbh. They became lawyers, lecturers and such other professionals as per their educational qualifications. Comrade Anuradha and Kobad settled in 1982 in Nagpur as per this decision. Comrade Anuradha was a lecturer in Nagpur University. Initially Kobad went to Gond Pipary area with few students as an organiser in a team. In the beginning itself, there was an

encounter between the organisational squad and the police. The squad retreated safely and returned to the city. After a long gap, again there was an attempt to work in the rural areas of Chandrapur and Nasik in 1990s. But the Maharashtra party did not get a chance to continue rural work and gain experience. Kobad mainly worked in Nagpur and the surroundings among students, youth, workers and dalit people until 1997 together with Comrade Anuradha. He was mainly engaged in coordinating the party in Maharashtra and looked after the central magazine Vanguard as a member of the Central Committee.

First internal crisis in the party

Starting from the Jagityal struggle in AP, peasant struggles broke out in Karimnagar, Adilabad and workers' struggle in Singareni, Hyderabad and Visakhapatnam under the leadership of CPI (ML) [PW].

Movement developed in Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam, Nizamabad and Adilabad districts of North Telangana. Peasant struggle began in South Telangana, North Andhra Pradesh and Rayalaseema areas. Preparations were going on to initiate class struggle in the south coastal districts. The movement in Dandakaranya was sustaining. In 1981, the Secretary of People's War-Kondapalli Seetharamiah(KS) - was arrested and was kept in prison. Satyamurthy, who was elected as secretary after the arrest of KS, was inefficient in leading the developing movement in AP. Moreover, he was part of the 6 evils that crept in the APSC. The two year long agitation of Mumbai textile mill workers also got setback. Kobad lacked the experience to solve the serious problems facing the movement. Member of the CC in Tamil Nadu -Veeraswamy (Kodandaram)- was unable to advance the movement in Dharmapuri amidst enemy repression and lost the confidence of the party cadres. Undeclared war began on the revolutionary movement since 1985. Instead of admitting that the main reasons for the present problems in the movement were their weaknesses, all these leaders found fault with the tactics adopted by the party. They brought before an opportunist discussion on a statement in connection with expulsion of NTR and Three World Theory, formed a clique in the name of majority within the CC under the leadership of secretary of the CC, Satyamurthy. They thus caused the first internal crisis. The first plenum of the first APSC was held to solve the crisis. The plenum unanimously rejected the arguments put forth by Satyamurthy group. In this plenum criticism was put forth on Kobad that instead of applying theory to practice only parroted theory in an impetuous manner. It is like a hen pooping out whatever it devours. The delegates of this plenum tried to explain many times the problems in the movement to Kobad from the forum and also separately. They also told him how Satyamurthy and Kodandaram with their inability to solve these problems threw the party in crisis and caused loss to the movement. But Kobad turned a deaf ear to what they said.

After the plenum in AP, plenums were held in Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Maharashtra. The problems were not solved and the Central Committee split. The Satyamurthy (SM) clique who spoke with leftist jargon about tactics in the plenum brought forth a right opportunistic tactic in the name of an opposite tactical line of forming a United Front to unite all the forces against the ruling Rajiv clique in the centre. This was taken as the main task at the time. This is nothing but the right opportunist trend that the SNS group brought forth in 1970 about United Front.

The All India Special Conference held in 1995 reviewed thus about the internal crisis in 1985

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“...In 1980-84 people's movement and party organisation expanded in a considerable manner. Since the beginning of 1985, the government started an undeclared war on us. There was fierce repression through fake encounters by the police and Para-military forces. At the same time opportunists inside the Central Committee spread a crisis in the party under the leadership of Satyamurthy.

“..In order to understand the reasons for the crisis we need to see the decision of the CC and the shortcomings in its functioning.

“..On the other hand, within one year of the formation of the CC, Veeraswamy (Kodandaram) and Manikyam denied to advance the Dharmapuri movement as per the tactical line.

They gave a big blow to the decision of the CC to hold Party Congress. Veeraswamy, Kamal (Kobad) and Manikyam united in the leadership of Satyamurty and raised discussion on three world theory in an opportunist manner. They did the same thing when the APPC gave a press statement on the occasion of expulsion of NTR.

“..The majority in the CC put on a political veil in their selfish careerist interests, formed into an opportunist clique and jumped into the arena.

“..In guiding the Andhra movement, especially during 1982-83 when KS was in jail, SM not only completely failed but also played a key role in the ‘six evils’ that developed in APPC. He adopted an opportunist line on all the important issues. He faced criticism in the PC meeting of July 1984, which was the beginning of the movement to criticise the leadership from the below. SM, who was not prepared to conduct self-criticism due to his petty-bourgeois inferiority complex, resorted to conspiracies to keep his position.

“..The SM-VS clique alleged that KS was following a revisionist political line and giving a short shrift to democratic centralism in the organisation, and was promoting personality cult. They further argued that on the issues of Three World Theory and dismissal of NTR government, the minority should obey the majority decisions in CC, till correct line is established in the Party Congress to be held. At a critical time when the Party should have devised new tactics to repulse the undeclared war of the government which already began in Andhra and Dandakaranya, and rallied the entire party ranks to implement them, they sidetracked this important task with a view to disrupt the Party and demanded the stalling of Party conferences and Congress till the ‘two-line struggle’ in the Party was completely resolved.

“Moreover, since the political line of People’s War was considered revisionist and thus rejected by the majority group, they insisted that, in the name of democratic centralism, only those political and organisational decisions taken by the majority group should be implemented. Forcefully asserting that the Party’s tactical line was not appropriate for defeating the government’s undeclared war, they attempted to impose their liquidationist line on the Party.

“But this opportunistic conspiracy hatched in the garb of two-line struggle aimed at capturing the Party leadership in the name of minority obeying majority, and destroying the fundamental revolutionary line of the Party, was checkmated by the minority group in the 1985 meeting. The proposal put forward by the minority that all decisions should be taken on consensus till the problems were resolved in various state committees, though initially opposed bitterly, was finally acceded to by the majority.

“Between May and August 1985, AP state plenum and a special meeting of Karnataka unanimously supported the minority and resolved that the majority group were an opportunist, careerist, liquidationist clique. They also resolved that only consensus decisions of CC should be implemented till the Congress was held; documents should be prepared on the political and organisational differences; internal debate should be conducted; and Congress should be held. They further resolved that in those states where conferences already began, they should be continued and the debate documents should be discussed in plenums at different levels. Since the political line that formed the basis of CC was rejected; APPC resolved to call back SM from CC and send the PC secretary in his place into the CC.

“During this period, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Goa held special meetings and supported the majority group. AP plenum and special meetings of other states wrote open letters to the Party. All the resolutions relating to the arguments and counter-arguments of the majority and minority group, letters and documents were reached up to the lower level cadre in Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra. But VS and Manikyam did not hand over the documents to most of the comrades in Tamil Nadu.

“In this process, various plenums and conferences that were held in Andhra Pradesh, Dandakaranya and Karnataka rejected the documents of the majority on Three World Theory and NTR government’s dismissal resolving that these were opposed to Marxist-Leninist-Mao Thought and their perspective on united front was sectarian smacking of ‘closed door’ attitude.

“They also resolved that the majority document on ‘Strategy and Tactics’ was nothing but an exercise in quoting the great teachers mechanically and could not be an alternative for our tactical line, and the criticism brought out in the document on the post-1980 practice in Andhra Pradesh was merely opportunistic with no substance in it. In Tamil Nadu, the second and third rank cadre who came forward after criticising the leadership, took active initiative in conducting the state conference in March 1987 in which they laid bare the opportunism of the majority, rejected their documents, and thus upheld the revolutionary line of People’s War Party. The state conferences held in 1987 in Andhra, Dandakaranya, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu once again rejected the majority clique..”.

This review made by the All India Special Conference in 1995 clearly explains the role of the majority group of the CC and that of Kobad who was part of it.

In 1989-90, a discussion began on the split of the party and the role of majority, in the Maharashtra State Committee. Majority of the comrades in the SC criticised the wrong policy adopted by Kobad who became a member of the CC from the state and now took the stand of the majority in the CC. Kobad was called back from the CC. The Maharashtra committee delinked from the party of the majority and worked independently for a while. In AP, the revolutionary movement fought against the government offensive and was in the upper hand until 1989. Agrarian Revolution was advancing. Revolutionary movement strengthened all over the state. On the other hand, movement did not develop in the states where the majority group was in the leadership. In 1990 August the central plenum was held and the COC of CPI (ML) [People’s War] was formed. By 1993 the Maharashtra comrades re-joined their mother organisation, the People’s War.

After Kobad was called back from the CC, he confined his work to Nagpur. Comrade Anuradha organised the workers, youth, students and Dalit people in the same town and also guided the Aavhan Natya Manch, the cultural organisation. She imbibed the spirit of the revolutionary movement in Vidarbha and became an activist. During this time Kobad mainly depended on Comrade Anuradha and guided the party like a mentor.

After the merger of the Maharashtra committee in 1993 and the All India Special Conference in 1995, the CC of People’s War gave the responsibility of Vanguard magazine to Kobad in the rank of a member of State Committee. The Party also began to send him to international seminars abroad as a CC representative. He mainly looked after the responsibility of the Central magazine until 2000.

Kobad was re-elected into the CC in the 9th Congress of the erstwhile CPI (ML) [People’s War] in 2001. After this he continued to look after ‘People’s March’ magazine and international issues. He occasionally went for field studies. There was unprecedented offensive on the revolutionary movement by the central and the state governments since 2000. There were ups and downs in the movement. The North Telangana movement faced fierce repression and due to certain wrong tactics, it suffered by 2002. The Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of the CPI (Maoist) held in 2007 reviewed the movement in North Telangana, AP and AOB and assessed that the movement in these areas went into setback. Kobad subjectively argued in this Congress that the CC and the State committee leadership comrades of these states were subjected to right opportunism and so the movement temporarily went in setback. The Congress unanimously rejected Kobad’s argument. The AP SC decided to hold talks with the interim state governments in 2002 and 2004 in the leadership of the Central Committee of the erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW). On this occasion he criticised that the erstwhile PW leadership became opportunistic. The PW leadership denied the argument. In his *Fractured Freedom* he did not give this argument but wrote that he warned the party much before about the serious loss for the leadership in the government offensive after the talks were over since it came to know of the leadership through this process. Party adopted certain temporary tactics in view of political benefit in that condition. It assessed the possible dangers out of these tactics and also planned to prevent it. But party does not see only the possible dangers and step back from adopting the tactics. Unity Congress-Ninth Congress also reviewed that in view of the objective and subjective conditions it was not correct to hold talks with the AP government. The Congress opined that ‘in order to make total preparations to face the future offensive, to advance the war and thus to

strengthen our subjective forces, we need to utilise the weaknesses in the enemy offensive'. But Congress did not say that it was opportunism as Kobad would say. This is the subjective attitude of Kobad.

After the formation of the unified CPI (Maoist) party in 2004, the Manmohan Singh led UPA government announced the party to be 'the biggest threat to internal security' and unleashed intense repression. It targeted nearly 100 central and state level leaders and began to arrest, kill in fake encounters since 2005. It became a normal feature for the police to follow the leaders and arrest them.

CC released a circular in 2007 November regarding the technical precautions to be followed to avoid losses. But the arrests went on increasing until 2008. In 2009, the central government launched 'Operation Green Hunt' to unleash repression on the movement. Elimination through encirclement-offensive became intense. Polit Bureau made a resolution to fight back Green Hunt and to avoid the arrest of leadership in 2009 August. Kobad failed to rectify the weaknesses in functioning in secret methods keeping in view the spirit of these resolutions and was arrested in October 2009 in Delhi.

Kobad was elected into the CC, PB in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress held in 2007 before his arrest and was part of SuCoMO, Central Publishing Bureau (CPB) and international relations and also the central magazine People's March. His arrest almost brought a halt to work of the party in these spheres. He wrote a letter to the party that he revealed certain things regarding party functioning to the intelligence officers during interrogation. He also wrote that this was wrong on his part. But instead of severe self-criticism for causing loss to the revolutionary movement and being accountable, he started telling the police and the press that he was neither a member of the party nor a member of the CC and PB. He repeated the same thing in his book, *Fractured Freedom-A Prison Memoir*.

Kobad wrote about the illuminating personality of martyr Comrade Anuradha in his book and tried to utilise her as a crutch. Therefore, although we do not wish to speak in this regard, we write very briefly about their relation so that the readers could know the truth. Comrade Anuradha hails from a middle-class family with a communist background. She joined the revolutionary movement through the activities of Vidyarthi Pragati Sangathan while she was undergoing graduation in Elphinstone College in Mumbai. She came into touch with Kobad while she was working among students. They got married while working in the revolutionary movement in 1979. Since then until her martyrdom in 2008, they lived as life partners and actively worked in the revolutionary movement. Kobad was shattered by the martyrdom of Comrade Anuradha. He expressed in his own words that the day of martyrdom of Comrade Anuradha was the worst day for him. Comrade Anuradha went to Jharkhand to attend a women's meeting to fulfil a task in the movement when she caught Malaria. She had already been suffering from sclerosis. After her return, she passed away while being on treatment in a hospital in Mumbai. Kobad was with her in her last moments.

After the decision of the party to work in Vidarbha, Comrade Anuradha changed to Nagpur and served as a lecturer in Nagpur University. She started to organise workers, students, youth, women, Dalit and artists. She matured into a dashing agitator, a diligent organiser and a deft mass leader. She was a respected leader among the students and women of the country. In the Trade Union sector, she stood firm against the goonda attacks of the management in support of the workers. Comrade Anuradha made a deep study into women's problems. She gave a direction to the women's movement through her participation in the women's seminar in Patna under the leadership of AILRC. She had an important contribution in drafting the party document, 'Women's perspective'. She gained a good and special identity in the all India level in the spheres of human rights, students and women.

In the whole process Comrade Anuradha and Kobad were together in the revolutionary movement and worked actively. They extended mutual help. Comrade Anuradha took the help of Kobad in certain theoretical issues. She had a proletarian perspective, mingled with the people of

basic classes and was politically strongly determined. She helped Kobad. Both of them together faced the complex problems that came along in the revolutionary movement. Both had the same opinion on the internal crisis in the party. But Kobad was an introvert and had a sectarian perspective and Comrade Anuradha was open. She could unite with those with whom she had a difference of opinion, she was affectionate towards the cadre and the oppressed sections. She had a broad-minded communist persona. She could thus form a wider unity with intellectuals of many spheres. So, she gained a lot of affection from the people and the cadres. Comrade Anuradha and Kobad came from an upper middle class and intellectual background and worked in the revolutionary movement for a long time. Comrade Anuradha dedicated her life to fulfil the revolutionary ideal. After her martyrdom Kobad betrayed her ideal. He divorced Marxist theory and distanced from the revolutionary movement. And he is now engaged in spilling mud on it.

Comrade Anuradha falls under the first category and he in the third category among the three categories that he defined (after one reads *Fractured Freedom* the second and the third categories seem to be alike. It means Chanakya syndrome and black and white). When he is able to classify the party cadres but why could not he imbibe the values from his life partner of the first category with whom he spent 40 years? The work style and the method of work of Kobad would provide a clue to this conundrum.

Kobad himself wrote that he did not directly participate in the struggle in the Mayanagar slum or in the workers' struggle. Did he ever play a role in independently going around and organising the people? Did he ever go into the streets and raise slogans shoulder to shoulder with the common people? Did he at least hold a banner, or a flag? Did he experience lathi-charge? Did he ever face goondas in the slums? Did he ever have sleepless nights making wall writings? Anuradha took part in all these. If one does not get tempered in the arena of class struggle, how would one be expected to become a good communist? One cannot learn to swim if one sits on the bank of the river. All the contradictions regarding water and body, the flow of water and the body, the pressure of water and body, about drowning and saving, how much to breathe and how much capacity one has- all these teach our body some tips and then the individual starts swimming. If one simply confines oneself to reading or writing a book, brain will be filled with knowledge but it cannot say as to how the knowledge will work on the earth. 'Mere knowledge of revolutionary thoughts will not do. One needs revolutionary practice in order to become a Communist'. Where and how is the communist practice of Kobad? Bob Avakian also says that when there is so much of Communist practice in the world what is the need for himself to do? Avakian is now in the mire of total revisionism. When the movement is advancing, the internal weaknesses of such intellectuals will not be visible. When it is in temporary setback, the intellectuals lose cognitive balance. They will be swayed by the dominant currents. They will debate a lot about declassification. But how on earth would one declassify if one does not directly plunge into class struggles?

'But the intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggles, or made up their minds to serve the interests of the masses and become one among them. Hence although the mass of revolutionary intellectuals in China can play a vanguard role or serve as a link with the masses, not all of them will remain revolutionaries to the end. Some will drop out of the revolutionary ranks at critical moments and become passive, while a few may even become enemies of the revolution. The intellectuals can overcome their shortcomings only in mass struggles over a long period' – (*The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party* (1939 December), MSW, Vol-II).

Even after working with the dalit people for 40 years he could not change his elitist nature. He had Amoebiasis when he went to work in the slums of the Dalit people and it continued for 50 years. Highly shameful! In his own words from *Fractured Freedom* – 'Although I might have been intellectually and ideologically committed to these underprivileged people, physically I was not. Brought up in clinically clean surroundings, my system rebelled against the unhygienic conditions in the slums and the poor quality of food. I would eat amongst these humble people who so generously

shared the little they had with me, knowing that to refuse would hurt their feelings, and would have been misunderstood; my refusal would have been interpreted as either snobbery or, worse still, caste bias. Unbeknownst to them, I was not even aware that they were Mahars, so called untouchables. The acute amoebic dysentery contracted time and again then, still haunts me today as IBS (Irritable Bowel Syndrome), even half a century later' (p. 40).

He wants the dalit people to exaggerate his greatness but he wants to show the dangers in mingling with them. This is horrible casteist mentality. He finally goes back to his times. He writes that if he did not eat in the homes of the dalit people, they would think he has caste bias. It means he eats in the homes of the dalit people to maintain his greatness. He did not do this to unite with them for the struggle to eradicate caste. My brother Kobad! Does this great intellectual not see anything to learn from the dalit people? The dalit people obviously did not invite you to uplift them. They thought they were working with a Communist with a broad perspective. But *Fractured Freedom* revealed something else. It shows your hatred towards the oppressed special social sections. This great intellectual has nothing to learn from the dalit people! He could see the unhygienic condition in the dalit slum but not the socio-economic reasons behind it. He needs to understand that hygienic condition forms for the elite class from the surplus value extracted out of exploitation of the dalit people. This exploitation leads to unhygienic condition for the dalit people. Sant Tukaram of the Bhakti movement writes thus about declassification – 'Jo ka ranjale ganjale thyasee manne jo aapule, thochi sadhu othkhava dev tethechee jaanaavaa'. What did not let Kobad declassify lies in the basis of the role he played in the revolutionary movement.

Today he wrote about his past in which he remembers (or with an understanding) those persons who left the movement and shifted their line. He does not even remember the martyrs of his time. He does not even mention the activists who were imprisoned several times, were lathi-charged and were important in the workers' agitation. He does not mention the workers' struggle in Maharashtra at that time. He does not also discuss the reviews of the struggle and the steps taken regarding the questions time to time. He remembers 'PROYOM' but not 'Vidyarthi Pragati Sangathan', he does not remember 'AIRSF' and 'Navjvaan Bharat Sabha'. He remembers 'Aavhan' but forgets 'AILRC'. He remembers selectively. And he used craft to draft the history according to his wishful thinking. Oh! Glorious values! Success and failure or whatever the outcome might be, one must sincerely record how much one contributed to take the society forward. Not only a communist, but any human being must be honest towards himself and towards the movement he took part. This is the basic ethics. But Kobad himself negates the history; he projects his revolutionary past as a mere NGO type of social work. We need to understand that he is knowingly insulting all the activists and the people who laid down their lives in fulfilling their responsibility in the struggle. This is a personal insult to the revolutionary Comrade Anuradha whom he upheld and permeated his mind and heart. This is a hopeless attempt to spread disappointment among the people and the activists about the movement.

We can now assess the revolutionary practice of Kobad thus – He worked in the revolutionary movement for a long time. The CPI (Maoist) leading the revolutionary movement of the country faced many ups and downs and victories and defeats and continued to travel in its path. It attained a stable position in the minds of the people of India. It is proved that the line of the party is invincible. Party gained several experiences. Kobad could not at all understand the experience the party gained in PPW and the concerned practice. The fundamental rule of 'concrete analysis of concrete condition' is the kernel of Marxism which Kobad never cared two hoots. That is why, he developed dogmatic attitude contrary to the dialectical and historical materialist method. Politically, he is left in words and right in deeds. He facilitated the way to groupism in the party. Party made a serious effort to rectify Kobad in the internal struggle. But he could not overcome the wrong trends theoretically and politically. Moreover, with the emergence of the Maoist party, ruling classes unleashed intense repression and he was arrested. This situation led to creation of wrong thinking in him. Any individual needs to rectify oneself. One has to directly participate in class struggle and people's war and rectify the wrong thinking of subjectivity and dogmatism with a concrete analysis

of concrete conditions. He was not in direct mass work for a long time. He did not mingle with the people and know their opinions. He was distant to mass line and could not declassify. Thus, his wrong trends strengthened and he vacillated at the time of twists and turns of the movement. Politically he was ultra-left in expression. Leadership will be secret in Maoist party. Kobad was open or semi-legal for a long time. He could not become part of class struggle. He lived an open revolutionary life and once arrested he had to face the enemy that turned him a coward. He lost his life partner Comrade Anuradha, and was immediately arrested after the martyrdom and lived a long time in the prison. This developed vacillation in him. As he said, he was an introvert and did not like to elaborate and discuss anything with his comrades. He could not transform his long revolutionary life into that of a proletarian thinking. Therefore, he could not analyse the normal advance-retreat that arises in the revolutionary movement in a Marxian method. He felt despaired on such occasions and many a time, he over assessed the sectarian method of the mistakes of the party, developed a outlook of hatred towards the party. This is petty bourgeois chauvinism. Finally, he fell to those trends and reached the point opposing the theory of MLM.

In the place of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist activity, Kobad had subjectivity, dogmatism and sectarian perspective due to which he was away from the dialectical materialist theory and the fundamental tenet of Marxism to make a concrete analysis of concrete situation. So, he could not understand the objective situation comprehensively. He could not imbibe proletarian class outlook.

Kobad assesses his 40 years of revolutionary life that when he entered the revolutionary stream in the end of 1960s, the wave of revolutionary movement now reached a dead end. Revolution is confined to certain reforms. It reached retrogressive point. MLM is outdated in the present conditions because Socialism is destroyed. In such conditions the real alternative is humanism and spiritualism, Kobad says. He left his forty years of revolutionary history and stood before the society as a traitor of revolution.

Marxism is not a commodity for sale that can be bought with grand publicity. One does not become a Marxist just in thoughts, the real issue is to change the society. An individual under the influence of bourgeois democracy/independence weighs each and everything with the criterion of consumption. If Marxism is not spoken about much in the bourgeois media it does not mean that its utility is outdated. He had been a Communist for 40 years but what sort of Communist is he? Revolutionary, reformist, revisionist or will he define himself as one of some such category such? Does he have the intention of making revolution or to simply write articles? Which party was he working in? Which stream of Naxalbari struggle was he related to? He says that he was never a leader in the Maoist party and this is a half-witted trick to save him. Whom is he trying to impress in writing such rehash? Does he think the government is so imbecile to believe his fiction? The intellectual world immediately understood how Kobad took a 'U-turn'. When his book reaches the exploited people in their language they would immediately answer 'Kobad is afraid!' You know well by what name revolutionary politics speaks about it. You might be thinking to live in a hassle free life in your old age but do you need to stoop yourself to this despicable extent? The meaning of your negation that you were a Maoist leader means that you have no kind of relation to the history of revolutionary movement. Then how do you define the political relationship with the leader of CPI (Maoist) martyr Comrade Anuradha? How does the history and struggle that you showed as your history relate with her? All these struggles have been led by the revolutionary party (initially People's War and later Maoist party). Where do you tear yourself apart? Will you do it from the note-books of the minutes of the Central Committee, the articles you wrote in Vanguard, People's March, People's Truth and People's War, the Conferences for International coordination of revolutionaries, the attempts of United Front going on in the country, the lectures you gave to the activists? You cannot cut your umbilical cord even if you want to. 'If a cat drinks milk closing its eyes, it does not mean it is dark'. *Fractured Freedom* tried to negate the truth of history but made up logic cannot hide truth. On one hand he hails the values of Anuradha as ideal and on the other hand he insults those values. This is the characteristic of 'Chanakya Syndrome'. The moment you thought to cut your relation with the Maoist party, you lost the basis of your relation with Comrade Anuradha.

It is ridiculous that *Fractured Freedom* speaks about the values of others when he actually wrote half-truths and white lies. We also see an attempt in the book to destroy the prestige of the movement going on in the leadership of the Maoist party. In this matter the great teachers taught us.

Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao taught us that it is necessary to study according to conditions and not with subjective wishes but objective truth. Mao said – ‘...this subjectivist method which is contrary to science and Marxism-Leninism is a formidable enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit. A formidable enemy stands before us, and we must overthrow him. Only when subjectivism is overthrown can the truth of Marxism-Leninism prevail, can Party spirit be strengthened, can the revolution be victorious. We must assert that the absence of a scientific attitude, that is, the absence of the Marxist-Leninist approach of uniting theory and practice, means that Party spirit is either absent or deficient’. (Reform your study, Vol-III, SWM).

We denounce the glib classification and its basis Kobad made about the Party cadres. This shallow classification has no basis does not exist in a class wise Party. The party sticks to MLM theory with proletarian class outlook, stays among the people like fish in the water, strictly follows the organisational principle of Communist party, follows the method - from the masses to the masses - takes on the class enemy valiantly and stands as a great warrior in the arena of People’s War. Whoever joins the party, they will join free will. Revolutionary work is not a work that is forced on an unwilling person. The work is done with the combination freedom of one’s wish and discipline of the Party line. As long as one is a party member, they work with proletarian class outlook. The party methods and theoretical understanding make him responsible to work in such a way. None can be different from this. In spite of these, mistakes do occur that are rectified through self-criticism (the process of unity and struggle and stronger unity). This must be a relentless practice. The struggle against the wrong trends inside an individual needs struggle against oneself and this is self-criticism. The struggle against the wrong trends in other comrades is criticism. This is an instrument for a Communist party to keep itself live. The implementation of this by Kobad is ‘more of criticism and less self-criticism’.

Good and bad are dialectically complimentary to one another. Every comrade has good aspects and weaknesses and non-proletarian characteristics too. This applies to an ordinary Party Member and also to a CCM. There are three reasons for this. Persons of different classes join the party and it is but natural that they bring in the class habits, thoughts along with them. Ruling class always influences the society with its ideology in different forms. This shows an impact on the party also. After joining the party one enters the process of class struggle, political and theoretical education and proletarianisation. This process goes on. Without the process one cannot transform one’s world outlook and would only develop a bourgeois (idealist/spiritualist metaphysical) world outlook instead of proletarian world outlook and gets deviated. Therefore, the party takes up rectification campaigns time and again against the non-proletarian trends. The development in Kobad is not a sudden one. The process of proletarianisation was weak since the beginning in him. He was not firm on rectifying himself. So, the impact of his class background and the ruling class ideology gave rise to non-proletarian outlook in him. He got degenerated. Ravi Shankar of the Art of living sponsored by the exploitive ruling classes, and his ilks are engaged in destroying the revolutionaries in prison. One can continue to be a revolutionary in prison only if one becomes part of the process of transforming prison into a centre of class struggle and in the process of continuous struggle against the non-proletarian trends arising inside one’s mind. Kobad’s jail life is absolutely on the contrary. Prison life where Kobad did not follow revolutionary methods distanced him as a revolutionary and made him a counter-revolutionary.

The name *Fractured Freedom* itself reflects a fairy tale. Freedom in a capitalist society is for only capitalists. When there is no freedom for the broad masses how would the question of fracture arise? Yes. Kobad’s class has freedom. In that sense his freedom had been fragmented. But the most

dangerous thing is the death of a dream. *Fractured Freedom* liquidates the hopes and aspirations of the people. This is ominous. If he would have at least remembered this song of 'Aavhan'.....

*'...we held the red banner reddened with the blood of lakhs of martyrs
we overcame the fear of death, we faced the storm
Kept away the difference and went forward comrade
We are proletarian, we are exploited people....
...one day we shall achieve the world,
One day, one day we shall bring equality and unity,
We shall break the bondage of slavery
We shall break the chains of the society
Comrade, that is the reason we took up the aim of liberation...'*

Kobad! You received facilities from the mafias in the prison, went on writing articles with a class collaboration view such as *Questions of Freedom and People's Emancipation* and we have been fighting with the mafias and all kinds of looters and defeated their repressive campaign Operation Green Hunt. You came out of jail, wrote *Fractured Freedom* and are telling the people to keep distance from struggle and we are fighting back their counter-revolutionary cruel repressive policy 'SAMADHAN and Prahar offensive'. You draw the essence of your 40 years of revolutionary practice. But opposing the revolutionary practice, you advocate spirituality while we are holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We are establishing the 'people's government'. We are strengthening human values in it and paving the way to go forward. What a contrast between you and the Party! This Himalayan hiatus you created, buried all your revolutionary thoughts in the grave permanently. From that spiritual *samadhi*, poor Kobad is making a vain attempt to entomb the revolutionary theory.

The tradition of Communists in prison and Kobad

'Prison is our University' said martyr Bhagat Singh. His ideal was that the activists who go to jail see the actual power, democracy and politics and come out as trained revolutionaries. This change occurs only when one is in struggle even in the prison. But with the given several faculties in this University, if one is not in struggle, would automatically enter another faculty and when released from jail, in spite of the degree of revolution might even become a Professor of spiritualism. The side you take inside the struggle in the prison guarantees the development of your intellect. But if your mind had doubts, misunderstandings and questions about Communism, class struggle, Protracted People's War and Party work, this University will easily make you a student of the department of spirituality.

Once a revolutionary falls into the hands of the police and is sent to jail, let alone the facility of a political prisoner, they are not given that of an ordinary prisoner. Their jail diary will be filled with torture in police custody, death and torture in prison and the struggles made against these.

See what the Czech communist and patriot Julius Fuzick said – '...Here in this room it is possible to totally understand the character of this human animal. The nearness to death very clearly denudes the characters of every one of us. This is the same for those whose hands are tied with red strips for having been communists or for the Nazi agents helping the police. It is not the value of your words that counts. It is the question of your strength and your character. By the time only one main character remains in you. All the characters that formed, weakened or beautified your personality earlier are washed away in the severe storm that comes before facing death. A noun and a verb remain. Sincere persons resist; Traitors are exposed; Heroes fight; Cowards step back. Each and every one of us are inherently strong and also weak, daring and also fearful, clean and also dirty. After coming here one of these remains: Yes or No. If one tries to cleverly dance in between these two, it is easily exposed like either a crow putting on the feathers of a peacock or singing a song in a burial ground'.

The revolutionaries are constantly making struggle for getting the status of political prisoner. The veteran of Indian Revolution Comrade Varunda is a recent example. He was put in an inhuman state and was finally given bail on the verge of death. Several activists sacrificed their lives in the

struggle for the status of political prisoners. They did not think like you did in vested interest. Even today, several persons are working in the interest of political prisoners facing difficulties. The details of his jail life in *Fractured Freedom* say that he alone was given a table and a chair. He was given a radio, a phone, a servant, was never handcuffed and there was no physical torture. Kobad did not wish to make out the 'great example of caste and class atrocity'. It is the task of each and every Communist to go on fighting against injustice anywhere. A Communist does not bother about himself and dedicates his life to distance the difficulties of the others. Kobad did not oppose the special facilities given to mafia in the jail and moreover enjoyed those. As he received these facilities given to the mafia, he did not write a single letter in his ten years of imprisonment about the injustice to the ordinary prisoners. The various jails of India have plenty of records of Maoist activists and leaders who participated and led demonstrations and strikes demanding facilities and benefits for all in the jail boycotting those given to them.

He shared warmth and tea from Afzal Guru's thermos who dedicated to the freedom of Kashmir. Kobad learnt about Islam from Afzal. But why did he not oppose his hanging? Why did he not try to organise the prisoners against the hanging? The least he could have done was to sit on hunger strike! Where did your concerns for freedom and human values vanish? Where has your democratic sense evaporated? How did your communist activism wither away? Keep these aside. You have been receiving all the information regularly in jail. Could you not see the farmers' agitation, the Tuticorin struggle and the agitation of Hero Honda laborers, the struggle against displacement, the demonetization, GST, E-way bill, the power of Aadhar, the power snatched by privatization, the atrocity on your fellow political prisoners or the atrocities on women. Kobad did not utter a single word on any of these issues in the long period of ten years of prison life. How did your spirit to fight for the people dissipate? Why did you become so fond of life after you left a hefty property, a promising career and set out to work for revolution? Kobad forsook the basic values of an activist for the sake of physical comforts in the jail. He not only received facilities from a don of mafia but also from police agents like the TPC (Trutiya Prastuti Committee, a counter-revolutionary group in Jharkhand) who became the enemies of the Maoist party and the people. He provided them legal support. Moreover, he glorifies them in the book and commends them for good values. Mr. Kobad, are these the lofty values you advocated in your schema of ethics?

Open your eyes and read what Mao said – 'A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any private person, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist' (Combat Liberalism, 1937 December 7th, MSW, Vol-II)

Comrade Kobad spent ten years and one month in various jails across India. The torture of jail in this age will be intolerable. We were very anxious about his health and the Party made all possible efforts to see that he was safe in the jail and was provided the necessary facilities. Party tried to bring him out of jail in the earliest possible time. Kobad's attempt to destroy the prestige of the party as written in the chapter of life in the prison makes anyone to detest him. He wails that at the time of arrest media boosted it but after release it was silent. This is nothing surprising. Government did not arrest Kobad because he was a social activist. It arrested him because his thoughts and the movement which he was personally leading have become the biggest threat to the government. At the time of arrest he was a Maoist leader and at the time of release he broke up his revolutionary pledge. The government knew well that it would not gain any extra political mileage from highlighting Kobad. Through the articles he wrote from jail and the present book, he made it clear that he can be used against the Maoists. Now the ruling classes are happy and are involved in wide propaganda of *Fractured Freedom*. Moreover, the corporate media is engaged in vain attempts to make anti-Maoist propaganda through his interviews.

The 'happiness' Kobad cherishes can't be achieved without seizure of power under the leadership of the proletariat through class struggle. Kobad was right when he said that those who want to bring change must first create good values. We shall discuss later the values Kobad raised in his book. First let us see what values this revolutionary or socialist or social worker practiced in the jails. He received food and other such facilities from big mafias of Delhi, Jharkhand and Gujarat. He does not feel ashamed of it. Moreover, he shows social values in it and even glorifies it. He accepted the services of TPF, the anti-people elements in Jharkhand jail who became traitors and formed an anti-revolutionary gang. On one hand he gives the details of the jails in Jharkhand where coupon system is replaced with cash system and that this is totally under the mafia. He puts forth this criticism and he himself associates with the mafia dons. He glorifies the traitorous TPC and asks his lawyers to help them. This man speaks volumes on values from the mount. Communist system fights for transformation. There is the tradition of struggle of revolutionaries and communists in jail. Despite being a top leader (at least a Communist), Kobad has forsaken this tradition of struggle disgracefully for the sake of a few facilities. And, stood as a mean and a repulsive example. He did not raise voice even once in the whole ten years for other political prisoners. He speaks of hunger strike once against the jail system for his own sake but not for others. He did not express opinion even once in ten years about the developments in the world. What is the subtext behind this conspicuous political silence? He was silent since he received facilities. What kind of values does his settlement with the mafia and jail authorities show? What is the secret behind the bonhomie and interviews with bourgeois settlers? In the chapter on jail, he tried to put the party in shame to the extent he could. He glorified traitors and mafia. Kobad comes out naked in this chapter. Leave alone that of a communist he did not even have the strength of an ordinary ideal person.

Revolution is not an employment nor even a part-time job. So, revolutionaries could ill afford to spend the life of a 'post retirement' life with grandchildren receiving gratuity and other perks. Comrade Anuradha never approved such thinking. She detested comforts seeking and skin saving methods. A genuine communist will not get shaken with fear of death because this is the path they chose. After scientific analysis of history, they deliberately came to the decision. Revolutionaries might be jailed any time in their life. Jail is certainly the zenith of test for an individual. They will be tortured and minimum facilities are denied. It is undoubtedly inhuman. But the capitalists turned the whole earth into the barbaric place for the exploited people. Hence, revolutionaries chose tortuous path of struggle against the fiendish governments to bring happiness for the people. One more popular song of 'Aavhan' –

*"We are laborers– We are communists
Anyone might deny but
We are Marxists – we are Leninists
We oppose injustice – we stand for justice
We shall overcome every obstacle – and accomplish our work...
We have our own theory – and do not accept Vedanta
We have no greed for bribes – and don't degrade ourselves.."*

Kobad forgot the teaching of Mao regarding values – 'At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect. Communists should work in harmony with all progressives outside the Party and endeavor to unite the entire people to do away with whatever is undesirable' – (*The role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War, 1938 October, MSW, Vol-II*).

Joining hands with the police and throwing mud on the Party

He writes that there were no coupon systems in Jharkhand jail and places the Maoists together with the jail mafia. 'All other jails had coupon systems but Jharkhand jails only operated on cash. The large number of 'Maoists' in the jail, instead of countering this mafia control, were often a

part of it. Sometimes leading it. ...' (p. 117) '...discovered that much of the mafia there were the Naxal prisoners themselves' (*Fractured Freedom* p. 117). He gives the example of Bajiram Mahato who left the party and whom he met in the jail and says that that is the way it is going on in the party. He writes about Bajiram in his book – 'He had apparently deserted the movement in about 2008 and formed his own gang. He left the Maoists with the complaint, like that of many others, that the leadership had become very bureaucratic and intolerant. The final straw that broke his conviction, he said, was that money that they themselves gathered in sacks and delivered to their leaders without touching a paisa, was not used in any developmental work in the village. What was worse, that they felt, was when they (or their families) were in need, nothing was given to them, even if they needed to rebuild huts broken by the police. He himself had asked for some money for his sister's marriage which was denied....' (*Fractured Freedom*, p. no. 163).

Let us see the truth to know the half-truths and lies in Kobad's *Fractured Freedom*.

In the sub-chapter- 'Under tale of Two Aides' in *Fractured Freedom*, Kobad writes about one Bajiram Mahato. According to Mahato's narration, he worked in the cultural front Jharkhand *Abhen* of Maoist Communist Centre from 1995 to 2002. In 2006 he was the deputy commander of an Area Committee. In 2008 he became a section commander in a platoon. This is a clear lie. True, Bajiram Mahato joined our squad in 2007 and left after 5 or 6 months. He is a vagabond and a lumpen person. He came into the party along with his class history. After joining the party whenever he was criticized for not maintaining discipline, he would become furious. One day he behaved inappropriately with a woman comrade for which his colleagues made a strong criticism. He left the party, unable to follow the discipline. Later he formed an armed goonda gang.

It is absolutely baseless for Bajiram Mahato to say that he collected a sacksful of levy for the party. Our party document 'Financial Policy' clearly stated the way to collect party fund. Levy must be collected only by the Zonal/Divisional Committee. Even if he was a deputy commander of an Area Committee where is the question of collecting levy? He was not a member of Zonal Committee! Our Party Constitution wrote that those from working class and poor landless peasants will be given Party membership 6 months after joining the party. Then how could Bajiram have become an assistant commander in 5-6 months? He did not even reach the stipulated time for party membership.

Kobad wrote in his book that most of the mafia in Hazaribagh central jail were Naxalites. In the same page he writes 'all the leaders of the movement (including the lower level leaders) are also very rich'.

Kobad says that Maoist leaders are very rich that is absolutely false. This is only to make evil propaganda on the Maoist movement made by the Central and the State governments. The malicious propaganda goes like this – Maoist leaders send their children for studies in foreign countries; they have flats in big cities; they have crores of money in banks and so on. Kobad could have named the rich Maoists in his book. He said, 'Maoist leaders came to Hazaribagh Central jail thinking that I have lot of money. When they knew that I did not have they kept distance with me' If Maoist leaders are rich why would they seek money from Kobad, begs the question. Sounds contradiction in what Kobad says.

Wherever people advance in the path of struggle against the wrong policies of the government, it implicates the people in false cases and puts them in jail. The struggle is for jal-jungle-zameen and self-respect. It is for the power of nationality or it is the movement in the leadership of the Maoist party to bring a change in the present society. Thousands of innocent people are booked with false cases and put in jail. Evidences are fabricated and punishments are given. People are in jail accused as Maoists in fake cases and even face life imprisonment. So, if one is foisted with a Maoist case they do not automatically become a Maoist leader.

The level of corruption in our country is well known. Journalist Rupesh Kumar Singh exposed the corruption in Bihar-Jharkhand jails through the jail dairy *Khaid khana ka aayina* (Prison- A mirror). Corruption is seen nakedly starting from the jail gate, ward, kitchen, hospital and every place in the jail. So, if someone is in the Hazaribagh jail under false Maoist case and if they are

corrupt, become part of corruption, then it is not correct to identify them as Maoist leaders. Such kind of persons are in Hazaribagh jail. When Kobad was in Hazaribagh jail, one SAC (Special Area Committee) member and two Zonal Committee members were in the Anda cell of the same jail. Kobad should have given the name and designation of corrupt Maoist leader in the jail.

The exploitive ruling classes are unleashing a multipronged offensive on the Maoist movement. The toxic propaganda that Maoist leaders became rich with fat levies is a part of it. The propaganda is so extensive that they were to an extent successful in bringing this opinion in the minds of ordinary people. Kobad listens to these words of the ordinary people and propagates his understanding that even the lower level Maoist leaders are rich. This is nothing but joining in the chorus with the governments' vilification campaign.

Kobad finds fault with the tactical line of the party basing on what Chadda Bhushanam told him in Visakhapatnam jail. Chadda Bhushanam was a member of AOB SZC, but was demoted to the rank of DvC and working in Narayanapatna area at the time of his arrest. He did not follow the discipline of the party, had individual functioning, did not listen to the party and continued relations with unreliable and opportunistic persons. He was arrested through one such person. When he was working in the party, he did not implement the decisions of the SZC and DvC but worked as per his wish. The report Kobad writes in his book about Narayanapatna struggle he heard through him is absolutely wrong. Party had been reviewing the Narayanapatna struggle before and after his arrest.

Nachika Linga of Chasi Mulia Sangh of Naryanapatna area developed as a leader. The UCCRI (ML) party with right line was not ready to lead the movement that reached a higher stage. So, Linga had a difference of opinion with them. He then started to independently lead the Narayanapatna movement. Maoist party was active in the nearby Narayanapatna and Bandgaon areas. It was organizing the peasants in militant struggle with the slogans 'land to the tiller', and 'all powers to Revolutionary People's Committee' and forming Revolutionary Peasant's Committee in the villages. Maoist party was leading countrywide movement. In such conditions Linga came into contact with the party in 2008. Party went into joint actions with him. He decided that the struggle must be led by the Maoist party. He joined the party along with his organization in 2009. Party continued the organization in the same manner and guided it. AOB SZC co-opted Linga into the Divisional Committee. Linga was a beloved leader of the area. Party gave him the responsibility of guiding the organization. The agitation became extensive and militant in the leadership of the party. By the time the Central government launched Operation Green Hunt in 2009 and brought para-Military forces and BSF to suppress the Narayanapatna struggle. People and PLGA's resistance continued against the repression. Owing to repression Linga started to vacillate. The struggle he led earlier was open and legal. But now as the movement had intensified and repression too had intensified. He lacked the preparation to live a difficult underground life in those conditions. His wife was arrested. His son studying in a hostel, was harassed in various ways. All this disturbed him. He started distancing from the party (he took part in elections to local bodies and improved his relations with the bourgeois parties and even distanced from the people).

Majority of the people opposed Linga's participation in the local elections. The whole development took place in a period of three years. Party could not consolidate the Narayanapatna struggle. Anyhow, it was leading militant struggles in different areas of Narayanapatna, Bandgaon, Mali-Devmali and Koraput districts.

Kobad does not mention of class struggle anywhere but gives a puerile example to write against it – 'Very often communists give a crude understanding to the term class struggle, totally negating the individuals who comprise the 'class'. This sort of thinking results in economic determinism on the one hand, and, on the other, it sees only the forest and not the trees. It tends to reduce people into mere instruments/tools of change, forgetting that change is for those very people themselves. It tends to put everyone into straitjackets where any sign of emotion, feelings etc. are 'bourgeois sins' and 'class' rigidity is the only virtue, even if it entails the "Mani syndrome"(who in Kerala said we kill all those who dissent/oppose). So, humanity is said to be non-

class; so also, freedom and happiness. Once this was said about caste as well.' ...(*Questions of Freedom and Emancipation*, p. 17).

This is once again like the story of his experience in Jharkhand jail. In fact, this is just like seeing the tree but not the jungle. One 'Mani' of Kerala whom he mentions in his book is not relevant in today's movement, the issue is buried in a dark corner of history. No group in Kerala is ready to accept this proposition. No one knows what that person discussed with Kobad. It does not exist in any of the Party documents. Taking such a facile instance, Kobad tries to impute a crude understanding of communist concept of class and draws infantile findings. One can do this only with an imbecile mind or with a deliberate intention to spill venom. This is like 'the pot calling the kettle black'.

It is not correct to take the report of a degenerated person in jail and confirm it as a sectarian method. It is not possible to reach the truth. Basing on this report Kobad reaches to a wrong and subjective decision and attacks the movement going on in the leadership of the party. Kobad says that in the way the party distanced from the people in Narayanapatna area, it did in Jharkhand and Telangana also through the reports he obtained in jail in these states. The example repeats in all places. With the above-mentioned truths and Kobad's inferences he proves that he never tried to obtain additional information and reports from the party committees. This is the kind of venomous propaganda that the police too do.

'With the collapse of the mass movement due to repression, either the entire work collapses or the squads/party end up eliminated from the masses or turn into roving rebels collecting money from contractors for their food and existence with this movements collapse or go round in circles.' (*Fractured Freedom*, p. 157)

This is a heinous attempt to degrade the prestige of the party. This is an insult to the people's fighters who took up an utmost difficult life for the sake of emancipation of the people and are fighting with their lives at hand. This is an insult to the thousands of martyred peoples' warriors who sacrificed their lives. This is a wicked and diabolical statement and needs to be condemned in all places.

There is unrelenting repression on the revolutionary movement in the country since the Naxalbari times. Party and the revolutionary people have been fighting against the exploitive ruling classes of the country for more than 50 years. More than 20 thousand party leaders, activists and revolutionary people laid down their valuable lives. But the revolutionary movement has been expanding in waves and is challenging the imperialists and the comprador ruling classes of the country. The revolutionary movement of India is gaining support from fraternal Maoist parties of the world day by day. Kobad lacks comprehensive outlook and genuine knowledge and reaches to this wrong thinking in any issue. Kobad had this trend right from the beginning. Therefore, he did not understand the journey of the revolutionary movement. According to dialectical historical laws the movement advances and retreats; goes up and down; faces twists and turns; experiences ebbs and flows. His dogmatism caused vacillations on many occasions in the movement. Ultimately, he distanced from the present movement.

Comrade Anuradha - Glittering Star of Indian Revolution and shall Shine Forever

Kobad used comrade Anuradha as a veil in his schema of values. This is guile opportunism. Kobad is aware that the Maoist party and the people who make struggle under its influence have high respect and fondness towards the comrades martyred in the revolutionary movement. We do not wish to make any discussion about martyr Comrade Anuradha here. But if anyone insults her, we shall not tolerate. Comrade Anuradha contributed to the best of her strength for Indian Revolution. She was one of the leaders of Indian Revolution. She was a member of the Central Committee of CPI (Maoist). She dedicated to the path of Protracted People's War to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in India until her last breath. She never separated from the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. She utilised all her capabilities and creativity to implement the theory in Indian conditions. She plunged into the furnace of class struggle and got tempered. Several values are needed to play a role in class struggle and they come into practice through class outlook alone. Kobad puts forth

Anuradha in such a narrow frame work that her individuality or her brightness did not totally reflect and moreover undermines it. No doubt Comrade Anuradha was in the first rank and her values that Kobad spoke about are in fact the general practice of CPI (Maoist). Anuradha went several steps forward and attained zenith. It is true that there are certain exceptions in the party. 'Chanakya Syndrome' and 'black and white category' (Kobad's category) keep coming, depending on the flow of the movement. Such trends pop up as per the intensity of class struggle or during the direct confrontation with the enemy (arrest, jail, and encounter). When there is a condition of temporary setback, a few people flee from their responsibilities. Kobad mentions insignificant traits of Anuradha, such as - a childish laugh, clear expression of her internal feelings on her face, her admirable clarity in expression of views. Kobad considers all these cumulatively make her a role-model of exemplary values. This is an insult to her, to say the least. Values do not fall from the sky but an individual acquires as part of their work. One can become a good communist only by tempering in the class struggle. Kobad lacked this. Kobad is kaput. But Anuradha annealed in the struggles.

'Only through tempering in the fires of class struggle can a communist become pure gold' said Comrade Charu Mazumdar in '*Carry forward the peasant struggle by fighting revisionism*' in 1966.

Anuradha was always in direct class struggle. She raised slogans together with the people on the streets, gave speeches in front of the factory, mobilized the people before the government offices, influenced the intellectuals, inspired the students to make revolution, imbibed courage among the women to live with self-respect. She lived like fish in the water among the people in class struggle. The goondas of a factory owner kidnapped her and tied her with ropes. She did not fear or bend. She had a lively relation with the people. She was diligent in theory and was firm in practice. She gained experience through direct participation in People's War. Therefore, it is natural that this process of class war enriches high values in an individual. Kobad, do not make her a goddess with spiritual values and insult her. By doing so he is belittling her actual contribution in Indian Revolution. Comrade Anuradha always mingled with women comrades and the oppressed women and learnt from them. She never thought herself superior. She fulfilled her responsibilities given to her on behalf of the committee to guide the all India women's movement and organisation. She utilized the opportunity given by the party to make field study and was in the Bastar division in Dandakaranya guerilla zone in the rank of a member of Divisional Committee from 1997 to 1999. She personally faced the difficulties in guerilla life. She mingled with the tribal people of Bastar, deeply studied the women's problems and gained a fair understanding of the problems. Kobad puts a veil on all these and says she went to Bastar on research work. She later became a member of the Maharashtra State Committee and was elected member of the Central Committee in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress.

Comrades martyred in revolution are deeply respected and loved by the Party and the people. In fact, these are expressed in their firm determination to fulfill the ideals of the martyrs and similarly revolutionary people and activists are involved in the fulfillment of the ideals of Anuradha. This is the real way of love, fondness, dedication, support and respect and to imbibe the values of the martyrs. It is wrong to depict her as an angel of love, care and affection. Many women leaders were martyred in Indian Revolutionary movement. All of them professed lofty communist values. They all contributed their best in the interest of the oppressed people. They always tried to clear the thorns in the way and never left their objective in the midway. Anuradha was a leader of the party and an asset for the revolution. She is not the private property of Kobad. In fact, the moment he rejects the responsibility of the party, leadership and the movement, he loses the basis of the relationship with Anuradha. He need not bring her into discussion whenever he speaks about his relation and practice. Let Anuradha remain as revolutionary. Kobad's attempt to show her like a goddess with spiritual values in his doltish discussion needs to be condemned. The work she did among the students, dalits, tribal people, workers, intellectuals and women is to prepare the people

to accomplish New Democratic revolution. Tailoring her work into social activism or trade unionism and confining it to reformism needs a full stop.

Kobad, stop this wicked attempt to show yourself as great under the cover of good values of Comrade Anuradha and insult the revolutionary leader using the relation as a brace.

Reflections and Relevance – A Reactionary and a Counter-revolutionary Theory

The real import of the 'reflection and relevance' from his work as a communist activist for four decades is this: 'Wax eloquent about freedom, but serve and be servile to the ruling classes'. He expressed thus –

'On the question of relevance, the issue arose as to the question whether the communist project was relevant to solve the ills of society. ...there is no doubt a need for an urgent change; but no alternative is visible on the horizon. Also, the hope communism gave to the world in the twentieth century no longer exists, with the main socialist states reverting back and major socialist/communist movements around the world in limbo. What then the alternative {sic}? Sitting in the grounds amidst the trees in jail 3, I began thinking that till today no other economic system has appeared that is more just and sustainable than the communist project. Yet, due to its failures worldwide there is need for some rethinking. I felt that no doubt the seeds have to be maintained, but one has to ensure that the flowers don't wilt and fruits don't turn sour. For that, the seeds probably need to be nurtured with much greater care than they were in the past. Primarily, the saplings, I concluded, should be nursed : Firstly, in an environment of freedom. Secondly, it should be built with a new set of values, as, say, epitomized by the Anuradha-model. Thirdly, it should have as its goal universal happiness. Sitting there in the quiet of the ground I thought that it is these three aspects of life that have to be woven into any project for change – any alternative, the shell of which I shall outline below....'(Fractured Freedom, p. 198).

Abandoning the arduous search for freedom by fathoming into objective laws, Kobad took refuge in spiritualism. He says that all the spiritual philosophers, messengers and great men were in search of freedom. He gives the example of Aristotle and says that freedom and happiness are related to the values of an individual and therefore, we need to continue this tradition of the thoughts of great men and spiritual philosophers. In addition to this he gives importance to and quotes of the prominent philosopher and poet Iqbal – Socialism + God = Islam. He wrote 6 articles from jail namely *Questions of Freedom and People's Emancipation*, the essence of which is the same.

Kobad says that we need to learn from bhakti tradition. But he does not discuss one salient aspect of the bhakti tradition- that tradition was, in fact, a form of class struggle to break the shackles of caste, to challenge Brahminism and the ruling powers. Instead, he brings in a very feeble aspect of the bhakti tradition-i.e., social reformism. Kobad fails to see the activities in the superstructure as a reflection of the struggle in bringing the changes in the production relations, and the class struggle in the mode of production. Kobad's views go against tenets of historical materialism.

This is an attempt to refute Marxism. He dreams of happiness but does not delve into the reasons for sorrow. Neither does he discuss how to eliminate misery in the world. Since centuries, the intellectuals belonging to the exploiting classes, always sound righteous. But in practice, they commit many unjust deeds. Their words are goody-goody but their deeds are ruthless. Spiritualism, the basis of Brahmanic ideology in India, also speaks of virtuous values. But those values are meant to continue the caste system. It created a miserable system for the Sudras and Ati-Sudras. Today this Brahmanism provides an ideological basis for the Indian ruling classes in a new format. On its ideological pillars, the entire edifice of exploitation, repression, injustice and murders in fake encounters exists. The Panchatantra that Kobad mentioned in his book and the entire moral values only strengthen the existing feudal society. Is this not surrendering to the ideology of the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist government that put Kobad behind the bars for ten years?

With the emergence of state and its political power in the society, all life activities of humans became inextricably interwoven with politics. Today power is much more centralized and concentrated. The state power reigns the entire world and the whole spectrum of human activities.

Out of the three fundamental contradictions of the world- between imperialism and oppressed nationalities and people; between the capitalist class and the proletariat in the capitalist countries; and among the imperialists- the first contradiction is the main one that is intensifying daily. In the unrelenting hunt for insatiable profits, the imperialists are desolating humanity and denuding nature. The demand for change in the system became the need for survival of humanity. Capitalism dragged humans into a most dreadful situation. How will we get freedom and happiness without changing this objective reality? A large population of the world is craving for food and potable water. Kobad in his attempt of molting the label of a Maoist leader, turns into a 'boastful scholar' and preaches us good values as the root cause. Even the better off sections, if their economic interests are harmed they are going to the extent of chopping off others' throats. The two World Wars waged between the imperialists witnessed crores of deaths. After the two wars, more people died [than in the two wars] in the wars sponsored by them until now. Can we solve these contradictions through spiritual preaching? No way, Kobad! And without solving these, how would we attain freedom and happiness? The package of freedom and universal happiness that Kobad brought forth on the basis of spiritualism is nothing but pure imagination. It lacks objective basis. It cannot be implemented. This empty scholarly writing merely shows a fake dream. It diverts the exploited from the real reasons for their exploitation and misery. This is a dangerous thought that denies the exploited from making struggle. Nothing shall come out of this in the end. This only benefits the ruling class. The essence of the relevance and reflection is subjective, class collaboration, and anti-Marxian and serves the ruling class. On the whole, Kobad said that he is no more a communist but an ordinary religious person, worships god in this old age and has become a spiritual human being. He is playing the role of a reactionary trying to propagate disbelief towards the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the revolutionary movement in its guidance.

Kobad is not the first person to negate Marxism in the name of rectifying it. During the 2nd International, starting from Bernstein, many of the Frankfurt school made this experiment. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism threw all such persons in the dust bin and advanced invincibly. Kobad joined them as a footnote in the history of revisionism.

Reactionaries all over the world are making a mega propaganda that the theory of Marxism-Leninism is irrelevant; the history of this century proved that communism has become impractical; and this is the end of history and ideology and so on. On the other hand, the leaders of the Communist parties and Marxist-Leninist intellectuals who fell into the mire of deep crisis unable to understand the developments of Soviet Union and East Europe of 1989-90 reached the conclusion that ultimately Marxism itself is in crisis and it needs to be rectified or else Marxism is totally wrong. Venu (who was a leader of a ML group called CRC) and the like lost confidence on proletarian dictatorship and finally became followers of Gandhian non-violence and degraded themselves to that extent. It is ironical that an erstwhile Marxist intellectual fails to identify the crisis that arose in their minds and makes hullabaloo that Marxism and Socialism are in crisis.

Anti-Marxian theories and trends are spreading in the name of Marxism in every turn of Communist movement in the world. New theories emerged in the process of transformation of free capitalism into monopoly capitalism. Edward Bernstein, Plekhanov, Karl Kautsky and other such persons brought forth these theories. Comrade Lenin criticized these theories and adopted proletarian tactics in the imperialist stage and developed Marxism. Lenin criticized Bernstein and others who changed the fundamental tenets of Marxism and exposed their real objectives. In the name of 'freedom of criticism' and in the veil of Marxism, Bernstein, the father of revisionism, made a heinous attack on Marxism. What Lenin said in 'What is to be done' even now absolutely applies to Kobad Ghandy. Kobad says that when happiness combines with freedom it would be agreeable to the people. And freedom has to begin from an individual. What is the guarantee that without a social objective freedom does not fall in to anarchism? Freedom sans an objective will reduce to mere freedom to criticize. As Lenin said, in the name of rectifying Marxism, these theories degenerated into reformism.

Lenin said – “Freedom of criticism’ is undoubtedly the most fashionable slogan at the present time, and the one most frequently employed in the controversies between socialists and democrats in all countries. At first sight, nothing would appear to be stranger than the solemn appeals to freedom of criticism made by one of the parties to the dispute.

“...Whom does this trend of counter-critical outlook of Marxism that is ‘outdated dogmatism’ represent as Bernstein said very clearly?

“Social-Democracy must change from a party of social revolution into a democratic party of social reforms. Bernstein has surrounded this political demand with a whole battery of well-attuned ‘new’ arguments and reasonings. Denied was the possibility of putting socialism on a scientific basis and of demonstrating its necessity and inevitability from the point of view of the materialist conception of history. Denied was the fact of growing impoverishment, the process of proletarianisation, and the intensification of capitalist contradictions.

“The very concept, ‘*ultimate aim*’, was declared to be unsound, and the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was completely rejected. Denied was the antithesis in principle between liberalism and socialism. Denied was *the theory of the class struggle*, on the alleged grounds that it could not be applied to a strictly democratic society governed according to the will of the majority, etc.

“Thus, the demand for a decisive turn from revolutionary Social-Democracy to bourgeois social-reformism was accompanied by a no less decisive turn towards bourgeois criticism of all the fundamental ideas of Marxism. In view of the fact that this criticism of Marxism has long been directed from the political platform, from university chairs, in numerous pamphlets and in a series of learned treatises, in view of the fact that the entire younger generation of the educated classes has been systematically reared for decades on this criticism, it is not surprising that the “new critical” trend in Social-Democracy should spring up, all complete, like Minerva from the head of Jove. The content of this new trend did not have to grow and take shape, it was transferred bodily from bourgeois to socialist literature.’

Lenin, ‘What is to be done’ Paras 1-4.

Lenin said thus about the encouragement for these erstwhile Marxists from the ruling classes and police officials.

“The ‘ex-Marxists’, who took up the flag of ‘criticism’ and who obtained almost a monopoly to ‘demolish’ Marxism, entrenched themselves in this literature. Catchwords like ‘Against orthodoxy’ and ‘Long live freedom of criticism’ (now repeated by *RabocheyeDyelo*) forthwith became the vogue, and the fact that neither the censor nor the gendarmes could resist this vogue is apparent from the publication of *three* Russian editions of the work of the celebrated Bernstein (celebrated in the Herostratean sense that means – Herostratus was a person of Greek nationality living in Asia minor. He burnt the famous artistic building Artimin temple of ancient Greece to become famous) and from the fact that the works of Bernstein, Mr. Prokopovich, and others were recommended by Zubatov (was a police chief of Moscow)”. (*ibid, Para 5 of ‘c. Criticism in Russia’ of ‘Dogmatism and ‘Freedom of Criticism’*).

The book *Fractured Freedom* is available today in all big bookstores in the country and foreign countries as well. You can find them in the Airports, even before it reached the Party. NIA seized the literature on Comrade Akkiraju Haragopal and the publishers and printers were foisted with false cases. Later the Telangana High Court ordered to return the seized literature. The freedom Kobad’s book got reveals how much it is useful for the ruling classes.

In the process of studying the theory of Marxism and applying its fundamentals in the world, society and revolution, many trends came forth. The main reason for the different trends is the existing problem in understanding the complexity of the objective conditions and in applying the Marxist fundamental rules. After the Russian revolution socialist revolutions were not successful in Europe. World capitalist system attained relative stability until 1923. The working class failed to advance revolution even during the great depression after 1929. After World War II, capitalist system temporarily overcame crisis and developed from 1950 to mid-1960. Welfare programs were

taken up by the government in several countries. The so called socialist states collapsed one by one. Especially the developments in Soviet Union and East Europe in 1989-90 –show that Marxism was not creatively applied to the changing objective situation. The fundamental principles of Marxism were considered as dogmatic rules. All these are a part of the problem only, the actual problem was understanding and applying the aspects in the writings of Marx and Engels in various forms.

Subjective Marxism or humanitarian Marxism. Most of these trends come under revolutionary romanticism. Althusser and his followers belong to this kind of humanitarian Marxism. They had differences among themselves regarding Marxism. All of them were from the *Institute of Social Research* of Frankfurt in Germany. The institute established in 1923 worked for one decade. After Hitler came to power, most of its members left for the US. Prominent among them were Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, Erich Fromm, Leo Löwenthal, Jürgen Habermas. They believed more in philosophy than in science. Herbert Marcuse totally opposed modern science and industrialization.

Almost all of the Frankfurt school opposed confining socio and cultural aspects to its economic base. They say that there is a need for reciprocal action between the base and superstructure and the different spheres need 'relative autonomy'. All these agreed the need to link consciousness, subjective aspect, culture, theory and socialism for a radical political transformation.

There was a spate of students' and other revolts in the decade of 1960. With the resurgence of left ideology, the theories of these western Marxists attained certain prestige. However, those who argue that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism upholds economic determinism, that it considers the relation between the base and superstructure in a mechanical manner, do take shelter in the company of western Marxists. Regarding human nature, human attitudes, mutual interaction of the base and superstructure, they say that Marxism- from Marx to Mao- does not deal with those aspects. We stated on different occasions in this document that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a comprehensive theory. Marx and Engels strongly criticised the comment that Marxism is economic determinism. Later Mao not only described the importance of class struggle in the superstructure but also directed the Cultural Revolution in practice.

Kobad first degenerated from revolutionary politics, denied Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and went into the lap of Bernstein and Frankfurt school of thought. He went bit far and fell into the cess pool of spiritualism. When revolution is in crisis it is natural that such feeble elements to quit the revolution. Revolutionary movement will inevitably brush away such persons and advance.

Discussion on values – Kobad's non-Marxian understanding

Values (non economic characteristics expressed in human life)

Kobad made much discussion on values in his articles and the book. He said that socialism failed and communist movement declined (in his words getting rotten) in the world for want of good values. He said that values are a personal and internal. Prophets, great men, saints, gurus and religious and spiritual ideologies have spoken about these values. Kobad says, Marxism hardly pays any importance to it. He formed two categories in human values namely good and bad. Value is a characteristic of human being by birth. He speaks about distancing it from matter.

Marx said – 'self-generation of the species' ('society as the subject'), and thereby the consecutive series of interrelated individuals connected with each other can be conceived as a single individual, which accomplishes the mystery of generating itself. It is clear here that individuals certainly make one another, physically and mentally, but do not make themselves' – Karl Marx in 'The German Ideology', 1845.

He projects martyr Com. Anuradha as a model for good values. In his search for an answer to the problems of the movement, he formed a 'model for values'. This is clearly sectarianism, blatantly class amalgamation, renouncing class struggle and embracing spiritualism. He says that human values must be drawn from the ancient fables of animals. This is just like teaching values to primary school students. Class struggle is absolutely absent in the moulding of values. He centers on individual and instead of the society he firstly realizes the individual. This is nothing but spiritual preaching. It is very unfortunate that he insults and distorts the proletarian values of Anuradha

whom he loves and utilizes it for his 'projection of' nominal 'high values'. Here Kobad knowingly hides a fact. Childish laugh, expression of internal feelings on the face, lot of affection towards the oppressed classes and special social sections, friendly nature, hatred towards the enemy classes and other such values are universal to communist revolutionaries possessing a proletarian world outlook fighting to establish a classless society without private property. The feeling of private property will not be seen among the tribal and the oppressed and exploited people as per their objective living conditions. Especially, tribal people are part of nature and so all the tribal and oppressed people naturally have these feelings. Comrade Anuradha is totally dedicated to the establishment of communist society and so it is but natural for her to have these characteristics. Therefore, these values are seen in those who sincerely join class struggle for social change. Here in the class society, class war is going on and it is not possible for those with spiritual values to stand in the class struggle.

Various forms of consciousness such as morality, religion, theory do not have independent existence. Values change according to the mode of production in each and every society. Values that are respected in a society become opposite in another society. For example, joint family system of feudal society and the related morality is a common thing. The values needed to sustain joint family system are acceptable to the society. Similarly, the joint family disintegrates in a capitalist society and single-family system becomes a common thing. The values necessary for this system would come forth. Land becomes the central point to keep the feudal mode of production going. The whole family takes part in production. There is no need for this in capitalist mode of production. Therefore, the dynamics of human beings change according to this production. Values change accordingly. People follow these values. A human being living in a society normally responds to these values. Ordinary people wish to live through doing labor. In a capitalist society, human beings follow the morality of oppressing the workers and the oppressed for capitalist goods and profits. Workers without private property accept the habits and the values necessary for collective life. It means that values are relative, they depend on the mode of production of the particular society and exist as a part of culture. In a class society, values get expressed basing on classes.

Kobad agrees that there is no happiness in capitalist mode of production. On the other hand, he says that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism failed to change the society. That is the reason he is speaking of this new found 'values project'. These values cannot change the society. All the earlier societies underwent changes only in the path of revolution. Revolution is necessary for a change in the capitalist, imperialist system. Speaking of values and spiritual path by opposing the system only in words tantamount to resignedness. Socialist theory has formulated progressive ideas. There is no private property under this theory. In Communism the programme would be for independence, equality, equal rights to all and thus a happy life to the majority of the people. 90 percent of the present society do not get those rights and values.

Happiness is possible in a society only through revolutionary change. The class in power fulfills the interests of its own classes. When a capitalist is in power, state and Constitution shall be in the service of capitalist class. If working class is in power it will fulfill the interests of the majority of the people. It is because the working class does not have private property. There is no need to squeeze the sweat and blood of the people for profits. Working class possesses the idea of equality of labor, distribution and properties. It brings a fundamental change in mode of production and relations of production. It brings about new values among the individuals. Rome is not built in a day. In Socialism too, total change will not happen immediately. Imperialists, capitalists and landlords will always try to create hurdles. Their ideology continues to influence the society. Therefore, the working class that achieves power will have to take up many cultural revolutions in the superstructure also. Thus we can bring a change in individuals through constant education. The Cultural Revolution directed by Mao to blossom class struggle and good values in the society and individuals proved to be a quite a correct theory. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a necessary and a correct theory needed for a positive change in the society and individuals. Kobad worked in revolution with aplomb. But he cut off relations with communism and rejected the communist

project. He says that good values can be attained in semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. Kobad did a one-eighty. Without revolutionary theory and practice these values will not come from vacuum. Finally, he chooses a spiritual way to stay out from the past.

“In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness.” (*Marx in 'Introduction to Critique of Political economy'*).

The burden of ancient spiritual values has been put on the oppressed people from those days to the present day. However, at that time the exploitive class was acting on its wishes. Values do not drop off from the sky. They are not common to antagonistic classes. Values cannot be simply reflection of our mind.

“Without human instincts it is not possible to understand any material or movement. When a dynamic material does something in our instincts, then we feel it” (Lenin).

The above quote of the great teacher Lenin makes it clear that the values of a society emerge only from the social condition and mode of production. The morality of an individual is basically decided by the society and the status. The person creates a moral system accordingly. How would a single universal value apply to all in a class society? In a class society values also express according to class. In an antagonistic contradiction fighting in the interest of one's own class becomes a good value. Today, in the Indian society, good values in the society can be identified only by uniting with the proletariat, peasants, oppressed nationalities, religious minorities, the Dalit and tribal people and equality and respect for women. Bringing these values into practice means to take part in class struggle in the interest of these working people.

We have three kinds of values rooted in the mode of society and production-values of feudal society, of capitalist society and of the proletariat. Values, theories and ideals are confirmed and implemented from respective class outlooks. The meaning of freedom and happiness differs from class to class in a class society. See the development of human society with a historical materialist view, we can clearly understand this. In India, Brahmanism introduced rebirth and 'karma theory' to strengthen itself through varna order and the feudal society. The Brahmanical tenets defined the good values that the working class must do labour and must not oppose loot. It said that trying to live in happiness and comforts is a sin. It said that loot, repression and all such things were justified for the higher varnas, classes and castes. They can sit without doing labour and enjoy life. This shows that values are not equal for all. Shankaracharya said that the world is a *maya* (illusion). He said that the only *Sudras* must labour, according to the varnashrama dharma, this would attain salvation for them, that by doing so they can go to heaven and enjoy happiness and comforts, be happy. Happiness, convenience, freedom and values have a lot of difference for Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vysyas and Shudras. A look into *Manu Smriti* shows all these clearly. Today Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism is utilising these values and spiritualism to sustain the rule and exploitation of imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and feudal forces. Charvaka and Lokayata need to be mentioned here. Representing the working class, they developed materialist philosophy totally in opposition to Brahmanic idealism. They said “there is no world on the top, this is the true world. Those who do labour must consume the produce.” They were suppressed by the Brahmins with the support of the rulers.

None can deny that Paris Commune in 1871 spread great happiness among the workers and the toiling masses in France and all over the world. Workers and toilers took part in seizing the state power for the first time in the history. The slogan -8 hour working day, 8 hours of entertainment and 8 hours of rest - was made into a law. This was impossible in capitalist France. Liberation from exploitation and suppression results in immense freedom for workers and it brings unbound

happiness in them. The courage of the workers of France to preserve their Commune, sacrificing their lives is the highest value. The slogans of 'freedom, equality and solidarity' of the bourgeois revolution in France concerning human values yet continued to be highest values for the oppressed people. These are possible only through socialist revolution and in communism.

No one can deny that the Russian revolution of 1917 provided freedom for the peasants from semi-slavery, brought happiness in their life, established a high value of equality of women and men, introduced women into many sectors. On the other hand, it inspired the people of all the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world to fight for freedom. This apart, Communist parties were formed in the majority of the countries of the world with the objective of establishing socialism-communism, i.e. classless social order. More than 2 crore people sacrificed their lives fighting against capitalism to preserve the socialist centre during World War II. Several Communist parties and worker's organisations of the world followed the high value of proletarian internationalism and played their bit of responsibility for the success of Soviet Union.

Similarly, the Chinese Revolution in 1949 sent waves of happiness among the oppressed people and workers of the world. Women and girls felt unfettered happiness with the abolition of a unique custom of binding feet in China, the revolution. The revolutions in Russia and China tried to end private property. The revolutions advanced proletarian internationalism. They established proletarian dictatorship to see that inequalities do not raise their heads once again. The people's upheavals brought several high values of Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The revolutionary sweep brought down the gap between physical and mental labour. And many such radical changes. Humans can attain real freedom, real happiness and high values only in exploitation free, classless social order, i.e. communist society. Therefore, the revolutionaries of the entire world dedicate themselves for the great objective amidst fierce repression of the enemy classes and difficulties and perceive freedom. They stay happy and follow high values. When an individual leaves revolutionary movement, he might become part of the old, rotten system and think of freedom and happiness. He advocates these values. His world outlook itself is changed.

He says about speaking straightforward, fighting against all kinds of evil things such as to whether the class enemy is making any kind of conspiracy to attack, whether there are any kind of coverts, any kind of petty bourgeois, the network and conspiracies. One who makes people's war to build Socialism-Communism always keeps one's political objectives and aims openly. One would adopt several kinds of tactics in practice to unite friends, understand the tactics of the enemy to foil them. Secrecy is *sine qua non* in our fight against a strong enemy. Or else we will be caught in the trappings of the enemy and perish. Straightforwardness is necessary but should not be made an absolute concept. Only if one has total knowledge of the issue one would be able to tell clearly. Otherwise anything in the name of straightforwardness would be subjective thinking and there would be extreme consequences. No doubt Anuradha was never so negligent and had enough intellectual capacity to put forth her thoughts considering the real situation. From 'Panchatantra' to 'Patanjali' (Baba Ramdev's Company), spiritualism is replete with values. Despite values galore, why is the society is ridden with irreconcilable conflicts? It is sheer dishonesty to speak about values renouncing class outlook.

History provides evidence that his idealist theories served the socio-political systems of those times. It is an empty thought to think about establishing communist values without changing the objective structure of social order. Hoping the exploiting classes to follow values is mere crying in the wilderness. Engels said thus in his 'Anti-Duhring' – "The opposition between good and evil manifests itself exclusively in the domain of morals, that is, a domain belonging to the history of mankind, and it is precisely in this field that final and ultimate truths are most sparsely sown... someone may object... if good is confused with evil there is an end to all morality, and everyone can do as one pleases.... But the matter cannot be so simply disposed of. If it were such an easy business there would certainly be no dispute at all over good and evil; everyone would know what was good and what was bad.

“Alongside [religious morality] we find the modern-bourgeois morality and beside it also the proletarian morality of the future... Which, then, is the true one? Not one of them, in the sense of absolute finality; but certainly, the morality that contains the maximum elements promising permanence which, in the present, represents the overthrow of the present, represents the future, and that is proletarian morality. [With morality based on class] we can only draw the one conclusion: that men, consciously or unconsciously, derive their ethical ideas in the last resort from the practical relations on which their class position is based -- from the economic relations in which they carry on production and exchange.

“But nevertheless, there is great deal which the three moral theories mentioned above have in common -- is this not at least a portion of a morality which is fixed once and for all? These moral theories represent different stages of the same historical development, have therefore a common historical background, and for that reason alone they necessarily have much in common. Even more. At similar or approximately similar stages of economic development moral theories must of necessity be more or less in agreement. From the moment when private ownership of movable property developed, all societies in which this private ownership existed had to have this moral injunction in common: Thou shalt not steal. Does this injunction thereby become an eternal moral injunction? By no means. In a society in which all motives for stealing have been done away with, in which therefore at the very most only lunatics would ever steal, how the preacher of morals would be laughed at who tried solemnly to proclaim the eternal truth: Thou shalt not steal!

“We therefore reject every attempt to impose on us any moral dogma whatsoever as an eternal, ultimate and forever immutable ethical law on the pretext that the moral world, too, has its permanent principles which stand above history and the differences between nations. We maintain on the contrary that all moral theories have been hitherto the product, in the last analysis, of the economic conditions of society obtaining at the time. And as society has hitherto moved in class antagonisms, morality has always been class morality; it has either justified the domination and the interests of the ruling class, or ever since the oppressed class became powerful enough, it has represented its indignation against this domination and the future interests of the oppressed. That in this process there has on the whole been progress in morality, as in all other branches of human knowledge, no one will doubt. But we have not yet passed beyond class morality”. (*Frederick Engels, Anti – Duhring, part 1*).

Kobad brings the understanding of Marx in these issues...Freedom, humanity, happiness. “But here I seek to bring out Marx’s understanding of the concepts under discussion—freedom, humanity, happiness,— to better understand not only the causes for the reversals, but also the impact of the lack of these values in today’s prevailing existence” (*Questions of freedom and people’s emancipation*, p. 16, contd. para).

On the other hand, he says, “Market fundamentalism and crass consumerism reduced philosophical materialism (primary of matter over mind) to vulgar materialism which added to the destruction of man’s spiritual values – his emotions, feelings, and his very humanity” (*Questions of freedom and people’s emancipation*, p. 16, last para).

‘...Humanity has been lost by both the ‘materialist’ and today’s religionists.’ (*Questions of freedom and people’s emancipation*, p. 16, last sentence of para 1).

What a weird wit! He sings paeans about the qualities of spiritualism and also says that it lost humanity. Also he accuses materialist outlook in destroying values. There are only two kinds of ideology in the world. Both of them lack humanity, values and concepts. So, what is the third trend that Kobad has in his realm of imagination? There is nothing. The real objective of Kobad is to negate Marxism.

As Mao said, ‘aim and leave the arrow’. Mao’s aim is revolution and the arrow is Marxism-Leninism. Kobad’s aim is now to construct good values instead of revolution and his arrow is spiritualism. If he had reached hopelessness, he could sit in silence after renouncing the path he chose decades back. But Kobad is stating that Marxism is the reason for his disappointment and despair (not directly but this is his essence). So, it cannot remain simply as a personal issue. When a

prominent 'Maoist' leader puts forth his disappointment and despair in front of the people openly, it can never remain as a personal issue. It becomes a deliberate attempt to spread anti-revolutionary thought.

See what our Party Program spoke about values in life.

All the party cadres are working in the guidance of the perspective regarding construction of new values and democratic culture mentioned in Point No. 26 of the Party Program –

“Today, the rotten, decaying, antidemocratic, anti-people, obnoxious semi-colonial and semi-feudal culture is dominating all the spheres of our life. Hatred for labor, patriarchy, superstition, autocracy, imperialist slavery, national chauvinism, communalism, casteism, blind greed, self-centeredness, consumerist culture, and perverted sex-centered ideology and culture are being propagated and imposed on a vast scale by imperialists and their compradors through their propaganda machine. It also promotes feudal culture which is primarily the Brahminical caste-based culture of engrained superiority. It puts its stamp on nearly all aspects of social interaction and thinking, from approach to labor, women, oppressed castes, other communities, marriage norms, birth, death, language, and numerous caste symbols. Religious fanaticism and anti-scientific ideas are being inflamed vigorously. Along with this, revisionism, reformism and economism- all these ideas are being highlighted and propagated on a massive scale to counter and derail the revolutionary movements.

“The party will have to expose all these imperialist and feudal ideologies and cultures and also have to fight against those relentlessly. It should bring forth the new democratic and socialist culture as an alternative to the people. The new democratic revolution will smash this imperialist and feudal ideology and culture and will establish the new democratic culture and at the same time will also hold high the banner of socialist ideology.

“This ideology and culture will be guided by the great ideology of the proletariat, that is, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This culture will express its international solidarity with the on-going revolutionary struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism all over the world by uniting with them in their fight for people’s democratic and socialist culture. It will defeat all types of revisionist ideology and hold high the red banner of the most scientific and developed ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism”.

Freedom and Democratic Centralism

Freedom

Kobad speaks about freedom and wants an atmosphere for freedom. He also speaks of a mixture of values and happiness. He keenly desires that all these must become universally available. But he does not reveal whose freedom he is speaking of. If he is talking about the exploited people, it is not possible without achieving communism. And there is no other way for this without accomplishing revolutions. Kobad says that these freedoms are possible without communism. This is his wishful thinking. Marxism discussed freedom and independence. Had Kobad cared to refresh his memory about historical materialism, he refrained to have made all these intellectual acrobats. Freedom is a fundamental concept of historical materialism. To recognise the necessity [laws of nature and society] concerning individuals, class and society and getting down to practice accordingly is freedom. Engels said, ‘to recognise necessity is freedom’. Historical materialism studies and delves the motive forces and laws of history. What is the necessity of knowing the laws of social development? It is to improve social life and to mould human practice in accordance with the necessity, i.e. the laws of society. This is intrinsic part of historical materialism. The extent to which human beings understand objective, natural and social laws, they attain freedom to that extent. Recognising necessity [understanding the laws of society] is not only to comprehend but it is to practice in accordance to the laws. Engels said that discovery of fire provided more freedom to the humankind than the invention of steam engine. So, the meaning of freedom does not mean freedom from objective laws. It is not freedom unhindered.

Kobad draws the essence of his work for four decades –

“These were in short, the main points of my reflections in jail, trying to assess my four decades of practice in social and revolutionary work. The essence is that in organizations of the oppressed (as also in social life itself – the two should not be compartmentalized) besides ideology and a dialectical approach one has to introduce, very consciously, the aspects of freedom/democracy and the good values in day-to-day interactions, with the goal of achieving happiness. This alone can be the long-term guarantee against the evils of money and power and also all other negatives cropping up”-(*Fracture Freedom*, p. 216).

Transformation into socialism via individual’s awareness, the coexistence of individual and collective life, the *Swadeshi* [The RSS too have one such department] slogan- are all these not programmes of the bourgeoisie? Rajiv Dixit is good at raising questions. But his answers cannot be implemented in political and economic spheres. It is because he leaves the pilot engine and hopes to goad the vehicle. Kobad lacks the engine (class struggle) itself in his vehicle. He says that values, freedom and democracy are necessary to counter the negative impact of the power and pelf. For this purpose, it is necessary to impart education and awareness, Kobad argues. It means that he is speaking of the path of damage control due to the corrupt money and power but not to root it out lock, stock and barrel. This is a corporate project strategy. When it takes up a project it sets up an NGO for damage control. In addition to this they throw some leftovers to the people in the name of Corporate Social Responsibility only to deceive them. Kobad speaks and writes leaving aside the ideology and dialectics. Moreover, he is bringing in spiritual ideology to counter Marxism. All these definitely serve the designs of ruling classes.

Engels said: “Freedom does not consist in any dream -of independence from towards natural laws, but in the knowledge of these laws, and in the possibility this gives of systematically making them work towards definite ends....Freedom therefore, consists in the control over ourselves and over external nature, a control founded on knowledge of natural necessity; it is therefore necessarily a product of historical development.” (Anti-Duhring’)

So, conducting the inevitable path of class struggle for establishing a classless society, i.e. socialism and then communism is freedom. Ignoring the inevitability of class struggle is in practice is like the denial of the practice according to the dialectics that is freedom. This kind of practice does not give freedom but we become slaves of inevitability. It is dishonesty to speak of freedom centralizing an individual, leaving aside the role of class struggle and separating from the collective, social and historical stage.

Democratic Centralism – “The starting point of democracy is not, structural, but human. If the individuals (particularly leaders) who comprise the state/party/organisation are not democratic, how can the organisation be democratic, whatever its structure? A change of form cannot change the content. Take the communist concept of organisation of democratic centralism. In theory, nothing could be more democratic, as, by this principle, the majority decides, which is then binding on all. In practice, of course, mostly the leader and her/his coterie decide and others are forced to fall in line”. (*Fractured Freedom*, p. 209).

Democratic Centralism is the life in the practice of a Communist Party. Kobad says that in the party all work according to an individual and his coterie which is a blatant lie. In a terrible opportunist manner, he says this is the truth and wants everyone to believe. He worked in the highest level in the party as per the tenets of Democratic Centralism. When he was in the majority of the CC in the crisis in 1985, he was firm in imposing his decisions on the party that finally brought a split in the CC. What objection does he have now that he did not at that time in this regard? Today he degraded to the lowest level and adopted opportunist methods and that is the reason he arrived at this decision. On the other hand, since he does not understand the essence of democratic centralism, he makes an irrational logic. Comrade Mao theoretically explained thus about the way a Communist Party needs to implement democratic centralism.

“We must bring about a political climate which has both centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, unity of purpose and ease of mind for the individual, and which is lively and vigorous. We should have this political climate both within the Party and outside. Without this

political climate the enthusiasm of the masses cannot be mobilized. We cannot overcome difficulties without democracy. Of course, it is even more impossible to do so without centralism, but if there's no democracy there won't be any centralism." (MSW, Vol VIII, *'Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference convened by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China', 1962 January 30, point no. 2. The problem of democratic centralism, para 7*). Comrade Mao thus succinctly explained the essence of democratic centralism.

As Mao said, democratic centralism is not practiced as simple minority and majority. It is implemented in a lively political atmosphere. Therefore, however much differences might exist in communist parties, they work in unity. They work in a powerful method in a political manner and guide in fighting the enemy and in leading the people. Owing to this thousands of people voluntarily sacrificed their lives in revolution during Naxalbari times. If few individuals force their opinion in the name of majority and act bureaucratically in the party, how would thousands of people sacrifice in its leadership? People like Kobad who run away from the revolutionary movement fearing sacrifice make wild allegations. Moreover, Kobad joins the imperialists in making the evil propaganda that lack of democracy led to individualism in the party and bureaucracy in communist rule. Here everything in the Party is bureaucratic. Kobad was non-organisational, did not abide by the organization and was ultra-democratic in practice when he was in the party. That is the reason he attacks the fundamental rule of democratic centralism that is followed in the party.

The 6th and the 7th Articles of organizational principles of the Communist International state clearly that democratic centralism helps to centralise all the communist activities and to develop lively relation between the leadership and ordinary party Members and also between the entire party and the oppressed people. Against what Kobad says, democratic centralism does not hamper freedom and democracy. Kobad argues that democracy is not an issue related to the building of state. It should be intrinsic in individuals. It is true that individuals should have democratic thinking. It is helpful for democracy. But the political activity in the society brings changes in the individual. Individual is ever inseparable part of the society. Hindu traditions say that saints enrich their knowledge through meditations sitting quite away from society. It is a myth. Such ideas deceive the society and may earn livelihood for some sections. Even if an individual gets a new idea after long brooding, even the basis for new idea must have come from the collective experience of individuals. It is not possible through any other source. According to Marxism, mode of production becomes the source for thoughts. The ideas people acquire from the society again transforms individuals. Thus the individual plays a positive role in building the society. In the society, we find individuals with wrong trends too. They play a negative role. They might become dictators too. They might also become hurdles to the advancement of society. Therefore, society or any structure must be the benchmark to form any principles. There must be first freedom and democracy in a society. After the emergence of the class society human beings have been fighting for freedom and democracy for thousands of years. Bourgeois class gave the slogans of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" during the French revolution. All the people including the working class struggled under these slogans. However, later the bourgeoisie used these slogans to exploit. They were limited to establishing and expanding free market. The working class had to once again make struggles for freedom and democracy. Working class has to strive for power. The power attained by the working class shall guarantee freedom and democracy to the majority of the people. Socialism will be established. Therefore, it is necessary to implement proletarian dictatorship and bring a transformation in the society and human beings through cultural revolutions. 90 percent of the people will attain freedom and democracy in this manner. There is no other way.

The sacrifice of thousands of fighters in the path of emancipation of people for supreme human values with selfless feeling is the highest level of value of internal freedom – Kobad says that the Indian Communists also lack good values and internal democracy. He accuses that in the Communist party, democratic centralism and self-criticism and criticism are nominal. The relation between the leader and the cadre in the organisation is just like that between the boss and the clerk, Kobad says. This is desperate attempt by Kobad to undermine the party. He until now showed him

off as a highly intellectual, but was inefficient in solving the theoretical, political questions of the movement and take them forward. He failed to bring his thinking to the ground level. It is because he did not identify himself in the ground level. When the movement in Maharashtra was bogged in reformism, he could not save it. He had less attention on the problems of the movement. Intellectuals who spend most of their energy on arguments as to who is good among the leadership finds others guilty of the wrong trends.

The internal struggle in the Party is being guided by the principle of 'unity-struggle-further unity'. Self-criticism and criticism is the method for this. Is the self-criticism of Kobad in 2009 regarding the questions that came forth in the movement in Maharashtra nominal? He then admitted his main responsibility for reformism that has been popping up in Maharashtra. Did anyone force him to make self-criticism? It is surprising that he understood that there is no internal democracy in the party and self-criticism is only nominal after 40 years, and that too after going to jail. When he used the word 'Indian Communist', he puts all the communists and the revisionists of all hues together. Normally RSS uses such words. We cannot count the revisionists as communists and Kobad too did not do so then. As far as the question is concerned, he himself is the example in CPI (Maoist) and in its history as to how the revolutionary elements are united basing on two-line struggle and democratic centralism. How did Kobad work in this party for so many years without democracy? If there was no struggle of thoughts, what was the process in Kobad's separation from People's War with a majority in the CC in 1985 and later his reunion? What was the principle in taking action on Kobad for violation of organisational principle and later retaining his leadership after a review of his work, in the CC? When CPI (ML) (People's War) and MCCI merged on 21st September 2004, antagonistic contradictions transformed into friendly ones and the revolutionary forces of the world welcomed this historic process, Kobad was personally present but now he says that there is no internal democracy. What name would Kobad give to the historic process of the Unity Congress of CPI (Maoist) in 2007? There were discussions for two years among starting from the ordinary members of the party until the CC regarding the differences in the process of unity such as the nature of the era, whether the comprador bureaucratic capitalist class was playing the role of principle vehicle for imperialist exploitation in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society of India, the stage of agrarian development in Punjab and caste question and finally documents were passed in the Congress after intense discussions, with the orientation of which the revolutionary movement is going on all over the country. Kobad negates all these and states that there is no internal democracy. This is nothing but a despicable attempt to destroy the party.

Has Kobad raised the question of internal democracy deliberately? Or it must have been pestering him that he failed to muster cogent logic or rigorous basis to his new theories of values, freedom and happiness. These lacunae has been expressed in his hoax statements that 'Party has no internal democracy. Which issue did the party not discuss that Kobad brought forth? Which was not answered? To tell the truth, Kobad must ask himself whether he made any deep study and put forth new thoughts and new paths regarding theoretical, political questions in Indian Revolution. Why could not Kobad heighten his intellectual talents as the Party wished even after being part of the revolutionary movement for so many years? Why could not he make a leap in the level of a type of intellectual talent that he maintained? It is because he was in the movement, was even in the Central Committee, but never owned the movement heartily. There was always a kind of gap. That is the reason his political writings lacked that kind of a new vistas that could have provided energy and inspiration to the activists. His writings were mostly with more information and less analysis. Those were not in the level of research. Since he was not in the ground level (this increased in his ten years of prison life) his outlook was metaphysical and subjective. And he divorced Marxism. Can he really assess the values of sacrifice?

After four decades of revolutionary life as per his convenience he is able to say easily that he was never in the party that led the poor and the oppressed people. This is naked opportunism. Workers, peasants, Dalits, women, tribal and other oppressed people can shake off this dubious intellectual by advancing their task. Implementing Marxism to Indian conditions is the important

question for Indian Communists. Kobad could not use his intellect on these vital questions. On the contrary he is making a shameless attempt to spin subjective, unscientific criticism on the proved theories. Consensus in the place of democratic centralism is utopian. This cannot be implemented in a class society. If it is implemented the party would be liquidated. The dream of revolution should be buried in a saffron tomb on the banks of Ganga in Kashi. Revolutionaries should sit in meditation chanting chalisas. Kobad is almost in that direction. The only things left out are Panchatantra, Zoroastrianism, Sufism and other religions. He violated the organisational theory of the party, divorced from Marxism, denied his responsibility, he himself negated his history, opportunistically utilized the party and undermined it and received facilities from the mafias. Does he have the right to speak about values? Under the influence of spiritualism, he goes into revisionism and what right does he have to speak about internal democracy? The Maoist party became the vanguard with its sacrifices for the past 50 years to liberate the oppressed people as a part of the liberation of the exploited, oppressed people of the world. Without internal democracy how would have this been possible? How can one prepare for selfless sacrifice? The value of sacrifice or the freedom with which a comrade is motivated for sacrifice cannot be understood as liquidation. A cadre of the party combines his thoughts and wish with the party line, feels the freedom in the party through which he gains morale and self-confidence and dedicates his life for the emancipation of the people. The thousands of sacrifices are the reflection of internal freedom. These are the ideal values in the high level. Comrade Lenin said that the Capitalist democrats went on giving various kinds of slogans to deceive the people and are still giving. But the question is to examine their honesty in their words. It must be shown in their deeds and that we must not be content with their sly and idealist words but search the class truth behind those.

Socialism-Communism alone is the real way of liberation for human race

“What provoked me to reflect deeply on the past, try and understand the present, and look into the future, was that not only in our activities was there little success, even in the world that existed when I was drawn towards communism in the late 1960s, little remains today, just in my life span. Why?

“As I say in the very introduction to those articles itself: ‘Why such a devastating reversal? What happened to our hopes and dreams for a better future? Forget the autocratic rulers, why did the masses so easily choose a free market over real freedom, as also freedom from want? If there are no clear-cut answers and also solutions, the communists of today may continue to live ostrich-like in their make-believe limited worlds; but the future will pass them by.’ Look at India, for example, not only are the parliamentary left in stagnation, but so are the varied Naxal factions. Let alone growth, both trends have declined from their peak years in the 1990s and early 2000s, and that too just at a time when the neoliberal economic policies have hit the masses the worst, and they needed socialist policies the most!” (*Fractured Freedom*, pp. 205-206).

Why did socialism step back to this extent and is not able to advance again? Why are people choosing free market instead of real freedom? These questions need answers. Kobad says that communist is like an Ostrich. He made the project of three values as his objective.

Kobad who studied Marxism-Leninism-Maoism raises questions about all these issues knowingly well only to justify his spiritualism.

After Mao’s demise in 1976, modern revisionism came to power under the leadership of Deng and the world was left with no socialist country. After the demise of Stalin socialism was dismantled in the Soviet Union. As a result of these developments the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Comrade Mao analysed why Socialism faced reverses. It wrote several analytical books in this regard. And there was great debate all over the world. The Naxalbari struggle that opposed the Soviet revisionism in 1967 in our country and after 1976, first CPI (ML), MCC, later People’s War and CPI (Maoist) in 2004, analysed the modern revisionism of Deng, opposed it and are advancing the revolutionary movement in India in an utmost daring method. Kobad who was in the leadership of such a party for 4 decades questions why socialism met such a ‘devastating reversal’.

This is nothing but self-denial. It is not necessary to answer Kobad. But since it leads to confusion among the people, we are giving an extensive answer to negate such attempts.

Out of the two key components of Marxism, the first is to establish the state power of proletarian class by overthrowing capitalism. The second is building of socialism. Naturally Marx and Engels concentrated mainly on the first component. In the garb of slogans of 'freedom, equality and fraternity', capitalists attempt to put a veil on their indiscriminate exploitation, they described bourgeois democracy as the people's democracy, deceiving the people that capitalism was a permanent phenomenon. Marx and Engels exposed these attempts and concentrated on bringing out the reality of profits of capitalists. They stated the law of social dynamics and proved how inevitable the emergence of capitalism in the process of social development and at the same time, how inevitable it is for the construction of socialism to root out capitalism. With this understanding, they worked all through their life to raise the consciousness of the working class in fulfilling their historical role. Working class took over power during the life time of Marx and Engels. The experience of Paris Commune is also mainly to seize power and to sustain it.

After the proletarian revolution, the historical task of transforming the society into socialist society and to facilitate the way to communist society fell on the shoulders of Lenin and Stalin in Russia and later on Mao in China. After the revolution, Lenin lived for 7 years during which the exploiting classes that lost power once again tried to gain power leading to intense civil war and 14 imperialist countries were continuously attacking Soviet Union. So Lenin could not do enough in this regard. Then Russia had to step back and implement new economic policies and 'war communism'. After the demise of Lenin in 1924, Stalin strived a lot for the construction of socialist society. But there was lack of experience; there was war with imperialist countries and civil war that led to unprecedented loss; even after the initial inevitability to depend on the bureaucrats, industrial management and other representatives of the old state machinery, the management of the industries was done by the officers; fell into economism (i.e. the understanding that society could advance towards socialism through the development of forces of production); concentrating more on the means of production than the conscious role of the workers in the forces of production; the wrong conclusion that classes have come to an end in Russian society by 1936 and so there is no need of class struggle; constantly strengthening state machinery; to put it in one word, since mass line was not followed in the construction of socialist society, after the demise of Stalin, the revisionist clique of Khrushchev could gain power. The new bourgeois class (state capitalist class) until then had power in important places. The Khrushchev clique that is the political representative of the class attacked Stalin and working class and restored capitalism. In this manner, due to historical inevitability to solve temporary problems after revolution in Russia, selected method became an unbearable burden and a new exploitative class was born.

In view of the problems that came forth in the construction of socialist society in Soviet Union, after 1960 (until then soviet type of economic development was going on), running on two legs (agriculture will be the basis and industrial development will be done), taking up socialist education movement and other such policies were implemented. Class struggle was taken up basing on mass line through Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to overcome selfishness and to defeat capitalist roaders who were gaining strength under the leadership of Li Shao-chi and Deng clique. Like in Russia, they concentrated more on raising the consciousness of the people to strengthen class struggle, so as to fight the capitalist roaders basing on state power. Mao alerted that construction of socialist society is possible through conscious role of the people. If class struggle is not taken up until the end, there is a danger of proletarian state power transforming into bourgeois state power and fascist state power. Mao and the CPC repeatedly said that ending individual ownership on means of production through law alone will not lead to socialism. It will come only through conscious attempt of the people, only through strengthening class struggle in all spheres and bringing a change in the ideology, culture, customs and habits of the old society and only through defeating the capitalist roaders.

In this regard, Comrade Lenin said thus after the success of Russian revolution –

“The workers were never separated by a Great Wall of China from the old society. And they have preserved a good deal of the traditional mentality of capitalist society. The workers are building a new society without themselves having become new people, or cleansed of the filth of the old world; they are still standing up to their knees in that filth. We can only dream of clearing the filth away. It would be utterly utopian to think this could be done all at once. It would be so utopian that in practice it would only postpone socialism to kingdom come.

“No, that is not the way we intend to build socialism. We are building while still standing on the soil of capitalist society, combating all those weaknesses and shortcomings which also affect the working people and which tend to drag the proletariat down. There are many old separatist habits and customs of the small holder in this struggle, and we still feel the effects of the old maxim: “Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost.”. (*Speech in the second conference of ‘All Russia Trade Union’ on 10-12 January, 1919*).

Mao started the Cultural Revolution after taking lessons from the restoration of capitalism in Russia. Mao reached a clear understanding regarding the construction of socialist society through cultural revolutions. He made it clear that to build socialist society and to stop the restoration of capitalism one proletarian cultural revolution is not enough. Oppressed people will have to continuously take up several cultural revolutions to keep going the revolution in superstructure. When cultural revolution was on an intense level in 1967, he said that the ongoing Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) was a unique thing in history, that these kinds of revolutions would be necessary in future too. He also said that the party members and the people should not think that one, two or three, four Cultural Revolutions will set the whole matters and feel despaired but they must preserve themselves, must be always careful and have a keen eye.

“In order to transform ideology, it is necessary for the external causes to function through inner causes, though the latter are principal. If the world outlook is not transformed, how can the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be called a victory? If the world outlook is not transformed, then although there are 2,000 power holders taking the capitalist road in this Great Cultural Revolution, there may be 4,000 next time. The cost of this Great Cultural Revolution has been very great, and even though the question of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads cannot be resolved by one, two, three or four Great Cultural Revolutions, still, this Great Cultural Revolution, should consolidate things for a decade at least. In the course of one century, it may be possible to launch such a revolution two or three times at most.

“What would you say is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution? (Someone answered on the spot: It is to struggle against power holders within the party who take the capitalist road.) To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it is by no means the goal. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook: it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism.’ (*Mao in his ‘Speech to the Albanian Military Delegation’ on 1st May 1967, MSW, Vol IX*).

See the following things to deeply understand Mao’s above-mentioned quotes. Marxism developed in every phase. It developed into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Mao analysed Stalin’s *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* deeply and took the Marxist theory to new heights. Depending on this, he made several experiments in building socialism. Marx and Engels, in the initial days, answered several questions clearing doubts on theories of scientific socialism. Mao once again brought forth the problems and developed the theory in the process of answering them. He tried to bridge the gap between urban and rural areas and physical and mental labour that became a difficulty in the path of building socialism. Mao said that class struggle must be taken up as a key link to solve the contradiction between forces of production and relations of production. He also said that revolution is necessary in the superstructure and that cultural revolution is imperative. Cultural revolution is a revolution meant for the changes from the superstructure to the base. We need to understand that the ‘Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution’ (GPCR) has the objective to get rid of slave mentality towards the ruling powers and develop cultural consciousness among the people. It is not enough to challenge the power but we need to bring a change in people’s culture to destroy it.

The impact of cultural revolution is so strong among the people that even today Xi Jing-ping clique of the social imperialist ruling class does not openly criticise cultural revolution.

We have seen in the above paragraphs how Marxist teachers reiterated that just by accomplishing proletarian revolution the problems in connection with the construction of socialism do not automatically disappear. Like the capitalist class relations, socialist relations do not take birth in the old society. They come into existence only through conscious work of human beings. Socialist society will be established only through prolonged class struggle, end of imperialism all over the world, total eradication of the ideology, culture, customs, habits of exploitive classes and through development of a new world outlook. This is a most tortuous path. There are no short cuts. State will have to play the chief role in this transformative phase. As the active role of the people rises, the role of state will decrease. Finally, there will be no need of a state in a classless communist society. It then disappears. From the experiences of the past communist revolutions, it is not correct to depend entirely on the state during the transformative phase. Basing on mass line, class struggle needs to be strengthened and communists encourage people take up their activities in all the spheres. All the communist parties leading the revolutions in different countries are learning from the past experiences and advancing.

Communist parties theoretically analysed the problems that came forth the working class in building socialism and gave the necessary direction. The ill influence of the old society is so strong that Marx identified it and said that it is not possible to build socialist society without being tempered in a civil war and people's struggles.

He said that we tell the workers that they must be determined to be ready for 15, 20 and even 50 years of civil war and people's struggles, that this is not merely to change the relations but is necessary to transform oneself and to gain political ability.

In his 'German ideology' he gave further elucidated.

"Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is, necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.'(Point 4 of 'The Necessity of the Communist Revolution' in 'German ideology').

The process of construction of Socialist society has been going on for the past more than 100 years basing on the scientific ideology. Class struggle and cultural revolutions will have to be taken up for a long time in the utmost tortuous path in order to advance Socialism to Communism. This demands remarkable courage and dare. Kobad stayed in revolution for just 40 years and stepped back from it. He is making an attack on the theory and is making a vain attempt to degrade the working class. This does not easily go into one's mind without understanding the protracted struggle of social transformation and the protracted revolutionary theoretical struggle.

Kobad says that "if happiness is nowhere on the agenda, inevitably all the negative values will tend to creep in. If we merely limit our goal to the economic sphere without thought of the entire project, the tendency may be to achieve that as the sole goal negating these other aspects. Invariably that is shortsighted as we have seen in Russia and China where the new rulers become the new lords, though there is no denying the economic gains made" (*Fractured Freedom*, p. 208-209).

Engels gave the following answer when Kobad like people attacked Marxism saying it to be economic determinism.

"According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. Other than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure — political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious

class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas — also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents (that is, of things and events whose inner interconnection is so remote or so impossible of proof that we can regard it as non-existent, as negligible), the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary. Otherwise the application of the theory to any period of history would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree." (*Engels in his letter to Joseph Bloch*).

He added, "We make our history ourselves, but, in the first place, under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are ultimately decisive. But the political ones, etc., and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds also play a part, although not the decisive one... however, history is made in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, of which each in turn has been made what it is by a host of particular conditions of life. Thus, there are innumerable intersecting forces, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant — the historical event."

Did Kobad not know about proletarian democracy? Did he not know that proletarian dictatorship is inevitable in the journey from socialism to communism? Did he not know that the nature of socialist and new democratic revolution is social and that the highest development of human beings is concomitant to it? Only those with half knowledge and metaphysical thoughts say that Marxism is a mere economic theory, communists do economic revolution and that they do not think of anything else in the society. But a person like Kobad who learnt about communism says so, it means that he is doing it deliberately. Did Kobad not know that human beings start their activities of livelihood in a social form right from the beginning? Can we separate the society and human beings? Is it necessary to tell Kobad how Marx and Engels addressed the issue of private property and personal freedom in Communist Manifesto?

"In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in Communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality" (*in Para 22 of 'Proletarian and Communists' of 'Communist Manifesto'*).

In the process of transformation of human society into another social system, class struggle is the main motive force. In each of the transformations, the oppressed people made struggle against the ruling class and brought a new society. The contradiction between the forces of production and relations of production is the motive force for the advancement of society.

Kobad, who speaks of values, refuses to see huge benefits the world proletariat gained with the help of Marxist theory. He is unable to see the human values imbibed by the proletariat and exploited people of Russia and China in many spheres through sacrifices. He disdains to consider that Marxism was enriched with lofty values by the two great revolutions. Marxism placed an alternative to capitalism in the world, making hitherto belief into a reality. Kobad turns up his nose at the rise in self-confidence of the communists of the world. He pooh-poohs the flame of the revolutionary movement and people's wars in Philippines, Turkey, India and other countries that are going on with communist ideals, since he drowned himself with metaphysics and spiritualism.

Did the revolutions occur only because of World War?

Kobad says that revolutions become possible during the period of World Wars. He says that Paris revolution occurred during the Franco-Prussian war, Russian revolution during World War I and China revolution during World War II. There is no such war situation in the present conditions. Therefore, revolution is not possible in the world or in India.

Kobad distorts the historical truths.

During the Franco-Prussian war, the ruling classes lost strength due to struggle among themselves. However, revolutionary party and subjective forces did not get organised with this intention. Marx suggested the working class of Paris not to take up revolution. But the working class

prepared to make it under the leadership of the Blanquists and seized power and held it for 70 days. As per the wish of the working class in power Marx upheld the revolution. After the defeat of Paris Commune Marx made them realise the mistakes in political tactics and for the first time spoke of the necessity of proletarian dictatorship. He also spoke about the necessity of theoretically and politically consolidating party. Including the necessity of seizing the banks of the enemy, Marx spoke about some more things. He gave directions to proletarian revolutions. From the experiences of Paris Commune, we understand from Marx's teachings about the need for a strong party armed with revolutionary theory and correct tactics. For the success of revolution, ruling classes getting into the deep crisis, is also a prerequisite.

Right from the beginning, apart from organising the proletarian class on the basis of real Marxian theory, Lenin built the Bolshevik party with iron discipline, by applying the theory of Marx out of the experiences of Paris Commune to the concrete conditions of Russia. For this purpose, he made theoretical, political and organisational struggle with the Mensheviks and other several Social Democrats. Lenin analyses the stepping of capitalism into imperialism and says that in such conditions, revolution is possible in any country, Russia is the weakest link in the chain of imperialism and so revolution was possible in Russia. He took into consideration the existing favourable conditions in the war among the ruling classes in 1905 and 1917, but gave utmost importance to the preparation of the working class and the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry. He worked for 25 years to build Bolshevik party to make the revolution a success in Russia. World War I gave impetus to the Russian revolution as an external reason. But Russian revolution was successful mainly with the building of Bolshevik party and appropriate tactics adopted. If we want to say that World War I was the main reason for Russian revolution, we must see that at the same time revolutions were not successful in many European countries including Germany. Imperialism even suppressed those revolutions. Comrade Stalin writes thus about the important reasons to make success the revolution in Russia.

"There were several reasons for this comparatively easy victory of the Socialist revolution in Russia. The following chief reasons should be noted:

"1) The October Revolution was confronted by an enemy so comparatively weak, so badly organized and so politically inexperienced as the Russian bourgeoisie. Economically still weak, and completely dependent on government contracts, the Russian bourgeoisie lacked sufficient political self-reliance and initiative to find a way out of the situation. It had neither the experience of the French bourgeoisie, for example, in political combination and political chicanery on a broad scale nor the schooling of the British bourgeoisie in broadly conceived crafty compromise. It had but recently sought to reach an understanding with the tsar; yet now that the tsar had been overthrown by the February Revolution, and the bourgeoisie itself had come to power, it was unable to think of anything better than to continue the policy of the detested tsar in all its essentials. Like the tsar, it stood for "war to a victorious finish," although the war was beyond the country's strength and had reduced the people and the army to a state of utter exhaustion. Like the tsar, it stood for the preservation in the main of big landed property, although the peasantry was perishing from lack of land and the weight of the landlord's yoke. As to its labour policy the Russian bourgeoisie outstripped even the tsar in its hatred of the working class, for it not only strove to preserve and strengthen the yoke of the factory owners, but to render it intolerable by wholesale lockouts.

"It is not surprising that the people saw no essential difference between the policy of the tsar and the policy of the bourgeoisie, and that they transferred their hatred of the tsar to the Provisional Government of the bourgeoisie.

"As long as the compromising Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties possessed a certain amount of influence among the people, the bourgeoisie could use them as a screen and preserve its power. But after the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries had exposed themselves as agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie, thus forfeiting their influence among the people, the bourgeoisie and its Provisional Government were left without a support.

"2) The October Revolution was headed by a revolutionary class as the working class of Russia, a class which had been steeled in battle, which had in a short space passed through two revolutions, and which by the eve of the third revolution had won recognition as the leader of the people in the struggle for peace, land, liberty and Socialism. If the revolution had not had a leader like the working class of Russia, a leader that had earned the confidence of the people, there would have been no alliance between the workers and peasants, and without such an alliance the victory of the October Revolution would have been impossible.

"3) The working class of Russia had so effective an ally in the revolution as the poor peasantry, which comprised the overwhelming majority of the peasant population. The experience of eight months of revolution – which may unhesitatingly be compared to the experience of several decades of "normal" development – had not been in vain as far as the mass of the labouring peasants were concerned. During this period they had had the opportunity to test all the parties of Russia in practice and convince themselves that neither the Constitutional-Democrats, nor the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks would seriously quarrel with the landlords or sacrifice themselves for the interests of the peasants; that there was only one party in Russia – the Bolshevik Party – which was in no way connected with the landlords and which was prepared to crush them in order to satisfy the needs of the peasants. This served as a solid basis for the alliance of the proletariat and the poor peasantry. The existence of this alliance between the working class and the poor peasantry determined the conduct of the middle peasants, who had long been vacillating and only on the eve of the October uprising wholeheartedly swung over towards the revolution and joined forces with the poor peasants.

"It goes without saying that without this alliance the October Revolution could not have been victorious.

"4) The working class was headed by a party so tried and tested in political battles as the Bolshevik Party. Only a party like the Bolshevik Party, courageous enough to lead the people in decisive attack, and cautious enough to keep clear of all the submerged rocks in its path to the goal – only such a party could so skilfully merge into one common revolutionary torrent such diverse revolutionary movements as the general democratic movement for peace, the peasant democratic movement for the seizure of the landed estates, the movement of the oppressed nationalities for national liberation and national equality, and the Socialist movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Undoubtedly, the merging of these diverse revolutionary streams into one common powerful revolutionary torrent decided the fate of capitalism in Russia.

"5) The October Revolution began at a time when the imperialist war was still at its height, when the principal bourgeois states were split into two hostile camps, and when, absorbed in mutual war and undermining each other's strength, they were unable to intervene effectively in "Russian affairs" and actively to oppose the October Revolution.

This undoubtedly did much to facilitate the victory of the October Socialist Revolution"

(October uprising in Petrograd and arrest of the provisional government. Second Congress of Soviets and formation of the Soviet Government. Decrees of the Second Congress of Soviets on peace and land. Victory of the socialist revolution. Reasons for the victory of the socialist revolution', *6TH subheading Chapter VII of 'History of Bolshevik Party'*).

China is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. Mao theorised that Protracted People's War is the path of revolution in China. Revolutionary Army fought back the forces of reactionary government since the beginning and continued revolution. The Communist Party of China in the leadership of Mao developed Marxism-Leninism according to the concrete conditions of China through ten internal struggles such as the right opportunism of Chen Tu-shi and left trend of Li Li-san. When Japan subjugated China, CPC in the leadership of Mao correctly formed the anti-Japan United Front, separated the traitors and diehard of the country and adopted the tactic of broad United Front. In this way they united the broad masses. These tactics strengthened Party, Army and United Front, after defeating Japan, the CPC in the leadership of Mao immediately defeated the

armies of Chang Kai-shek who made war on the communists with the support of the US and established People's Republic of China in 1949. China revolution obtained the support of World War II and Russia but the effort of CPC in the leadership of Mao is the main reason. Comrades Lenin and Mao did not wait for World Wars to accomplish revolutions in their country. They applied Marxism to the concrete conditions of their country, directed the revolution with correct strategy and tactics and made it successful.

The main reason for revolutions in Russia and China is the effort of the Communist parties of those countries. To say that revolutions would not have been possible without World Wars is a blatantly erroneous in terms of historical facts. Dejected and disappointed Kobad reached at these conclusions. As per the dialectical materialist theory, internal contradiction is the main aspect and not the external aspect of a qualitative change. Even after World War II, the spate of revolutions continued in the world in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries. People kicked out the imperialists from several countries. There were revolutions in North Korea in 1948 and Cuba in 1959. The US faced utter defeat in Kampuchea and Vietnam in 1975. This was not during any World War. What do the liberation struggles against colonialism in Asia and Latin American countries in the whole decade of 1960 reveal? Due to the anti-imperialist struggles all over the world, imperialism had to shed colonialism and adopt neo-colonial exploitive policies.

Does not the defeat of the US in Afghanistan in 2021 prove this!

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism taught us about the tactics to be adopted during war and peace. Economic crisis arose in capitalist era and capitalist crisis was permanent in imperialist era. After World War II, imperialism attained temporary stability. However, in the decade of 1970, imperialist crisis started to deepen and extensive. It passed through many such crises and was caught in economic and financial crisis like great depression by 2008. The economic and financial crisis that began in the US in 2008 encircled Europe and spread to the entire imperialist world. It is still enmeshed in the mire and is not allowing imperialism to respire. Kobad agreed to this in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress in 2007 and later while he was in the party. Thus in a capitalist economy the rich becomes richer and the poor, poorer. Poverty becomes widespread and extensive. Kobad is unable to disagree with this. That is the reason he is still opposing capitalist economy and institutions. He considers the economic theory related to Marxism as the only alternative for the people. Several intellectuals who cry out that capitalism is permanent, and history of socialism came to an end are now unable to justify their earlier logic about the reason for imperialist globalisation in the situation where capitalism fell in crisis. Several persons agreed that socialist economy is the alternative for the world. The number of people supporting socialist economy are on the rise in Europe and Latin American countries. In the US and Britain too few bourgeois persons and political leaders are opposing imperialist economic policies and demanding welfare state.

There is a rise in need for revolution in the world. People are opposing globalisation policies and are with increasing revolutionary aspirations. Kobad did not have the chance to totally change his earlier understanding. He had to admit that the theory of Marxist economy is the only alternative. He says that there is no organised working class in the country, unorganised sector became the main one, so there is no much need for class struggle for the workers and that it is not possible to make struggle basing on class. In Mumbai where he was born and brought up there was economic and industrial restructuring like in the world and imperialism in the 1980s. With this the city of Mumbai changed its shape for the textile mills. Mumbai became India's financial hub. There was a change in the composition of working class. In the place of industrial development, service sector developed. There was a change in the trade union movement in these industries. Shiv Sena, a fascist party, came into existence. It suppressed the working class with an iron hand. The ongoing struggles until then got set back. There was no comprehensive study of the economic situation of Mumbai and the condition of working class and appropriate tactics were not adopted. During this time working class were making struggles in Chandrapur, Nagpur and other such places. Here too there was a similar change in capitalist policies later. Instead of making a comprehensive study of

these new conditions the Maharashtra party adopted the forms of organisation and struggle pragmatic basis. Due to this there was no of development in the movement.

On the other hand, an advanced section of the students and workers attracted to Marxism in the 1980s thought that since capitalism is developing, there is no need for revolution, degenerated from the revolutionary movement and settled in good jobs. All those brought forth the argument that revolution is not possible in the country. The earlier situation does not exist. The party too was under its impact. Instead of taking up continuous internal struggle to shed the party from this impact, at times the party leadership affected by this trend. It did not make the necessary theoretical, political efforts to radicalise the working class. When the Maharashtra committee adopted certain tactics in the unorganised sector and attaining certain results, then too Kobad did not learn from it. On the whole Kobad failed in deciding the tactics in the theoretical and political struggle that came forth in the working class struggles and Maharashtra movement. On the other hand, the Maharashtra committee did not provide leadership to the rural peasant struggles. Kobad himself admitted that the party leadership in Maharashtra fell in reformism during the LTP in South West Bureau held in 2007. He also admitted that he in the leadership also fell in reformism. In the whole process the CC also failed to provide guidance to the revolutionary movement in Maharashtra and the committee.

Kobad does not speak of the daily intensifying movements. Due to the deepening depression spread in the world, there is intensifying cut throat competition between the imperialists. Cold war continued among the imperialists until the Soviet Union was destroyed in the 1970s.

At present there is severe contention between various imperialist countries in trade, economic, military and industrial spheres. The US left the path of globalisation and took shelter in protectionism. In the past five decades, imperialism in the leadership of the US intervened in the internal affairs of more than 50 countries and brought forth civil wars and wars of aggression. It made military intervention in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria and other such countries. Due to the aggressive wars by the US and other imperialist countries, war became a general phenomenon all over the world. Due to this there is destruction and devastation of human resources equal to that during the two World Wars. Fascism and revolutionary trend are continuously on the rise in the world. In this situation revolutionary conditions are developing in our country. After the economic and financial crisis of 2008, there was intense struggle for the rights of the working class and middle class in Europe, the US and the imperialist countries of NATO. People of Asia, Africa and Latin American countries are in struggle. Economic contention is intensifying between the US and China and gradually transforming into competition in the military sphere. This created a tense situation in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The war of aggression of Russia on Ukraine that started on 24th February is the present example that reflects the inter-imperialist rivalry between the US-NATO and Europe and Russia-China in military sector. Farmers, workers, students, women, bank employees, mine workers and tribal people are continuously making agitation in our country. Farmers made struggle for one year against the three farm laws and forced Modi to withdraw them. All this proves that if all the people unite and struggle against government's fascism, they can bend the government. Party was not as strong as to lead these struggles. It is necessary to strengthen the party so as to lead these struggles. Without considering these realities Kobad says that revolutionary movement does not have future and turned his back.

By mobilising of various stratum of people, who are already in the streets with militant struggles, if they are radicalised, these struggles shall develop into higher levels and people will bend the government. In order to attain this, it is necessary to expose Gandhism, revisionism, parliamentary politics, existentialist theories and post-modernist theories that show a negative impact on the people time to time and organise them in the revolutionary people's organisations. Then these struggles become part of the ongoing democratic revolution. Kobad speaks of the existing economic exploitation and its base the imperialist capitalist policy. But instead of speaking about the daily intensifying people's struggles, analysing them and engaging in the effort for preparing the people for revolution, he simply says that the people are not in a condition to make

armed struggle and that revolution failed. While on one hand the Maoist party and the people are continuing armed struggle with several sacrifices amidst intense repression, on the other, Kobad is slinging mud on the party.

People of the country are jumping into the arena of struggle with this assessment. Revolutionary party is strengthening, leading the struggling people and carrying on countrywide armed struggle. It shall overthrow the ruling classes. The Congress government and later the BJP government are unleashing fascist repression on the party and the struggling people. BJP government in the leadership of Modi is trying totally to eliminate the revolutionary movement through 'SAMADHAN'. The present Prahar offensive is going on as a part of this. Today, Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism is unleashing repression on all the struggling people in all ways. Due to intense repression and certain mistakes in tactics the countrywide revolutionary movement in the past 15 years is facing temporary setback. This is only one aspect; people of different classes and sections of the country are making militant struggle day by day against Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism of Modi. CPI (Maoist) was formed as a unified party with the merger of different revolutionary parties in 2004. PLGA and United Front are developing in its leadership. This UF is coming forth as an alternative to exploiting powers. Operation Green Hunt of the UPA government and 'SAMADHAN' of BJP government are being strongly fought back. Preparing to advance by adopting new tactics according to the new condition in the country and attaining new experience and other such positive things exist. If we take these into consideration, we understand that the present situation of the movement is temporary. Party learnt from this setback. Party consolidated itself in the SAMADHAN offensive of the government. It is leading the people of the country in new ways and methods and is making attempts to advance the revolutionary movement once again. Revolutionary movement in India experienced the situation of advance and retreat several times. The party overcame many difficult periods and advanced. It is extra-ordinary situation for the revolutionary movement of the country. Kobad does not understand the ups and downs in the revolution, the kind of setbacks in the revolutionary movement at present and thinks it is permanent. So, he says that Maoists speak of winning revolution as per determinism, thus attacking the party. He lost the wisdom to think about the ebb and flows in revolution, temporary setback, advance and other such things, dialectical method of thinking regarding revolution and therefore makes allegations on the party. The revolutionary movement which threw aside many a traitor of revolutionary movement, who served the ruling classes at several important turns in the history, shall also deposit Kobad in the dust bin of history and take the movement to the higher levels.

Kobad's homecoming

In the chapter 'getting back to society' in *Fractured Freedom*, Kobad openly wrote that he is leaving the left circle for good and going back to the place where he has come from. He repeatedly and keenly mentions that he is a Parsi. His wish to leave the left means he wants to leave the struggle to build Communist society through which the exploited, Dalit, tribal, worker and peasant and other such class people will be liberated. Moreover, he divorced from left and is engaged in serving the right. But Kobad is not only speaking about living with Parsis and aristocratic class, but the left sphere in which he spent four decades of his life; that identified him as a poster boy seems for him now stagnant, sectarian, banal and narrow-minded. He finds independent, new and a humane atmosphere with his corporate aristocratic friends and so he wants to stay with them. He is swimming in a cesspool of spiritualism with his half baked concepts. But the logic he shows to justify his decision is baseless, ridiculous and condemnable. The elite regards the concepts of freedom, broadness, human feelings to their community alone, till they do not feel the pinch of competition in financial affairs among themselves. This is not just in the case of Kobad, but the whole elite class will have no compunction for human values towards Dalit, tribal, exploited, worker, peasant, women, nationalities and religious minorities. Since Kobad shed Marxism ideologically, it is natural for him to see everything dark in the left and everything glittering on the right.

Thus spoke Kobad: 'I realize from all these interactions that I had myself become rather closed with no relation to fresh and different ideas. And being only associated with a limited

stagnant left circle, ideas and relationships tended to fester, often leading to bitterness, pettiness and lack of creativity. Unnecessary energy would get expended in unimportant matters, and tensions would arise, further debilitating one's creative abilities. Now, one is free to get new and contrary views which provoke thinking and prompt new ideas to evolve' (*Fractured Freedom*, p. 193)

The above para quoted from the book nakedly demonstrates his boorish opportunism. When the movement was in upswing he comes boasting and when it is in ebb he turns his tail and flees. It is a privilege for persons like Kobad to come into revolution whenever they want and go away when they get heebie-jeebies. Revolution is not a necessity for them. Any class, any person of a social community might be a good human being and with humane qualities. But viewing this personal friendship and behavior as a sample of that class, comparing them with the functioning of a revolutionary party and with comrades fighting in the war front and attacking the left circle, that is the party, is nothing but singing chorus with the state sponsored theoretical, political attack on the revolutionary movement.

Kobad never discussed any of the ideas about the party when he was active. He now writes about them in his vested interest. He writes that there would be tension if one enters the left circle and loses creativity. This is dishonesty and betrayal to the party and the oppressed people.

In this article we wrote about the concrete issues of internal democracy of the party and they are sufficient to expose the ill intent of Kobad. Kobad is living with false prestige. He not only distanced from Marxism but he lost his mind and went far away from materialist outlook. He lost creativity much before. In fact, his thoughts became putrid. He is not capable of leading or guiding the movement. He is also not capable of putting forth any objective basis for his thoughts or place his thoughts with rigorous research. Instead of accepting his degeneration, he alleges that the party possesses evils such as bureaucracy, sectarianism, unilateral thought, harsh dealings, bourgeois liberalism which in fact he himself had been propping up for the past 40 years. All these 'medals' are the twined into his thread of his own values (like the second and the third categories he made- that is the Chanakya syndrome and running from one corner to another). His acrobat from Marxism to spiritualism is like a going from one end to another. How would he think that he would be able to stand next to the intellect that evolved in the fierce armed struggle, the highest form of class struggle? This is his ideological desertion and political betrayal.

See what Mao said on such occasion – 'Some have read a few Marxist books and think themselves quite learned, but what they have read has not sunk in, has not taken root in their minds, so that they don't know how to use it and their class feelings remain unchanged. Others are conceited; having picked up some book-phrases, they think themselves terrific and are very cocky; but whenever a storm blows up, they take a stand very different from that of the workers and the great majority of the working peasants. They waver while the latter stand firm, they equivocate while the latter are forthright' (*Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda work, 1957, March 12, MSW Vol-V*).

In Modi's fascist rule, 90 percent handicapped Professor Saibaba was given life imprisonment. Heart and cancer patient activist Kanchan Nanavare did not get bail and was deprived of proper medical facilities and finally died. Religious preacher Father Stan Swamy was deprived of a straw and finally took his last breath in judicial custody. And a member of the Polit Bureau of the CPI (Maoist) obtained good facilities in jail and even bail. What is the reason for this kindness of Brahmanic Hindutva fascist rule towards Kobad? He ought to have mentioned about this too in his book.

One who gets degenerated and surrenders to the enemy will be granted only when one talks something against the party. They must provide secret information to the enemy about the party, activists, they must get them murdered, must give statements against the party, must show the places to allow the enemy to attack and so on. We have to see what Kobad wrote about the theoretical, political and organisational theories and the practice of the party with this outlook. Surrendering to the enemy to serve vested interest is the vilest method. This will find place in history as 'elite surrender'. Clad in the shawl of spiritualism, it is no surprise if Kobad might be inspired by

Yogi Adityanath's 'gharvapati' (homecoming) policy. Bastar Police might bring this home coming as part of their state scheme - 'lone varatu' (come home)- and encash some fat amount. The Indian revolutionary movement is advancing countering such traitors. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is continuously being enriched all over the world. This once again makes clear that Kobad has never let the upper class inside him to die and now he is using this background with hideous intent. We have nothing to say about the particular individual who supported him. We feel it necessary to bring in the class nature of the social layer that Kobad is in full praise of.

The individual, whom Kobad refers to, might be a gentleman, but his class collaborates with Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists. There could be some exceptions. But shoving cups in whisky, rum and scotch will not provide new thinking about transformation of the society. No new ideas would come out either from Vasant Vihar of Delhi nor Nariman Point of Mumbai. New ideas churn out of the process of production and class struggle. And from the science that serves production and class struggle. Mr. Kobad, you were never part of production and now you discarded the class struggle too. Then what objective basis is left out in you for new thoughts? Kobad, you are ideologically and politically finished!

Immaturity and Subjectivity of the Shallow Scholar

Kobad, who is wont to live with indirect knowledge found a treasure trove of it in the prison. He read deeply and reflected intensely on spiritualism. His habit of coming to conclusions via indirect knowledge bestowed him with the spiritual specs. Now, he is unable to see class, class struggle and state power. Talking of individual freedom sans society is neo-liberal consumerist anarchism, which the imperialist market requires.

Such thinking goes against the grain of the philosophical understanding of universality and particularity of dialectical materialism. He speaks how money power obstructs freedom, but he mystifies about which class seized it, what to do in order to change it. Money is the expression of surplus value, but the real issue is the capital. Kobad doesn't mention this even once. He contradicts himself. He says that Marxists are caught in economism, he argues, but he cares little to provide any basis for his findings. On the contrary he says that topic of economism can be separately discussed. Kobad considers economism and other social categories separately. He does not accept the dialectical relation between these aspects. This is his opportunist thinking. He speaks bad of money but not about eliminating it (means about Communism and elimination of state). This thought falls under the type of reforms within capitalism which negates the dialectical materialist understanding between cause and effect.

Kobad advocates religious reform instead of eradication of caste and standing for true secularism. Kobad is walking on the footsteps of government sponsored Yogi-Babas who control people's discontent through their preaching of religious sermons and spiritual values. This serves ruling classes and Kobad advocates this line.

Kobad's method of analysis is metaphysical. 'He mostly sees the trees and forgets the forest. At times he perceives only woods and forgets the trees'. He gives importance to individuals and forgets the society. He does not understand the dialectical relation between society and individual. Individual becomes part of the society through production of material life. His unilateral thoughts or research negates the established and universally accepted laws of materialism. He puts forth spiritualism (freedom, values and happiness), the essential outcome of his 40 years of revolutionary practice, as a panacea for all the problems. This is neither the theory Comrade Anuradha would have agreed to nor is it in consonance with her practice. Had she been alive, she would have rubbished Kobad's theories. This is desertion simpliciter. Feeling cozy on the lap of the corporate friends, Kobad manufactured this theory from their outlook, with a view to spend the remaining life in the safe sanctuary of physical comforts.

'The process of transformation of an individual happens through self-awareness', 'Values of individuals need to be changed first', 'the quest for the reasons for the failure of socialism should be delved centering on individuals', thus argues Kobad and puts forward individual freedom and spiritual values as solutions. 'The starting point of democracy is not structure (society, state power

and institution) but it needs to be individual'. Marxism basing on social sciences and dialectical materialism says that human society is the primary and humans cannot be expressed without society.

“For this the effort has to be both internal and external. Internally it requires an awareness of what is positive and the voluntary desire to strive in that direction. Externally, it would necessitate the creation of the most conducive environment— economic, political, social—to facilitate the change” (*Questions of Freedom and People’s Emancipation*, p. 48).

Kobad deliberately places that economic conditions as the outside cause, in opposition to the fundamental tenets of dialectical materialism concerning to human change. Economic situation becomes the basis of social structure and consciousness of an individual is broadly determined on this basis. Without struggle between the opposing classes of the society, that means without the class struggle against the ruling class, i.e. without making revolution it is impossible to build such an atmosphere that Kobad speaks about. Without such an objective atmosphere, it is not possible to build awareness in an individual that inspires an individual to imbue good values. This clearly shows that he perceives every issue from spiritualism and in essence and negates the relevance of class struggle and people’s war.

Though Kobad spun several theories, he could not but concede that there could be no alternative to Socialism and Communism. Therefore, he very cleverly but satirically says that the seeds of communism need to be protected and supervised, but he wants this to be done ‘without wilting of flowers and without fruits going sour’. Mr. Kobad, blooming and withering are the natural characteristics of flowers. If the gardener does hard work, new flowers bloom, but if he sits in the drawing room and dream about it, he cannot enjoy the fragrance of the flowers. Gardener’s hard work is symbol of class struggle. Communism is not a seed to be stored. It is an ideological aspect as well as objective material reality. It is naturally vibrant and dynamic and does not need any god or external force for its motion. It grows along with the dynamics of nature and society; blossoms, flowers and diffuses fragrance. In the course of class struggle, it takes higher forms. No one can obliterate this phenomenon. When Hitler and Mussolini could not root out, would Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism be able to do more? Marxism progressed struggling with right opportunism and left adventurism. It became a guide in the arena of class struggle as a single ideology of the proletariat and the exploited class negating the various shades of revisionists such as Bernstein, Kautsky, Khrushchev, Deng and Dange and Ranadive in India. Neo-liberalism’s props are broken. No solution is in sight for the capitalist economic crisis. Capitalism spread the Corona pandemic, production was brought to a nadir on the dead bodies of the people, and it is thus desperately trying to prolong capitalism’s life. This situation only shows the failure of capitalism and the relevance of communism. Social scientists and Marxists should not be disappointed but the situation should in fact enthuse them. The question is not whether the revolutionary party is big or small but whether it has the correct political line, it is adopting proper tactics, it has correct organisational principle, and correct method of work and work style. Mr. Kobad, you have amputated yourself from all these relations. You bent upon cooking up a dream project by combining seeds of Marxism with spiritual thinking. You wish that flowers should not wilt away, but you are pouring poisonous acid on the flower that is the party that blossomed in the garden of the people’s war and making vain attempts to destroy its prestigious revolutionary history. Kobad mentions about sweet and sour fruits. Availability of sour fruits ensures the existence of sweet fruits. Without tasting sour fruit, the sweetness of the fruit can never be understood. As long class society exists, it is natural that social fruits- sour and sweet- go together. Participation of class struggle ensures sweet social fruits. Desert the class struggle, leave alone sour fruits, we reap bitter fruits. It is unsure if Kobad, in the warm company of corporate friends, has understood this or not, but the proletariat and the exploited people have well realized.

Kobad concludes that spiritual values are imperative to solve the problem of human society, with the objective of freedom/democracy and universal happiness. This wrong understanding

springs out of metaphysical and subjective thinking which finally ends in spiritualism, an outlook that wanders in an imaginative world.

Betrayal

Kobad was a member of the Central Committee of CPI (Maoist) but he negated it. He refused to accept the responsibilities of the movement. This is escapism. He plucked out fragments from the history of the movement as per his convenience and showed it like a work of reform of the society. This is an insult to the thousands of martyrs, activists and crores of oppressed people who sacrificed their lives, worked day and night to fight against the enemy in order to advance the revolutionary movement. He glorifies his class and caste background, exalts his Parsi and corporate friends, praises big shots of the ruling class and mafia and negates revolutionary communist, revolutionary fighting people and their struggle. This is his wish, love and pride that he has Parsi and elite back ground as well. This is a sign of his non-proletarian tendencies and degenerated values.

Finding fault with the lack of hygiene in Dalit slums for his ill health is casteist outlook and is condemnable. Getting facilities from mafia, teaching yoga to them and taking care of their health, keeping silent about the problems of ordinary prisoners only means that Kobad wanted to save his hide. It is crass opportunism. These deviations sunder him from humaneness and places him as an opportunist individual. From the ideological and moral stand point, this expediency is the exchange value he accrued for abandoning the issues of poor prisoners.

The framework in which he placed martyr Comrade Anuradha as a model for values is in fact an affront to her. It is a wily and wishy-washy attempt to gain sympathy by fusing his half-baked thoughts and his emotional relation in an opportunist way. His thoughts about democracy, self-criticism, the relations between cadres and leaders, the categorization of party cadres based on imaginative construct (*Questions of Freedom and People's Emancipation*) -are all aimed to sling mud on the party. All these are part of the attempt of the enemy to distance people from the party. By making false allegations on the CPI (Maoist) which is immersed in the war of class struggle with immense sacrifices, and has become a ray of hope to the exploited people, Kobad is attempting to belittle the hopes and aspirations of the people.

Party is the leader of the people. The enemy hopes if the prestige of the leaders is destroyed, despair and pessimism would spread among the people. The State takes up the policy of mis-propaganda maligning the revolutionary party according to the doctrine of Low Intensity Conflict. Being a party member, Kobad openly tried to destroy the prestige of the party. All in all, this is an attempt to strengthen the propaganda of the enemy class. In the background of the counter revolutionary repressive 'SAMADHAN-Prahar' policy, this is an attack on the proletariat, peasant, dalit, tribal, exploited masses, women and the struggling people and on the comrades playing a valiant role in people's war. This is a pure betrayal to the movement, the people, and the party and to the cause of liberation.

He compares Marxism and spiritualism, speaks high of spiritualism and makes a regressive rupture with Marxism. Holding aloft of spiritual values instead of class struggle is class collaboration, negating people's war is to prepare the psyche of the people not to fight against injustice and suppression but to live under perpetual exploitation.

He is caught in the quagmire of idealism, and adopted right opportunist line. He tries to spread illusions, despair, disappointment among the people and activists, discourage people to fight against injustice. By doing so he props up the enemy class, exploitation and repressive state machinery, tries to protect this inhuman, authoritarian state. He mainly rejects class struggle. This has to be severely condemned. Kobad is not the first person who left the movement at the time of cruel repression unleashed by the counter revolutionary ruling classes in a fascist method on the revolutionary movement. Revolutionary movement dumped such persons into the dustbin of history and advanced with aplomb.

Overall, Kobad abandoned Marxism, Leninism and Maoism. He took to spiritualism and idealism consciously. Another Dange is born in the form of Kobad Ghandy in Maharashtra from *Fractured Freedom*. The ideological discussion he made in the book is nothing but one form of

revisionism. He rejects Marxism, dialectical and historical materialism. He rejects revolutionary movement. He rejects revolutionary party. He disassociates with the struggling people. He disparages the sacrifice of the martyrs. He rebuts the reality of class struggles. He advocates ideas of class collaboration. His thinking serves the ruling class. Kobad Ghandy did not only betray the party, the movement and the people but himself too. *Fractured Freedom* is the document of a revisionist traitor who jumped into the dragnet of spiritualism. Brahmanic Hindutva Fascists must be gleeful reading this book. RSS will be delighted. Police officers might have raised the toast and clinked the glasses.

This delight proves to be ephemeral in the course of history. See what Mao said – “In the end, the socialist system will replace the capitalist system. This is an objective law independent of human will. No matter how hard the reactionaries try to prevent the advance of the wheel of history, revolution will take place sooner or later and will surely triumph” (*Speech at Moscow Celebration Meeting, 1957 November 6, MSW, Vol-VII*).

The exploited people of India effectively brought forth the slogan of Socialism as the alternative to capitalist system since last five decades. As a part of it, they not only expanded people’s war all over the country towards accomplishing New Democratic Revolution in India but also took it to a higher stage. Quantitative rise and fall is a normal characteristic in Protracted People’s War. People learnt this from their own practice. The economic crisis of capitalism led to war, fascism and pandemics like Corona and speeded up revolutionary movement and strongly put forth the necessity of New Democratic Revolution and Socialism on the agenda of the world. The rise in consciousness among the oppressed people and working class of the world including the capitalist-imperialist countries against the aggression of Russia on Ukraine and the war frenzy, economic exploitation of the imperialist countries such as the US, EU (NATO), Russia and China, proves this. In this situation, Kobad joined the camp of the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries. The whole world is endeavoring to understand Marxism in a novel ways. MLM is invincible. MLM is the only theoretical weapon in the hands of the proletariat and the toiling people. People know it well. The proletariat and the toiling people and the thousands of activists of the party are holding aloft the banner of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Armed with the theory, brimmed with infinite confidence, teeming with dedication in their hearts, people are marching forward. **Kobad’s *Fractured Freedom-a Prison Memoir* is a document of betrayal.** It is a medley of spiritualism and right opportunism, a form of revisionism. We call upon the workers, peasants, students, youth, women and the entire exploited people, people’s intellectuals, lawyers, revolutionary activists, sympathisers and each and every one who needs a change of this rotten system to severely condemn him and to strongly oppose his anti-people activities. Let us hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, fighting undaunted and accomplish New Democratic Revolution in India. Let us advance to establish Socialism-Communism all over the world.

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**Central Committee
CPI (Maoist)**