COMRADE
CHANDRA PULLAREDDY



SELECTED WORKS

SELECTED WRITINGS OF
COM. CHANDRA PULLA REDDY



Publication of

CPI (M-L) NEW DEMOCRACY

CENTRAL COMMITTEE



SELECTED WRITINGS OF
COM. CHANDRA PULLA REDDY

Publication of
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Central Committee

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Foreword

On the occasion of 41st Death Anniversary of Com. Chandra Pulla Reddy (CP) his selected writings are being published by CPI (ML)-New Democracy. Com. CP was one of the most important leaders of the communist revolutionary movement in India and had been General Secretary of CPI (ML). He was active in the communist movement for over four decades beginning with undivided CPI in 1944 and had been a member of the then Andhra PC since 1947.

As a prominent communist revolutionary leader Com. CP integrated revolutionary theory and practice, making important contributions in both. He was one of the most important leaders in AP State Committee who wrote extensively on the Great Debate in the international communist movement and against rise of modern revisionism in the then CPSU. He firmly upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and also integrated it with the practice of Indian revolution. After the Great Naxalbari peasant uprising, he not only defended it but also led the work in Godavari Valley to develop armed struggle in a vast area of the then Andhra Pradesh. He defended and expounded the theoretical basis for launching armed struggle to create base areas in the countryside to make New Democratic Revolution victorious through Protracted People's War. Com. CP was the architect and main leader of Godavari Valley struggle. His theoretical writings and practical leadership developed a whole generation of movement of communist revolutionary leaders in united Andhra Pradesh (Now Andhra Pradesh and Telengana). However, the impact of his contribution was not confined to AP but was all over India.

Com. CP was among the prominent leaders of the AP communist movement who, drawing lessons from Great Telengana Armed Struggle, underscored the importance of working in strategic areas – hilly and forest areas to create stable bases for the revolutionary movement to be developed into base areas. This

was in opposition to the quick victory understanding of the main leadership of CPI (ML) then. This strategic perspective was later adopted by the whole of the communist revolutionary movement.

A great contribution of Com. CP was the understanding of resistance struggle developed by him i.e., building areas of sustained resistance. When the wave of armed struggles following Naxalbari armed struggle in different parts of the country suffered setbacks in different regions, Com. CP led modifications of the tasks in Godavari Valley areas. Later when mass struggles developed in Karimnagar district (now in Telengana), drawing on that experience and combining it with the lessons of Godavari Valley struggle, Com. CP formulated Resistance Struggle as a way to develop armed struggle in India. It was a bold contribution by a revolutionary thinker who attempted to implement the strategy of protracted people's war in the concrete conditions of India. It was a creative application of the lessons of revolutionary movement in backward countries, particularly China, to the conditions of India. Thus Com. CP made a big contribution to pursue revolutionary line when setbacks to the revolutionary movement had given rise to rightist tendencies in the communist revolutionary movement including repudiation of path of protracted people's war. Resistance struggle formulated by Com. CP is not the same as "armed resistance" or "defensive stage of armed struggle" mentioned by Com. Mao. It is a contribution of Com. CP to the practice of Indian revolution. Given the objective conditions confronting the Indian revolution, it is the political, organizational and military preparation for launching armed struggle in India. It is hence both connected to and different from armed struggle. If these aspects are not properly grasped it would lead to right mistakes or deviation and to 'left' mistakes if difference is lost sight of.

Com. CP was a firm upholder of *revolutionary mass line,* opposing attacks from both right and 'left' angles; opposing adventurism and tailism; opposing anarchism and routinism, opposing abjuring either revolution or masses, in brief opposing both ultra-left and right deviations from the revolutionary mass line. His advocacy and practice of revolutionary mass line was consistent and creative.

Today, the revolutionary practice to implement path of protracted people's war in concrete conditions of the country is facing serious problems. While parliamentary path has been discredited and is being discredited, attempts to develop armed struggle by developing areas of sustained resistance (resistance struggle) or otherwise have suffered setbacks. This places the task of advancing on the path of Protracted People's War by concretely evaluating the objective situation, both national and international and state of subjective forces and reviewing the movement to draw correct lessons to help the process. The whole objective is to facilitate overcoming of the setbacks and make advances to make NDR victorious in India. Com. CP did that in his time and we have to learn a lot from him- his deep theoretical understanding and his daring to practice what he advocated. We have to, like Com. CP, combine rigorous theoretical study with steadfast creative practice to overcome the problems facing revolutionary movement.

Com. CP was a prolific revolutionary publicist. He wrote extensively on the lessons of world communist movement and problems facing Indian revolution. In these selected writings only a few of his writings have been included. The whole party and revolutionary movement, leaders and cadres, should study his writings and imbibe his approach to solve the problems facing the revolutionary movement.

Central Committee

CPI (ML) - New Democracy

Publisher's Note

Comrade Chandra Pulla reddy (CP) was one of the key leaders of the communist revolutionary movement in India. He fought on the issues of the students during the days of Quit India movement when he was a student of an engineering college in Madras. The Russian revolution has had a great impact on the nationalist movement in India. Comrade CP felt that the national movement should be led by the communist party to attain full independence from the colonial rule. He left his studies and decided to actively work in the communist party and to participate in the struggles. In 1944, he became the secretary of the Kurnool district party committee in Andhra. He was elected to the state committee in the conference that was held in 1947. He participated in the Telangana peasant armed struggle that was being waged in the adjacent district. He strove to extend the movement to the forest area of Nallamala. The leadership of the party decided in October 1951 to withdraw the armed struggle in Telangana. The Kurnool district committee, under his leadership, passed a resolution opposing the decision.

Comrade CP used to persist with his study even as he actively engaged himself in the struggles. He continued to write regularly since those days of the undivided communist party. He was elected to the state legislature in 1952 from the Nandikotkur constituency as a candidate of the then communist party. The constituency was then a part of the Madras Presidency. He made a powerful speech in the Assembly on the issue of Krishna – Penna River water for Rayalaseema region. That was a marathon speech of six hours. The party published it later as a booklet – 'The Grievance of Rayalaseema People'.

Comrade CP's writings of that period are currently not available with us. He continued writing during his days with the CPM. We could gather only a few of his works from that period. Subsequently, he wrote extensively during the period starting from

the Naxalbari till he breathed his last in 1984. There are many works that were published without a name as it was decided not to reveal the identity of author. There are many works that were published with a pseudonym and published in the name of party committees. Comrade CP handled the responsibility of the party organ of the state committee in the CPM. Almost every issue of the party organ in Telugu published an article by Comrade CP in those days. Seven volumes have been published so far with all his works collected so far. Hither to, these collected works have been published in English and Telugu. The Central Committee of CPI(ML) New Democracy has decided to publish a volume with some of his selected writings.

The then CPM released a document condemning the Naxalbari peasant movement even as the struggle arose when it was still part of the then party. Comrade CP wrote an article defending the ongoing struggles at the national and international levels directly mentioning the name of Naxalbari. That was a veiled criticism of the CPM and it helped defending the Naxalbari and other struggles. The CPM removed Comrade CP from his responsibility of the party organ as a result of this. Subsequently, the CPM expelled Comrade CP from the party. Three other central committee members, Comrades DV Rao, T Nagireddy and Kolla Venkaiah were also expelled from CPM. A booklet was released by these four secretariat members of the then state committee. The booklet called upon the party members to denounce the neo-revisionist politics and policies of CPM. This 35 page booklet in Telugu was written by Comrade CP.

The Sino-India war occurred when the Communist Party of India was undivided. The government arrested those supporting China and Comrade CP was one among them. Comrade CP made good use of his time in prison to study and also write. Comrade CP was arrested again during 1965-66 along with other leaders of the CPM. Comrade DV Subbarao, a leader of the state committee and in charge of the press, fell ill when he was in prison and he made Comrade CP read Marx's book 'Civil War in Frace' for him. Comrade DV Subbarao was inspired by the book and requested Comrade CP to write a book on the history of the international communist movement. Comrade CP heeded to the request and authored a monumental, 500-page book, 'World Communist Movement and its Development' along with another comrade,

Manikonda Subbarao. It traces the evolution of the communist movement since the days of Communist League in 1847 to 1964. It was published in 1967. P. Sundarayya, leader of the CPM, asked Comrade CP to write also about the history of the communist movement in India in his foreword to the book. We include a much shorter version, abridged by Comrade CP himself, '**World Communist Movement and its Lessons**' here in this volume.

Comrade CP wrote, '**Basic Lessons of 13 years of struggle**' from the days of Naxalbari till 1981. He elaborated on many of the theoretical and political issues. He corrected the erroneous approaches and criticised the left trends that emerged in the beginning and the rightist trends that arose in the post-Emergency period. He wrote '**Some Problems Concerning Path of Peoples War in India**', a critique of the left sectarian trends that prevailed in the beginning and the damage it has caused to the movement. The left sectarianism was pursued by the then CPI(ML) and the critique as such was targeted against it as he was writing the critique on behalf of Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Committee. He maintained the stance of the undivided communist party on the question of separate statehood for Telangana. Our party has subsequently reviewed this stance and changed its position in support of statehood for Telangana.

A decision was made by the then State Committee with Comrade DV Rao as its secretary to send Comrade CP to the strategic Godavari Valley area to launch the armed struggle. This was a unanimous decision of the state committee. The movement developed enduring a tumultuous journey. It could not develop into an armed struggle due to various reasons. At the same time, it acquired a distinct character as it advanced when compared to the general movement elsewhere. Armed squads came into existence. What should this movement be called? This question came up in the Party Congress held in 1980. We call this as 'Resistance Struggle'. Comrade CP wrote the article, '**What is Resistance Struggle**' in 1984 explaining the understanding.

The Srikakulam armed struggle launched by the tribal peasants gained prominence at the national level. The tribal people organised

themselves under the leadership of the undivided communist party and fought back against the attacks by the government, the landlords, and the private traders. The Srikakulam movement came under the influence of the Naxalbari struggle. The then state committee of the Andhra Pradesh strove patiently to advance this movement on the path of peoples' war. The state committee had five rounds of its meetings with the Srikakulam district committee which was swayed by the Naxalbari struggle. Comrade CP wrote about those discussions and the conditions and problems faced by the then Srikakulam movement. He elaborated on the suggestions and tasks given by the then state committee. His review, **'Background of the Srikakulam Movement – 1968'**, provided many valuable lessons. These lessons are still relevant. Comrade CP directly participated in the forest movement and provided his leadership to it. He prepared a report and a review, **'The Forest Movement in the Godavari Valley'**. He wrote mainly about the forest area movement in the Khammam, Warangal and Karimnagar districts.

Comrade CP studied the experiences of the revolutionary movement in China thoroughly and wrote many articles drawing lessons from them. One of such articles, **'Mao's Hunan Report and its Lessons'**, is still relevant for us in India.

The CPM held its all India plenum in 1968 and released its draft documents for discussion. Comrade CP wrote an alternative document criticising draft documents of the central committee for discussions in the state plenum held in Palakollu. The document, **'Resolution Submitted by Coms. T Nagireddy and C Pulla Reddy to the Andhra Plenum'**, was prepared by Comrade CP. Sundarayya and Basavapunnaiah, leaders of Central Committee of CPM, introduced and explained the draft documents of the central committee. Comrade CP placed his alternative document before the state plenum and explained it. The state plenum rejected the documents of the central committee and voted in support of the document placed by Comrade CP with three fourth of the delegates vouching for it.

The Communist Party of China fought against left and right deviations under the leadership of Com Mao. Comrade CP drew

lessons from those struggles and wrote numerous articles. **'Chinese Communist Party's Struggle Against Left and Right Deviations – Mao's Lessons – Relevance to India'** is one such article included in this volume here.

Communist revolutionaries in India have adopted different approaches concerning the question of parliamentary elections in India. Initially, all the revolutionaries adopted the policy of boycotting the elections. The elections held in the post-Emergency period provided us with some lessons. Comrade CP made study of the experiences of elections to Duma during the Russian revolution. Our party has subsequently resolved the question of elections as a tactical question and it not being a question of strategy. Adopting the tactic of participation or boycott is dependent on the condition of movement. Thus, our party characterised the question of elections as a tactical question. We arrived at this position after the Emergency was lifted. Comrade CP wrote two articles in the then Telugu organ Janashakti in 1967 citing that the question of elections is a question of tactics. However, he did not continue with that understanding during the later period and went ahead with the policy of boycotting the elections. He subsequently wrote many an article explaining the understanding regarding the tactical approach adopted towards elections. He summed up the theoretical basis and the practical experiences based on the history. Two of his articles, **'Attitude Towards Opposition Bourgeois Parties and Bourgeois Election Experiences – Lessons from the past history of the International Communist Movement'** and **'Bourgeois Election Alliances: Certain Experiences from Past History'** are included in this volume. The Communist Party of India had been participating in the elections since 1952 after its decision to withdraw the armed struggle in Telangana in 1951. Comrade CP's article summed up the experiences of participation in elections here.

Events in China have taken a qualitative turn after the death of Comrade Mao. Comrade CP started analysing the events as they evolved and wrote his articles tracking the drift. His contribution, 'Defend Comrade Mao and Defend Comrade Mao Tsetung's

Thought' is a thorough exposition of the analysis. China has subsequently turned into a social imperialist country as he anticipated then. Comrade CP prepared a much shorter version of his work, '**In Defence of Comrade Mao and Mao Zedong's Thought**' in 1982 and it is now included in this volume.

The question of principal contradiction has been long debated in the communist revolutionary movement in India. The party has taken up a detailed study of this question and has taken the changes into cognisance and arrived at a position that the contradiction between the alliance of the imperialism, comprador big bourgeoisie and big landlords, led by imperialism and the broad masses constitutes the principal contraction at this stage of revolution in India. Comrade CP wrote many articles explain the question of principal contraction in India. His article, '**On the Principal Contradiction in India**' is an important contribution and is included here in this volume. Our party, CPI(ML) New Democracy considers the contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism and the broad masses as the principal contradiction in India.

The communist revolutionaries in Andhra Pradesh have demarcated themselves from CPM in June 1968, have constituted themselves as a separate organisation. They held a state plenum in April 1969. Comrade CP was assigned the task of preparing the political and organisational report of the work that was undertaken during the preceding nine months period. Comrade CP prepared an excellent review and lessons. It was greatly appreciated in the plenum. His review remains as an important reference for anyone attempting to prepare a review of the movement.

The 'Great Debate' between the communist parties of Russia and China highlighted the political ideological issues at stake within the international communist movement. Comrade CP's introduction to the aspects of debate, published then in Telugu as 'Arguments of Russia and China' remains an important contribution to help understand the issues involved. Comrade CP's position supporting China was evident even as he presented the arguments of both sides. The book was widely appreciated during

the period. Comrade CP made a marathon seven-hour speech in the Burdwan plenum of CPM opposing the official documents and elaborating the alternative document of the revolutionaries. After their demarcation and separation from the CPM in 1968, the communist revolutionaries in Andhra Pradesh, gave a call to commemorate the Telangana armed struggle with a view to revive the armed struggle. There were no efforts to document the Telangana armed struggle until then since its withdrawal in 1951. Comrade CP wrote an inspiring book 'The Great Heroic Telangana Armed Struggle' in 1968. It was published in many other languages.

Comrade CP made great contributions during his long journey as a communist. All his works can be traced to the turns that movement has taken at various junctures. All his contributions are linked to the political issues before the movement and polemics do bear the stamp of the times when they were written. One should consider the context and they are a product of the milieu in which they were written. It is certainly reflected in his comments on trends, organisations and individual leaders and we may look at them differently in the current situation.

The writings and speeches of Comrade CP used to inspire and educate the activists. They provide a deeper understanding and guide the cadres in practice. His writings reflect the creativity in the application of theory to practice. His sharp commentaries on the national and international events were widely appreciated by the intellectuals. He used to share the draft versions of all his writings with those around him and seek their feedback. He used to refine his arguments based on the feedback received. His writing style is simple and his works always constituted shorter sentences. He wrote with the objective of reaching out to lower-level cadres and help them understand. His approach is to write in a direct manner so that the peasant and tribal activists can easily understand the arguments.

He used to firmly reject the arguments that he doesn't agree with, whatever stature they may carry. He never minced his words. The Communist Party of China supported the left sectarianists during the initial days of Naxalbari struggle. They had the immense prestige of full backing they received from CPC at the time. Comrade

CP stood undaunted and persisted with his criticism of what he felt was wrong. Subsequently they changed their positions based on the experiences. Comrade CP continued to write elucidating his criticism.

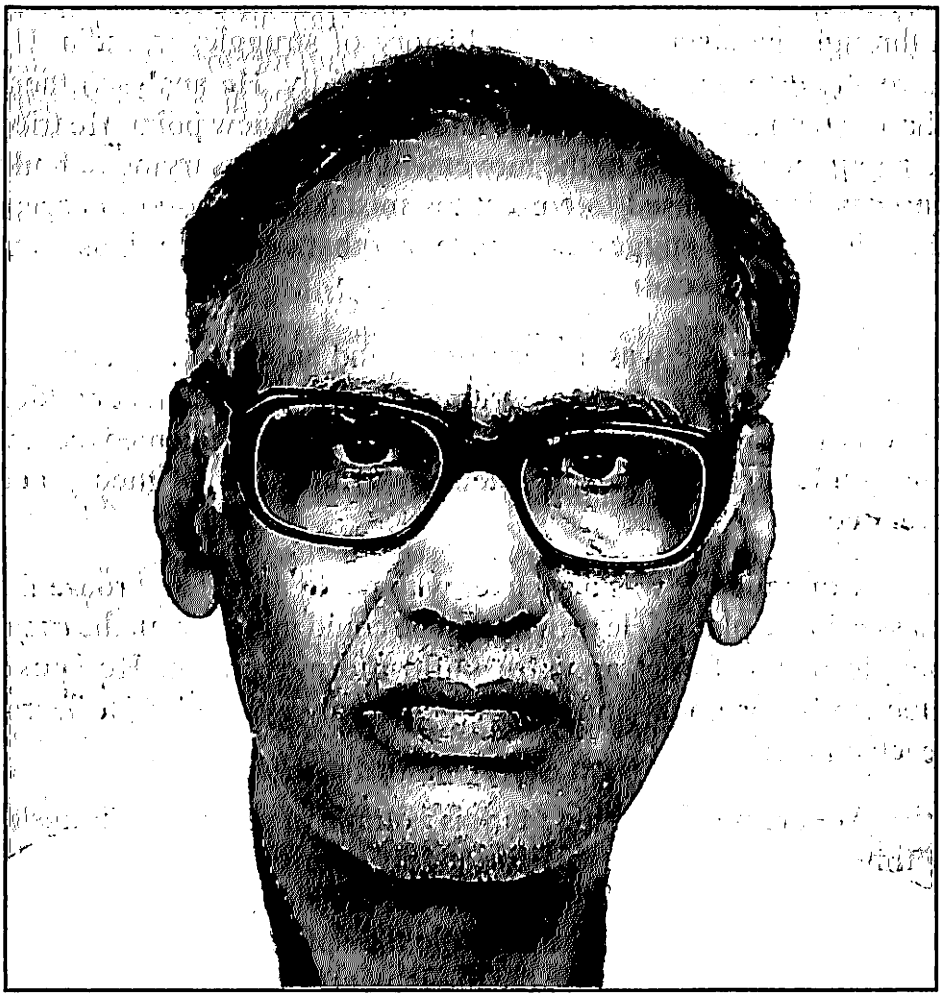
He studied the history and revolutionary experiences of many countries. He had great knowledge of the revolutions in Russia and China and gained deep insights from those experiences. He had a through understanding of the history of struggles in India. He never tried to understand them mechanically. He analysed them sharply with a class perspective and a Marxist view point. He tried to apply the learnings to the movement that he was trying to build and develop. He used to correct his mistakes. He used to accept the criticism and suggestions made by others when he finds them logical and correct.

Comrade CP was a theoretician and an educator. He was a great orator. He was good at writing. He was a movement builder. He was a renowned revolutionary leader. He was a talented mentor and guide, an activist and a leader, synthesiser of theory and practice.

Comrade CP was a speaker who could attract and rouse the masses in the plains. He proved that he could mingle with the tribal people in the forest areas to build the movement. He spoke eloquently for hours and days together, always willing to learn, teach and write.

We are now bringing out this volume of selected writings at a time when memories of the elderly start fading and newer generations need to study further. We consider our efforts to be successful if these writings rekindle the spirit of deeper study of theoretical questions before the movement.

19-11-2025



LESSONS OF HISTORY
Basic Lessons of the Past 13 Years of Struggle (From 1967 to 1981)

1. Significant Achievements

It is nearly 13 years since the 'Spring Thunder' of Naxalbari armed peasant uprising in West Bengal burst on the political scene in India. It was a turning point in the history of Indian Revolution. After the heroic armed peasant struggle of Telangana (1946-51), Naxalbari once again forcibly brought to the forefront the importance of Agrarian Revolution and People's War under the leadership of the Working Class, as the only path for the complete liberation of our people and the establishment of People's Democracy. The international ideological struggle against modern revisionism led by the CPSU and Naxalbari uprising also resulted in the ideological, political and organisational break of the Communist Revolutionaries from revisionism (CPI) and neo-revisionism (CPM) and the formation of CPI(ML) based on Marxism- Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In the wake of the Naxalbari armed peasant struggle, for 'grain, land and weapons' from the landlords and plantation owners and their struggle to establish local state power of the people the Communist Revolutionaries have conducted many armed peasant struggles in various parts of the country - Srikakulam, Midnapore, Baharagorah, Birbhum, Mushahari, the Punjab peasant struggles, Lakhimpurkheri, the Godavary Valley Girijan struggle. Of all the armed peasant struggles, Srikakulam armed peasant struggle reached the highest level in people's participation and resistance to government fascist repression.

The super powers rivalry for hegemony over our country, the intensification of the economic and political crisis in the country, the deep divisions in the ruling classes and splits in the ruling class parties, the instability of the ruling classes and the growing armed peasant struggles under the leadership of the Communist Revolutionaries led to a series of struggles of all sections of our people - workers, peasants, students and government employees. The revolt of the PAC constables

in UP and the railway general strike in 1974, the Gujrat and Bihar student struggles of that period and the present Assam people's struggles against the big bourgeois big landlord government are some of the highlights of people's struggles in the period under review.

The last 13 years of struggle have been a period of trial and ordeal for the Communist Revolutionaries, who faced unheard of repression by the reactionary government. More than 5000 Communist Revolutionaries, sympathisers and people have been killed. Many more thousands were arrested. Lakhs of people throughout the country were beaten, tortured, their properties destroyed. Thousands of women have been molested. In addition, the movement had to face disruption from revisionists and neo-revisionists. Inspite of heavy repression, the Communist Revolutionaries had survived and continue to be a significant growing force in certain parts of the country.

In the last 13 years, we have fought fierce ideological, programmatic, tactical, political and organisational struggles both against 'left' and 'right' deviation, in particular agaisnt the 'left deviation' of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, which brought immense losses to the revolutionary movement in various parts of the country.

Significant Gains of this Period

Inspite of many set-backs and splits in the movement, the revolutionary struggle of this period, by following the mass line of the Party, has brought significant gains to its credit.

- The CPI(ML) brought about a new turn to the Indian Revolutionary Movement. It is the CPI(ML) that has decisively rejected the path of parliamentarism, long practiced by the revisionists and neo-revisionists and placed the concept of People's War, with Agrarian Revolution as its main content as the only path for the complete liberation of our people. And true to its words, it has consistently fought to mobilise the people for People's War, inspite of initial mistakes, set-backs, ups and downs and in the face of heavy repression.

- Our Party, the CPI(ML) had the rich experience of fierce ideological, tactical and organisational struggle, both against 'left' and 'right' deviation and for a People's War based on mass line. Our Party has decisively defeated both 'left' and 'right' deviations and has won a significant victory for its political and mass line registered in the decisions of the recent Special Congress of our Party.

- The present CPI(ML) and the revolutionary movement under its leadership is a result of our long and bitter struggle against 'left' and 'right' deviations. Inspite of various splits among the Communsit Revolutionaries, by implementing the mass line of our Party in mobilising the people for revolutionary struggles, our Party the CPI(ML) has emerged as the biggest among the Communist Revolutionaries, as a coherent, organised, disciplined Party, based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, working on the basis of Democratic Centralism, with its branches working in 15 states at present in our country.

- By following the mass line of our Party, we have been able to create relatively stable mass base among the people in certain areas of our country. We have a resistance movement in the forests of Godavary valley. We have been able to build areas of resistance in certain areas of Andhra province and are struggling to build such areas of resistance in other provinces. We have mass based organised student movements in certain provinces. We have a significant organised TU movement in certain industrial centres under the banner of IFTU.

- More than that, the CPI(ML) has reared a new generation of Communist Revolutionaries, dedicated, self- sacrificing which has earned the admiration of all sections of our people and gained prestige among our people, as a fighting force. This period of struggle has inspired a great number of women and girl comrades, who have struggled equally well, shoulder to shoulder with men comrades in all fields of Party work, integrated themselves with the basic masses and have written glorious chapters of martyrdom.

Compared with the position of our movement in 1967, these are significant gains of the 13 years struggle and have laid the basis for further advancing the revolutionary struggle in the country. These gains have been registered in the success of the recent Special Congress of our Party.

The continuous growth of the revolutionary movement under the leadership of our Party - the CPI(ML.) is refutation of the theory of those who 'condemn' our Party as a Party of terrorism. No terrorist party anywhere in the world has survived for such a long time against the worst fascist repression. But the Communist Revolutionaries, particularly our Party, has survived the worst fascist repression and has made significant advances, laying the basis for further growth.

Despite the mistakes in tactical line, in the beginning, the general strategic orientation of the CPI(ML) was correct and by correcting its left mistakes and by applying the mass line in mobilising the people to advance the revolutionary movement, we have been able to make significant advances in all fields of our work and the broad masses of our people look at it with deep love and immense respect.

Today our Party has got a correct Programme and a correct tactical line. We must take a proper lessons from our past 13 years of struggle, both from our achievements and failures, from both positive and negative points of our struggle, so that we can firmly advance in the future. This is the purpose of this review.

The limitations of this review should be kept in mind. We are not going here into a detailed analysis of the various resolutions, the various political and tactical slogans, given by the Party-leadership from time to time. Nor are we going to discuss the responsibility of various comrades for our achievements and failures. Nor are we going to discuss them in a chronological sequence. Here we are attempting a broad analysis of the mistakes of this period to guide our future struggles.

II. The Ideological, Political, Tactical and Organisational Struggle against Revisionism (CPI) and Neo-Revisionism (CPM) from 1964 to 1967-68.

The struggle for the correct path the two line struggle has been long and consistent in the communist movement in our country. After the betrayal of the Heroic Telangana Struggle 1946-51, there has been an intensive and long two line struggle on certain ideological and political struggles inside the CPI.

But this whole struggle against the CPI was centred round the internatioanl ideological and certain political issues in the country. It was centred round the ideological struggle between modern revisionism represented by the CPSU and the correct revolutionary line represented by the CPC. It was centred round the attitude to be taken towards Socialist China in the conflict on the border issue between China and India. It was also centred round the attitude of the Party towards a section of the ruling classes represented by Nehru and his Five Year Plans, and other political and organisational issues too. In the process of this struggle the CPM was formed.

But this time, we failed to make the struggle for Agrarian Revolution through People's War the centre of internal two line struggle inside the CPI, the key issue of Indian Revolution.

Hence, the CPM leadership, after its formation, could easily deceive the Party members and its cadres. It could postpone a discussion on the international ideological issues. It could again take the Party towards parliamentary path under the guise of deceptive revolutionary slogans.

The struggle against the CPM leadership on various national and international issues gradually developed in various provinces. But in the beginning, in the majority provinces, the concept of People's War was not the central slogan around which the internal two-line struggle was conducted. It was mostly based on international ideological issues and support to the correct line of the CPC. Only in West Bengal, a section of comrades in Siliguri district, selected Naxalbari area, to concretise the slogan of People's War and took certain practical steps to mobilise and prepare the people for armed struggle, however vague their ideas might have been. The result has been the emergence of the Naxalbari Armed Peasant uprising.

When the CPM leadership and the West Bengal ministry, in which the CPM was having a leading role, opposed the Naxalbari peasant struggle, internal two line struggle inside the CPM got intensified in all the provinces. At this stage the two-line struggle was centred round the slogan of People's War vs. the Parliamentary path. But even at this stage, the idea of People's War was generally propagated as against the path of parliamentarism being practised by the CPM leadership. But in many provinces, the Communist Revolutionaries could not concretise this slogan, to the concrete conditions in India and to the concrete conditions in their own provinces. They did not go deeply into the political preparations necessary for launching People's War, the process of mobilising the people for People's War, the role of the economic and political struggles and the role of mass organisations to prepare the people for People's War and the organisational preparation necessary for launching such a struggle. Nor did they select any particular areas, select the cadres necessary and take concrete steps to build the People's Movement around the slogan of People's War. Even after the emergence of Naxalbari Armed Peasant Struggle, in

many provinces, the two line struggle was mainly confined to international ideological issues, support to the position of the CPC on these issues, general propagation of the concept of People's War in opposition to parliamentary path and an emotional support to Naxalbari peasant struggle and hatred to revisionism.

One more point. Experience tells us that the two line struggle inside the CPM on the international ideological issues, the propagation of People's War as against the path of parliamentarism practiced by the CPM leadership, should have been conducted thoroughly down to the lowest ranks, on the basis of written documents taking the concrete situation in each province into consideration, with a view to win as many comrades as possible to the side of People's War, and shake the base of the CPM leadership.

Anyhow, with all its weaknesses and limitations, the emergence of the Naxalbari Armed Peasant uprising and the two line struggle inside the CPM finally led to the ideological, political and organisational break of the Communist Revolutionaries with the CPM.

Was the Break with the CPM Correct?

Was this break correct? Certainly it was correct and a historical necessity. But some, in the name of reviewing the past, are questioning this. They are raising this question because of the serious set-backs suffered by the movement due to the left-adventurist line adopted by the then leadership in the beginning of our movement. They are raising this question, because of the reported talks between the CPM leadership and the CPC published in the daily press.

Our Party rejects these arguments. It is futile exercise to find traces of revolutionary thinking and practice inside the CPI and CPM leadership. Both these leaderships are wedded to the path of parliamentarism and opposed to Marxism- Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to the concept and practice of People's War. That is why we broke away from the CPM.

The CPI and CPM leadership have abandoned Proletarian Internationalism and taken to the path of national chauvinism. The experience of the past 13 years have completely proved that the leadership of revisionists and neo-revisionists are in essence serving the interests of the ruling classes.

The path of People's War is the only path for complete liberation of our people. The experience of the 13 years has proved this. We did commit certain serious mistakes in concretely applying it to the Indian conditions and practicing it. Due to this our movement did suffer serious setbacks. But this is only a partial truth. But where we have tried to build agrarian revolutionary movement, based on the mass line of the Party, we have been successful in getting positive results. In certain areas, the Communist Revolutionaries have been able to create relatively stable mass base for our movement. In some places, areas of resistance have sprung up. Some more are developing as areas of resistance. The Mizo-Naga Armed Struggle is still continuing. This experience proves that the path of People's War is the only path for the complete liberation of our people. We will take proper lessons from our past mistakes and are bound to advance. This is our firm confidence.

The election victories of the CPI and CPM have nothing to do with the Path of People's War. These election victories were there even earlier. But this did not advance the revolutionary movement in the country. They did not bring about any basic changes in the living conditions of people. The revisionists will be allowed to stay in power, as long as it suits the ruling classes. When they don't need the help of the revisionists, they are bound to be removed from power. This has been proved throughout history and in all countries. So the election victories or defeats of the revisionists cannot bring changes in our struggle for People's War. The election victories of the revisionists reflect to a certain extent, the election illusions of our people, their illusions on reforms and the weakness of the revolutionary movement under the leadership of our Party to galvanise the dissatisfaction of the masses towards Agrarian Revolution. Keeping these factors in view, the Communist Revolutionaries will decide on the necessary tactics of struggle. We should not allow ourselves to be subjected to any illusions on the election victories of the revisionists. That will only lead to the betrayal of the Path of People's War.

Now about the news of the reported talks between the CPM leadership and the CPC. If true, this is a problem concerning those two parties. We do wish and whole heartedly work for improving India-China friendship. To achieve this, with whom China and the CPC build their bridges of friendship in this country is their problem.

We only wish that such friendship does not cause harm to the growth of the revolutionary movement in this country.

But this should not mean any changes in our struggle for People's War or any rethinking about our ideological, political and organisational break with the CPM. Whatever be the intentions of such comrades, objectively it will lead to the betrayal of the revolutionary struggle in our country.

III. The Objective and Subjective Situation before and immediately after the Naxalbari Struggle

What was the political situation existing on the eve of the Naxalbari armed peasant struggle?

Congress is a big bourgeois-big landlord class party working in the interests of imperialism and the native big bourgeois, big landlord classes. It had been continuously in power both in the Centre and the states for a long time. In addition to Western capital, particularly from Britain and USA, the Congress government, opened the gates of our country to the penetration of our economy to capital from Soviet social imperialism and others leading to the intense rivalry of the imperialist countries for domination over our country.

This intense rivalry of the imperialist powers, led to deep divisions among the ruling classes in our country and splits in the ruling class party, leading to the formation of regional big bourgeois-big landlord groups and intensified rivalry among them for power both in the centre and in the state.

This reduced the Congress into a minority in a number of states, leading to the emergence of various types of bourgeois united front government with or without the support of the revisionists and neo-revisionists. Various sections of our people were seething with discontent and were taking to the path of struggle against the policies of exploitation pursued by the Congress government. Thus the economic and political crisis was deepening in the country and an excellent revolutionary situation was developing

Within the CPM, a two-line struggle was developing on various national and international ideological and political issues. With the emergence of the Naxalbari Armed Peasant Struggle and the CPM led government in West Bengal joined hands with the Congress government

in the centre to suppress it, the Communist Revolutionaries began revolting against the CPM leadership in various states.

We should keep in mind the following factors obtaining at the time of the break of the Communist Revolutionaries from the CPM.

- None of the nationally known leaders of the CPM broke away from the CPM. It was mostly leaders at the state levels who came with the revolutionary movement. Consequently the Communist Revolutionaries had to embark on the path of protracted People's War with no recognised all India leadership and without a deep understanding of the All India situation and of the level and problems in various states.

- Our understanding of People's War was not deep enough. in the beginning. The Telangana armed struggle had not been analysed by the previous leadership and proper lessons have not been drawn. So at the time of the Naxalbari struggle the Party was not armed with the lessons of Telangana struggle. Many of our cadres and leaders were not even the direct participants in that struggle. So we had to begin mobilising the people, particularly the peasants with practically no previous experience or a deep understanding of Agrarian Revolution - the political and organisational preparations necessary to launch a People's War in any particular area, the necessity of political and economic struggles in order to prepare the masses for People's War, the role of mass organisations in such a preparation, the necessity of direct participation of the masses to launch any armed struggle etc. We had only the general lessons of the Chinese revolution and the writings of Comrade Mao to guide us.

- Because of the uneven economic and political development of our country, the movement that came to us from the CPM was at different levels in various parts of the country. In certain pockets, the movement had reached a higher stage of armed struggle. In certain areas the movement had reached an agitational level. In some of the areas we had only individual contacts and mass movements had yet to be built as a necessary preparation for armed struggle. In a greater part of the country, the Communist Revolutionaries had no contacts at all. The economic and political conditions in each state were different from one another and the conditions of our movement too different from one another.

- After the Naxalbari armed uprising, the West Bengal leadership broke away from the CPM immediately. Earlier they had carried on certain ideological and political struggle against neo-revisionist policies of the CPM leadership. In some other states too immediately after Naxalbari, revolutionaries broke away from the CPM. In some other states, the Communist Revolutionaries continued ideological and political struggle as a preparation for a break with the CPM.

- This objective and subjective situation of our movement throughout the country demanded that the leadership heading the Naxalbari struggle and the leadership in the states to carefully discuss the concrete conditions in each state and study the experiences of each important struggle in each state. From this, general lessons should have been drawn and they should have been concretely applied to each state with a view to develop these movements towards Agrarian Revolutionary struggle. By implementing this line, new experiences would have been gained, and the general understanding of Agrarian Revolutionary struggle would have been enriched. It was necessary particularly at that time to repeat this method of functioning time and again. Only by persevering in this patient application of the mass line to advance our movements could we have succeeded in mobilising the people, step by step, to directly participate in the protracted People's War. Such patient work would also have enabled the party to create its own recognised all India leadership.

- Unfortunately, at the beginning of the movement we did not have such an all India leadership with a full understanding of the movement, its level and its specific problems in each state. They did not show enough patience to understand the level and specific problems of each movement in the states and learn from the experience of each movement. Instead, the leadership in each state thought that the experiences in their states had to be adopted as general lessons and to be applied in all other states. Based on this, a mechanical application of one's own experience to the All India movement was attempted.

Such a method would work only for a short time in the wake of the success of the mass struggles that burst forth after the Naxalbari struggle and the enthusiasm and hatred of the cadres towards revisionism and neo-revisionism. As the leadership slipped into left-adventurism, the movement received serious setbacks. In the wake of

these severe set-backs, loss of confidence in the All India leadership followed. This ultimately resulted in several splits, which has done immense damage to the Indian Revolution.

When we are discussing the mistakes of the past 13 years, we must keep these lessons in mind. It has got a bearing for the present too. Though our Party CPI(ML) under the leadership of the CC exists in some 15 states, the movements in the various states are at different levels, each movement with its own specific problems. The CC has not yet discussed in detail the experiences of the movements in each state, drawn general lessons and armed the Party cadres and members with these lessons. As a matter of fact, even though at present the party is leading many struggles, particularly peasant struggles in various states with the participation of thousands of people, the CC has so far failed to discuss these specific struggles and draw lessons from them. The CC members are mostly working in their own states, with a meagre knowledge of the situation in other states.

We must remember that because this was not done in the beginning at the time of Naxalbari struggle, some could easily turn the movement towards left adventurism with disastrous consequences for the revolutionary movement as a whole. Again in 1980, a section of the leadership could take a section of our party in West Bengal, Bihar and Assam to the path of right deviation.

So even today these weaknesses that were there in our movement at the beginning still persist in us. We should concentrate our efforts to overcome these weaknesses as soon as possible.

Keeping these weaknesses of our movement in mind at the beginning of the Naxalbari struggle, we should try and analyse the past 13 years of struggle. It is wrong to say that the slogan of annihilation of class enemies is alone responsible for all the mistakes our Party has committed in the past. That will be only a superficial understanding of our mistakes. The CC is of the opinion that our party leadership in the beginning committed serious errors in the programme and tactical path, in the assessment of the political situation from time to time and in Party building. Let us now discuss them in detail.

When we speak here of the objective and subjective situation existing in our movement at the time of the Naxalbari struggle, one

should not understand that the starting of the Naxalbari and other peasant struggles was not correct. They were absolutely correct and historically correct.

But because of these weaknesses, existing at the time of the Naxalbari struggle, the then leadership could easily take the comrades towards 'left' adventurism and bring immense damage to the whole revolutionary movement.

If these weaknesses were not there, the Party would have been able to follow the mass line to preserve and develop the earlier mass based armed peasant struggles and extend them to other areas and the revolutionary movement as a whole would have developed to a higher level.

IV. The Present Era is the Era of Imperialism and Proletarian Revolution

Our understanding of the nature of the recent Era was very wrong. This led to many serious mistakes of strategy and tactics.

All the Communist Revolutionaries including those in different groups had declared that this is an Era when imperialism is on the verge of final collapse and Socialism is advancing to final victory worldwide (AICCCR Second Declaration, May 14th, 1968).

Subsequent events have proved that this is completely a wrong characterisation of the present Era. The present era continues to be the era of imperialism and Proletarian Revolution as described by Lenin long ago.

This wrong assessment of the present Era had led the Party to commit many serious mistakes of strategy and tactics.

(1) Our Party leadership divided the world into two camps. The Second Declaration of the AICCCR mentioned above, declared US imperialism and their chief accomplices, Soviet neo-colonialists are the leaders of one camp, Socialist China and Chairman Mao are the leaders of the other camp.

Such a simple assessment of the various political forces working in the world proved to be wrong. It negates the inter- imperialist contradictions, particularly the contradictions between US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, the role of the Second World countries and the role of the Third World countries in the present day world.

(2) It minimised the contradictions of USA and Soviet Union who relentlessly contended for world domination and overstressed collusion between them. Contention and not collusion is basic. In the beginning all of us, while paying lip service to the contention of the two super powers, were overwhelmed by the collusion of Soviet social-imperialism with US imperialism against the world people and we even went to the extent of saying that the two super powers were conspiring for joint world domination, thus negating Lenin's theory on imperialism.

The political resolution of our Party (April 22, 1969) declared US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are using India as a main base for carrying out their strategy for joint world domination.

Over estimating collusion and under estimating contention between USA and USSR for world hegemony had its impact on our understanding the Indian situation too. It led our Party leadership not to see the contradictions between the pro-US sections and pro-Soviet sections of the ruling classes. Thus the Party could not utilise the contradictions of the ruling class groups in the interest of the revolutionary movement. We will discuss this aspect in greater detail later.

(3) This wrong understanding of the character of the present Era led some comrades to think that in the present Era a new world war could break out only between the two super powers on the one hand and Socialist China on the other.

Comrade Charu Mazumdar declared: "If the US imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists succeeded in launching a war of aggression against China which they are now frantically preparing, then India, a collaborator of US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism will be an aggressor country." (Collected Writings, Vol. 2, page 94).

We failed to understand that this is an imperialist Era. In this imperialist Era, war between the imperialist powers is a definite possibility. Though the contradiction between Socialist China and the Soviet Union is a basic contradiction, but still Soviet Union cannot think of a direct attack on Socialist China now before occupying or controlling the vast intermediate zone between Socialist China and Soviet Union. However, surprising attacks on Socialist China by the Soviet Union cannot be ruled out. Moreover, the two super powers

are feverishly contending for world hegemony. So for the Soviet Union, US imperialism has become the main and immediate enemy which it has to defeat in a new world war. It is also true that even if a new world war starts between the two super powers, ultimately, the war will reach Socialsit China, because China is the basic opposition to Soviet ambitions for world domination. So it was wrong on the part of our leadership to predict even in 1970 a new world war by the two super powers against China.

(4) Carried away by the thesis of world war between the two super powers on the one hand and China on the other, the leadership made curious formulations about Soviet backed Indian aggression against Pakistan and its dismemberment.

They declared : ***"So the aim of the US imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists to turn East Pakistan into a protectorate and a base against Socialist China and the world revolution has been achieved for the time being. Were the US imperialists opposed to the creation of 'Bangladesh'? It will be naive to think so. For this was the very thing they had been trying to accomplish for the past few years. While the support of the Soviet Imperialists was open and unashamed, the US imperialists' support to Indian aggression was hidden."*** (Comment, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1971-72, page 34).

Even such a clear event as the Soviet backed Indian aggression against Pakistan in its drive to dominate Asia was looked upon as a joint conspiracy of the two super powers against Pakistan. Instead of seeing the rivalry of the two super powers for domination in this part of the world and the Soviet aggression to throw out its chief rivall from this part of the world, our leadership could see only a joint conspiracy.

Not only that. Instead of looking at naked aggression of India against Pakistan with the active support of Soviet social imperialism, they saw this aggression as a stepping stone to attack China. They declared: ***"The aim of this war, supported and backed by Soviet social-imperialism is to 'contain' and attack People's China. Some time ago our beloved leader comrade Charu Mazumder said, "Chairman Mao's China may be attacked.' Today that possibility has very much increased. For, US imperialism and Soviet social-***

imperialism have been continuously launching wars of aggression to 'contain' and attack People's Republic of China. In Indo-China, US imperialism leads the attack, while Soviet social imperialism is in the rear. Here in Bangladesh the situation is in reverse. Hence both are colluding with each oither for launching wars of aggression to 'contain' and attack China, while at the same time, they contended with each other for spheres of influence." (Vol. 5, No. 1, 1971-72, page 152-153)

(5) Because of this wrong understanding of the character of the present Era and the lopsided and wrong understanding of the whole world situation, these comrades failed to understand the naked aggression of India against Pakistan with the active support of Soviet social imperialism and the right of the Pakistani people and government to resist this naked aggression, failed to support the just war of Pakistani people against Indian aggression. They failed to realise the necessity of world revolutionary forces to support the just war of the people and the government of Pakistan against the naked Indian aggression. It failed to realise the necessity of mobilising the Indian people against the naked aggression of the Indian reactionary government.

On the other hand this section of the comrades actually gave a call for armed struggle against both the Indian and Yahya government and for the creation of 'Sonar Bangla.' This was nothing but helping national chauvinism which was being whipped up in our country agaisnt both Pakistan and China. Thus they landed themselves in a position quite contrary to that of Socialist China which defended the just struggle of the Pakistani people and government against Indian aggression. But the then Central Committee of our Party and various other organisations of the Communist Revolutionaries, at that time, boldly stood up against the naked aggression of India against Pakistan and defended the just struggle of the Pakistan people and their government.

(6) Lastly, this characterisation of the present Era as one when 'Imperialism is on the verge of final collapse and Socialism is advancing towards worldwide victory' led the Party leadership to grossly underestimate the strength of imperialism and social-imperialism to struggle for survival and to grossly overestimate the strength of the world revolutionary forces to achieve final victory in the world. This

led to serious tactical blunders bringing several losses to the revolutionary movement in the country. We will discuss this subejct in depth in the following pages. Enough if we say here that this gross overestimation of the subjective forces led Comrade Charu Mazumdar to give fruitless calls like "make the 1970s a decade of liberation" and even predicted that our country would be liberated by 1975.

We could correct our wrong understanding about the character of the present Era only with the Three World Theory first propounded by Comrade Mao and the declaration of 10th Congress of the CPC.

In conclusion the CC firmly declares :

- This is an Era of imperialism and Proletarian Revolution as described by Lenin long ago.

- We firmly support the Three World Theory propounded by Comrade Mao and still being implemented by the present leadership of the CPC.

- At present the contradiction of the two super powers US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism and contradiction between the two super powers on the one hand and the world people on the other hand are the most important contradictions having the greatest impact on the world situation.

- The Third World countries, whose vanguard is Socialsit China have become the main force of struggle against the hegemonism of the two super powers. They should unite with the second world countries in this struggle.

- In the contention and collusion of the two super powers, contention is basic while collusion is temporary.

- Europe continues to be the focus of their contention for world domination.

- The rivalry of the two super powers is bound to lead to a new Third World War. Today Soviet Union is the chief source of war danger. Recently the factors of war are increasing.

- As Special Congress in its political resolution has stated: "That we should mobilise the people in support of all people's struggles against colonialism, neo-colonialism, against imperialism and social-imperialism, in particular against the hegemonism of the two super powers Soviet Union and USA - the common enemies of world people,

taking the Soviet Union as the greater danger to the Indian people, both nationally and internationally.

Taking Soviet Union as the chief source of war danger today, mobilise all the forces that could be united, to defeat specific Soviet aggression wherever and whenever it raises its head.

Combine these two struggles, advance the revolutionary movement step by step and bring about an international united front against the Soviet Union by uniting all the forces that could be united, and defeat Soviet social imperialism if it dares to start Third World War.

As the 11th Congress of the CPC has declared "main trend in the international situation is that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution and this no force can ever stem."

V. Mistakes in Programme

In the programme, we have to discuss our mistakes in the characterisation of neo-colonialism, the principal contradiction in India and the role of the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants in the People's Democratic Revolution.

1. Neo-colonialism

All the Communist Revolutionaries accepted and continue to accept the semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of our country. All of them agree that Soviet social-imperialism, US imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism are the main enemies of the Indian revolution and that People's Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the working class alone can achieve real liberation for our people.

But in the beginning we did not have a correct assessment of the role of the various imperialist powers in India. Accepting the semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of our state, we have also in the beginning described it as a neo- colony of the imperialist powers. The Party Programme (passed by the Party Congress, May 1970) declared: "India had turned into a neo-colony of US imperialism and convention of the APRCP in Andhra (April 1969) declared 'India is a neo- colonial country.'

This shows that we did not have a clear understanding of the differences between semi-colony and neo-colony. We equated the two.

We must fight the tendency to equate semi-colony with full independence or 'marginal' indepedence and equating semi-colony with neo-colony inside and outside the Party. We must make a clear distinction between the two.

Old colonialism means the direct occupation of the country by the imperialist army and bureaucracy. They directly rule the country through their army and bureaucracy with the help of certain traitors. These traitors do not represent any definite class in the country.

Semi-colonialism means nominal political independence but real economic dependence of the country on imperialism. The big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes rule the country. But their independence is nominal and their subservience to imperialism and social-imperialism is real. The big bourgeois big landlord classes change their allegiance to various imperialist powers depending on the balance of forces among the imperialist powers in the world and in their own interest.

In a semi-colonial country domestic classes the big bourgeois, big landlord classes rule the country in alliance with imperialism and social-imperialism. Imperialism and social imperialism try to influence the internal and external policies of the government in their favour through their economic, political and military penetration of the country.

In a semi-colonial country, the big bourgeois - big landlord classes have got relative freedom to have economic, political and diplomatic relations with various imperialist powers, but subservient to them.

We must keep one more factor in mind in this regard. After the Second World War, world-imperialist system as a whole has been terribly weakened. With the victory of the Chinese Revolution, and the growth of national liberation movements in the Third World countries, the world imperialist system has been further weakened. In the place of many imperialist powers, contending for world domination, as before in the Second World War, today only two super powers, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism have emerged on the world arena to contend for world domination. In this particular situation, the bargaining capacity of the big bourgeois big landlord classes has increased. But one should not misunderstand this increased bargaining capacity of the big bourgeois big landlord classes for independence,

they still remain comprador in nature, subservient to imperialism and social imperialism.

Neo-colonialism is colonialism of a new type. Under the old colonialism there is direct occupation of the country by the imperialist army and the imperialists rule the country with their army along with a few native traitors. In neo-colonialism, the imperialists rule the country through their economic, political, cultural and military domination. They rule the country without direct occupation of the country by their military but with the aid of a few traitors of a society, or a small section of a ruling class. A country can be a neo-colony of a single imperialist power as we have described in our Programme passed by our Special Congress in October 1980.

The Marxist-Leninists of Thailand, Indonesia and Philippines describe their countries as neo-colonies of US imperialism. The Marxist-Leninists of Malaysia describe their country as a neo-colony of Britain. Such conditions do not exist in India. We must also reject the theory of those who advocated in 1979-80 that our country is under the 'exclusive' hegemony of Soviet social-imperialism which means that our country has already become a neo-colony of the Soviet Union.

No doubt the danger of our country becoming a neo- colony of the Soviet Union has increased but still it is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, subjected to the rivalry of the various imperialist powers for domination, particularly the rivalry of the two super powers, with Soviet Union having the upper hand.

2. Principal Contradiction

Since so called transfer of power in 1947, the biggest failure of the communist movement has been identifying the principal contradiction in our society at present, even many Communist Revolutionaries have so far failed to correctly identify the principal contradiction.

The overwhelming majority of Communist Revolutionaries in India have so far been holding the view that the principal contradiction in our country at present is between feudalism and the broad masses of the people.

Our own experience in struggle and further study of the teachings of Stalin and Mao, and the experience of the Chinese Revolution has convinced our Special Congress that the above formulation is inadequate.

The above formulation does not clearly bring out the continuing dominant role of imperialism in influencing the internal and external policies of the Indian government. The Indian ruling classes are subservient to imperialism and social-imperialism.

While identifying imperialism and social-imperialism, comprador bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism as the principal enemies of the Indian Revolution, it failed to show the economic and political link between these various forces.

Imperialism, while in occupation, ruled the country through its military and puppets. But after the transfer of power, imperialism has made an alliance with the big bourgeois, big landlord classes to continue and increase its exploitation. The Indian ruling classes need the support of imperialism to maintain the present semi-colonial semi-feudal setup. Hence the alliance between imperialism (including social imperialism), comprador bureaucrat capitalism and landlords is established. Imperialism is the leader of this alliance.

The Programme passed by our recent Special Congress has described principal contradiction thus: "India is a vast semi-colonial and semi-feudal country where over 80% of the population resides in the villages. They are subjected to semi-feudal oppression and exploitation. Feudalism is an ally and social base of imperialism. The problem of emancipation of the peasants becomes the key problem of Indian revolution."

Therefore, out of all the major contradictions, existing in our country, i.e., the contradictions between imperialism and the nation, between feudalism and broad masses of the people, between bourgeoisie and proletariat and between different sections of the ruling classes, two contradictions are the basic.

They are the contradiction between imperialism and the nation and contradiction between feudalism and broad masses of the people. These two basic contradictions decisively influence the course of Indian revolution. The way these two basic contradictions express themselves in the period of semi- colonial and semi-feudal society, make the contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism on the one hand and the broad masses of the Indian people on the other, the principal contradiction

and Agrarian Revolution is the main content of the New Democratic Revolution. Throughout the period of New Democratic Revolution, imperialism dominates economic, political and military affairs of our country. The principal contradiction will change, when our country is subjected to foreign imperialist aggression or when our country is converted into a neo-colony of any one of the super powers into one of the nation versus imperialism.

Since imperialism is the leader of this alliance we should in the interest of the Indian Revolution, utilise the contradictions of the various imperialist powers and their allies in India, exploiting our country.

3. Attitude to Comprador Bourgeoisie, National Bourgeoisie and Rich Peasantry

On the question of relationship between imperialism and the comprador bourgeoisie, Comrade Mao, while generalising the experiences of the Chinese Revolution for all the semi- colonial countries says: In some experience In our Party's History: "Different sections of the comprador bourgeoisie belong to the monopoly capitalist groups of different imperialist countries such as the US, Britain and France. In the struggle against various comprador groups, it is necessary to exploit the contradictions between imperialist countries, first coping with one of them and striking at the chief immediate enemy."

Our party failed to correctly grasp the relationship between imperialism, inter-imperialist contradictions and the contradiction among various ruling class groups in India and how to deal with them. Since our country emerged from direct colonial control of imperialism to indirect semi-colonial control, several imperialist powers have been oppressing the people in alliance with the comprador bourgeoisie and big landlords. Imperialism has occupied the dominant position in this alliance and therefore inter-imperialist contradiction is being reflected itself as contradiction among various ruling class groups. Failure to understand and utilise it has been harmful to the cause of building a strong revolutionary movement. In our country social-imperialism, US imperialism, comprador- bureaucrat capital and feudalism are the main enemies of the people and the alliance of working class, peasants, urban middle classes and national bourgeoisie has to be forged to overthrow them. National bourgeoisie and rich peasants are not targets

for attack in the stage of New Democratic Revolution. But our leadership failed to understand it and took a wrong attitude towards national bourgeoisie and rich peasants.

At the time of Party Congress in 1970, there existed serious differences on the attitude of the Party towards the national bourgeoisie. Those who advanced that the entire bourgeoisie in India was comprador in nature argued that India was for a long time a colonial country under the direct rule of a single imperialist power, British imperialism and it could not develop a national bourgeois strata. Whereas China was semi-colonial country where many imperialists contended and this made the emergence and the growth of a national bourgeois strata possible. They referred to the participation of the national bourgeoisie led by Sun-Yet Sen in armed struggle against imperialism, their alliance with the CPC and their policy of friendship with the Soviet Union and showed that in India there were no such actions by any section of the bourgeoisie. Others seriously opposed this conception and demanded that existence of the national bourgeoisie should be recognised and it should be included as a partner in the People's Democratic Front.

Not able to solve these differences, finally it was agreed to treat the entire bourgeoisie as comprador but to include 'even a section of the small and middle bourgeoisie in the front', thinking that this section was bound to develop contradictions with the comprador bourgeoisie when armed struggle reached a particular point.

Even this compromising formula did not hold for long. In later writings of Liberation, the official organ of the CPI(ML), wrote: ***"In a semi-colonial country, national bourgeoisie is tied to the comprador bourgeoisie.***

This shows that a section of our leadership at that time did not even recognise the dual role of the national bourgeoisie opposing imperialism and big bourgeoisie big landlord classes when suppressed and supporting them when threatened by revolution. They were not prepared to see the antagonistic contradiction of the national bourgeoisie with imperialism and the big bourgeoisie-big landlord classes. Even though it is today tied to these classes, one should not overlook the fact that when revolutionary movement advances and becomes an alternative to the big bourgeois, big landlord class rule,

and join the revolutionary front. We should also keep in mind that a section of the national bourgeoisie, in the process of struggle may become neutral and that a section having connections with imperialism and comprador classes may join counter-revolution. Revolutionaries hold the national bourgeoisie to be a vacillating ally and include it in the revolutionary front. It is absolutely wrong to say that the national bourgeoisie is always tied to the comprador bourgeoisie.

Instead of seeing this truth, a section of the leadership even began explanations to prove that the national bourgeoisie is always tied to the comprador bourgeoisie. Liberation wrote: ***"First the small and middle bourgeoisie take help from the compradors for their capital. Secondly, they have to purchase raw materials for their industry from the comprador bourgeoisie. Thirdly, they have to take help from the comprador bourgeoisie for the improvement and expansion of their industry. Fourthly, the comprador bourgeoisie is the buyer of a big, small and middle bourgeoisie. Fifthly, in opposing the working class they are united with the comprador bour- geoisie. Sixthly, a portion of the accumulated profits of the small and middle bourgeoisie which they set apart as reserve fund used for purchasing shares of the big industrial enterprises of the comprador bourgeoisie."*** (Vol. 5, No. 1, page 7, 1971-72).

With such wrong arguments the national bourgeoisie was excluded from the revolutionary front in practice and a line of struggle adopted towards them with bad results.'

Similarly an attitude of antagonism and struggle was adopted by a section of the Party leadership towards the rich peasants. In the stage of New Democratic Revolution, Marxist- Leninists always hold that the rich peasant has antagonistic contradictions with feudalism and it has to be won to the side of the revolution. It is true that this section sometimes sides with the big landlord classes and can join the people in their struggle against these classes. Therefore we include them in the People's Democratic Front.

But Comrade Charu Mazumdar had different ideas about the role of the rich peasants in the Indian Revolution. He declared: "the rich peasants in our country, indulge in mainly feudal exploitation. Therefore our relation with the rich peasants will be the relationship of struggle."

Thus a section of our leadership did not consider the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants as part of the People's Democratic Front. Such an attitude only drove our friends and allies, however vacillating, into the enemy camp.

This shows that instead of combining the anti-feudal tasks in our Revolution, the leadership tries to combine the tasks of the New Democratic Revolution with the tasks of the Socialist Revolution. Let us remember that once earlier in the past, the communist movement in our country under the leadership of B.T. Ranadive had landed itself in such 'Left' adventurism. This time too a section of the leadership followed the same line and it is no surprise that our Party again landed itself in 'Left' adventurism.

VI. Tactical Mistakes

Above, we have seen the mistakes we committed in the Programme. Now let us see, in depth, the mistakes that a section of our leadership had committed in the tactical path with more disastrous consequences.

Right from the beginning of the Naxalbari struggle, we have been vigorously propagating that the path of Protracted People's War is the only path for the complete liberation of our people.

While accepting this general orientation, we launched ourselves on this Path without a deep understanding about this struggle. Flushed with the first successes, the leadership of the Party, step by step, slipped into 'Left' adventurism and followed basically wrong tactical path divorced from the masses. The leadership forgot the basic truth that People's War can be conducted only with the direct participation of the masses and that revolutionary war can be conducted by the masses themselves under the leadership of the Party. Let us see our mistakes in depth.

1. Refusal to see the Uneven Development of the Areas and the Movement

Our country, being a vast, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, its economic and political development is uneven. Consequently, the development of the people's movement under the leadership of the Party is also uneven. Taking this unevenness of the movement into consideration the Party leadership should have formualted not only

the general line of the Party but also specific fighting and agitational slogans suitable to the level of the movement and the consciousness of the people in each specific area. Only by adopting such tactics of struggle, could we have advanced the people's movement in each area towards Agrarian Revolution.

Instead of following such a differentiated approach that was suited to the needs of each specific area, the leadership applied the same tactics in all areas irrespective of the level of the movement in different areas, ultimately reducing it to the single slogan of "annihilation of class enemies" as the only tactics of struggle.

Naturally fighting and agitational slogans which do not keep to the level of the movement, to the consciousness and preparedness of the people to participate in the struggle for the realisation of such slogans, cannot inspire the masses and the movement is bound to fail. By trying to apply the absolutely wrong slogan of "annihilation of class enemies" and adopting tactics that did not suit to the level of the movement and the consciousness of the people in all areas, we got isolated from the masses and suffered serious setbacks.

2. Failure to see the Strategic Importance of Mountainous, Forest Areas as Base Areas

Protracted People's War cannot be conducted without creating base areas. In theory everyone accepts this. The experience of the Chinese Revolution has shown us that "these areas are mainly of three types those in the mountains, on the plains and the river-lake sanctuary regions." Further, "base areas in the mountainous regions could be maintained for the longest time and are most important strongholds for the war of resistance." Comrade Mao has also said that "base areas in the plains are less suitable than those in the mountainous regions" that it is possible to establish only temporary base areas in the plains, and that even these have to be shifted to the mountainous areas in the wake of repeated attacks of the enemy.

Keeping these lessons and our own specific conditions in mind, we should have selected strategic forests and mountainous areas and concentrated there and in the surrounding plain areas to create the base areas. We should have given top priority to build the movement in those areas.

But our leadership rejected all such proposals for selection and concentration. The leadership even propagated the idea that the "danger of taking shelter in the mountains is that the possibility of becoming isolated from the broad masses becomes greater, that if we go to the mountainous regions, the enemy's encirclement and suppression campaign becomes easy." (Liberation, Vol. No. 1, page 9, 1971-72). The idea of giving priority to building the people's movement in the forest and mountainous areas was ridiculed as a 'jungle theory' as abandonment of work in the plain areas. They blindly declared that we build base areas wherever the people are, forgetting the limitations of the plains as base areas.

Experience has proved that by concentrating in the Godavary Valley area, we have not only been able to preserve our movement, but have also extended it to the plain areas of Telangana.

3. Combining the Main Form of Struggle, Armed Struggle with other forms of struggle

Comrade Mao teaches us that the "revolutionary war is a war of masses." It is not enough if our cadres and militants accept the path of People's War. Overwhelming majority of the people in the area must accept this path. They should realise through their own experience the necessity of directly participating in the People's War. Our political propaganda, our political and economic struggles all must help the people to realise the necessity of such a struggle. Only then will the people directly participate in such a struggle and make it a success. It is not enough if they merely sympathise with our struggle. The participation of hundreds of people in giving shelter and food', in 'collective intelligence about the enemy's position', 'guarantee of passage for retreat' and advance of guerillas', 'participation in the celebration of victories after a successful attack', 'the functioning of Krishak Samithis' and Peoples court' is not sufficient for the success of People's War. This can at best be called active sympathy of the masses for the struggle. We cannot conduct People's War merely with the active sympathy of the masses. The conception that "the peasants wage war through their guerillas" (Liberation, Sept., 1969, page 24) cannot mobilise the masses for direct participation in the People's War which is the only guarantee for its success.

People must directly participate in all aspects of People's War participation in anti-feudal struggles including the land struggle, in the

formation of the village volunteer squads, local guerilla squads, regular guerilla squads, regular Red Army, village revolutionary committee, government organisations at all levels in the base areas in the resistance against landlords, police and military. Only then People's War will advance to success. As Comrade Mao described it, "Guerilla warfare is basically organised by the masses, and there is no possibility for it to survive and develop once it is cut loose from the people or fail to attract the participation and co-operation of the broad masses."

How to prepare the people for such a direct participation in the struggle? That is the single biggest problem facing the Communist Revolutionaries in India. For this we must mobilise the people for anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, we must fight for the immediate economic and political demands of the people.

We must take the Agrarian Revolutionary struggle as the main content of the People's Democratic Revolution. As part of the Agrarian Revolutionary struggle, the anti-feudal struggles must be intensified. These anti-feudal struggles must be developed to the stage of the seizure of the lands of the landlords. The struggle-for the seizure of these lands is the highest task of the Agrarian Revolutionary struggle. These struggles must be conducted with a view to destroy the authority of the landlords and establish the authority of the agricultural labourers and peasants. The agricultural labourers and poor peasants must form the main base of the Agrarian Revolutionary struggle. In the anti-feudal struggles the people must be roused and prepared from the beginning for resistance against landlord-goonda violence, the police and the military. For this in the anti-feudal struggles, the people must be armed with traditional weapons from the beginning of the struggle.

The economic and political struggles of the people must be combined with the propagation of revolutionary politics in order to continually raise the political consciousness of the people. During the course of the struggles, the role of imperialism in India, its suppression and exploitation, particularly of the two super powers, the role of the big bourgeois, big landlord parties, the role of the revisionist and neo- revisionist parties as accomplices of the ruling classes should be brought forward and thus the people must be mobilised for struggle against the alliance of imperialism (including social-imperialism), comprador-bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism.

The peasant struggle should be combined with the struggle in cities and towns, with the workers' struggles and struggles of the students and other middle class people.

In the course of these struggles, the mass organisations of the various exploited classes, particularly the organisations of the workers, peasants, youth, women, students, and middle class employees should be slowly developed so that they help the emergence of organs of people's power. Along with this, village volunteer squads should be organised to lead the struggles and lead in resistance against landlord-goonda-police violence.

We should be conscious of the path that all anti-feudal struggles should be linked with the propagation of revolutionary politics of Armed Agrarian Revolution and with building the Party. We should adopt the necessary forms of struggle in all stages in keeping with the level of consciousness of the people, raise their consciousness and through a long process of consolidation and extension prepare the people for armed struggle against the state.

In the course of such a struggle, local and regular guerilla units have to be organised and this struggle should be slowly developed into regular guerilla squads with the active support and participation of the masses. Such a struggle should be linked with the struggle for land. The struggle for land and the struggle for power are closely linked.

In the course of regular guerilla struggle, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) should be formed in accordance with the lessons in Path Document. It is by combining all these forms of struggle and by conducting long and hard process of regular guerilla struggle and developing on the national and international situation, that we could advance and establish liberated areas, spread them throughout the countryside, surrounding the cities and thus achieve final victory in our People's War.

These immediate economic and political struggles should be conducted on the basis of united front tactics, uniting with all those who can be united on those issues utilising the contradictions of the ruling class parties and groups, in order to isolate the main enemy and defeat it.

It is by following such a mass line in mobilising the people,

particularly the peasants, to directly participate in the People's War that we can implement comrade Mao's teaching ***"in China, war is the main form of struggle and army is the main form of organistion. Other forms such as mass organisations and mass struggles are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances can be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve war."***

As Comrade Mao said, stressing armed struggle does not mean abandoning other forms of struggle. On the contrary armed struggles cannot succeed unless coordinated with other forms of struggle.

But the leadership of the Party refused to follow such a mass line in mobilising the people for People's War. It rejected the path of conducting people's struggles on their immediate economic and political demands. The Party leadership at that time declared that mass movements and mass organisations increase the tendency for open and economic movement (Liberation, Dec. 1969, page 11) that there were ***"impedements in the development of armed struggles"*** that 'neither mass organisations are indispensable for waging guerilla warfare in the present era', that they are nothing but 'economic inducements'. But we should remember that mass struggles and mass organisations, open or secret as the situation demands, are indispensable throughout the period of People's War.

Abandoning the mass line, abandoning the path of mobilising the people for immediate economic and political demands, rejecting the method of building mass organisations, the leadership began teaching that the propagation of politics, forming of guerilla squads out of a few militants and killing of landlords was the tactical path for People's War. They began teaching that "Political propaganda and annihilation of class enemies are the two political tasks" (Liberation Octo., 1969, page 31) and declared that "when guerilla units begin to act in this manner in any area the class enemies will be forced to flee from the countryside and the villages will be liberated." (Liberation, November 1969, page 74).

As a climax to this line of action divorced from the participation of the masses, the leadership developed the theory of "battle of annihilation of class enemies" as the only tactical slogan for People's War with the most disastrous results for the revolutionary movement in the country.

1. So-called Battle of Annihilation of Class Enemies as the only form of Guerilla Struggle

Having rejected the idea of preparing the people politically and organisationally to directly participate in the People's War, having adopted the line of "annihilation of class enemies" as the only form of struggles the leadership began theorising on the greatness of this "annihilation of class enemies." They said "annihilation of class enemies is the higher form of class struggle."

What an absurd theory! As the class struggle of the exploited mass advances, the ruling class and government resort to ruthless repression to suppress the just struggle of the people. Then the people, depending on their consciousness and preparedness are forced to take to arms and fight back the repression. With this, class struggle of the people advances from the stage of agitation to the higher form of struggle, the armed struggle. Thus armed struggle is the higher form of class struggle.

It is absurd to say that the killing of a few landlords, "the annihilation of class enemies" is a higher form of class struggle. Wicked landlords, who become the most cruel enemies of the people are bound to be killed by the people both in the lower and higher forms of class struggle. It is absurd to say that the landlords are killed only in the stage of armed struggle. It is even more absurd to say that the killing of individual landlords is the higher form of struggle.

They further declared: "the act of annihilating class enemies through guerilla action is the primary stage of the guerilla struggle."

What an absurd theory again! What an atrocious theory! We have heard of guerilla struggle growing out of class struggles. The aim of such a guerilla struggle is to destroy the semi-feudal and semi-colonial set up in the country.

Comrade Mao has recognised three stages in the guerilla struggle - the period when the strength of the enemy is superior to us, the period when our strength and that of the enemy is equal, and the period when our strength is superior to that of the enemy.

There is no such thing as the killing of landlords individually to be the primary stage of the guerilla struggle. The aim of the guerilla struggle throughout its existence is to destroy the class system of exploitation. Its aim is, as described by Comrade Mao ***"to wipe out***

the landlords as a class and not as individuals."

According to the leadership it was not necessary to mobilise the people on their immediate economic and political demands, or build their mass organisations. It was not necessary, according to them, that the people should participate in all aspects of People's War, enough if they helped us indirectly. How to create the base areas then? From where is the PLA to be formed then? Annihilation of class enemies and propagation of politics, according to them, were the two magic weapons to create the base areas and PLA.

How was it sought to be implemented? Liberation says: ***"How to form guerilla squads? Complete secrecy must be observed! The unit must be secret from those among the local people whose vigilance has not yet reached the required level and even from those party units which have not yet fully mastered the methods and discipline required for illegal work. The conspiracy should be between individuals and on a person to person basis.... the petty bourgeois intellectuall..... take the initiative..... approach the poor peasant who has the most revolutionary potentiality, and whisper in his ears 'Don't you think it is a good thing to finish off such and such jotedar'..... This is how the guerillas have to be selected and recruited singly and secretly and organised into a unit.*** (Collected Writings, Vol. 1, page 130).

From this, one thing is clear. It is not the necessities of class struggle, the people's movements that leads to the creation of village volunteer squads. According to them, the masses need not be roused to fight against the landlords and organised to defend themselves against landlord violence. It is enough, they say, if a petty bourgeois intellectual ***"Whispers into the ears of a discontended poor peasant, select such elements in a squad, make them agree to kill a landlord and this to be done even without the knowledge of the local people and even without the knowledge of the local Party unit."***

The whole conception has nothing to do with the conception that revolutionary war and prepare people politically and organisationally to directly participate in the People's War. This is pure and simple individual or squad terrorism.

How did our leadership want to create a base area? Not, by rousing the people for such a struggle. Not by making the people directly

participate in such a struggle. Not by creating a regular PLA out of such people's struggles for land and political power. But by creating conspiratorial squads and killing a few landlords and making the rest of the landlords flee from the area and the area itself is liberated!

After having said that "it is imperative to propagate fairly to a considerable extent the politics of seizure of politcal power by armed forces among the masses" in the next breath they say, "but it would be wrong to put too much stress on the importance of carrying out an intensive propaganda before starting guerilla attacks" and "the peasants have to seize power locally in their respective areas so that the peasant masses themselves, instead of the feudal exploiters, become the sole authority in settling all their local affairs. This is precisely why we must begin by eliminating the local class enemies." Once an area is liberated from the clutches of the class enemies...." But how are they to be eliminated 'some are eliminated while some others flee'. What a simple method to create liberated zones? But in reality what an utter caricature of Marxism-Leninism and the concept of People's War!

Because the whole conception was against rousing the masses for direct participation in People's War, against guerilla struggle based on the participation of the masses but only on secret squads and killing of individual landlords, naturally they did not feel the necessity of modern weapons and even created theories against the use of modern weapons.

It is absolutely true that protracted People's War mainly depends on the consciousness of the people. It is also true that the people should depend on the locally available weapons. But it is also equally true to say that we should seize modern weapons from the enemy and procure them when available and strengthen ourselves.

An armed struggle of the masses against the state machinery does require both offensive and defensive actions. Particularly in the beginning when the people's forces are inferior to the far superior forces of the enemy, the people's forces must depend more on the defensive action, preserve their small forces and slowly grow into a big force. Of course, sometimes offensive actions will be necessary but the purpose of even these offensive actions should be self-defence. The purpose of defensive actions is to enable the people's forces to gather necessary strength for the purpose of offensive actions against

the enemy forces. This is the basic relationship between defensive and offensive actions..

Having taken to the path of individual terrorism through secret squads, the leadership began deriding all thought of self-defence and began urging only offensive actions and termed all thought of self-defence as revisionism or cowardice.

They declared: ***"Forget all ideas of self-defence, attack and destroy the enemy", "do not worry about unnecessary losses", "any emphasis on self-preservation will inevitably encourage revisionism within us"*** etc., etc. Such one-sided stress on offensive actions naturally led to disastrous results.

5. Rejection of the correct path of Revolutionary Trade Unionism in our work in the cities

In our country the peasantry is the main force of the revolution and the working class is the leader of the revolution. Worker-peasant alliance is the core of the People's Democratic Front. The path of People's War means setting up of liberated areas, one by one, in the rural areas, throughout the country and surrounding the cities and towns and finally capturing them. This means that we should not take any premature insurrectionary action in the cities, which will be easily crushed by the enemy. This means that we should build the revolutionary forces in the cities, particularly among the working class and patiently wait to start the insurrection when the PLA is able to advance towards the cities.

In India today we have greater number of industries and a larger number of industrial workers than China had in 1927. So the working class in India has to play a greater role by its own actions to lead the Agrarian Revolutionary Struggle. This means that we should build revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the cities and in the main important industrial centres. What are the tasks necessary to build the revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the country?

- Rouse the workers for economic and political demands. Extensively propagate revolutionary politics of Agrarian Revolution among the working class and thus politicalise the working class.

- Carry on intensive political and ideological battle against economism and legal trade unionism preached by the revisionists and

the neo-revisionists, bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties and thus win the working class for agrarian revolutionary struggle.

- Working class and other sections of the city population should be repeatedly roused for political struggles against the present government and against imperialism and social-imperialism.

- Build the mass trade union organisations of the workers to lead their struggles for immediate economic and political demands.

- In building the trade unions, we should combine the work in Trade Unions under the leadership of others with the aim of winning over the workers in those trade unions with the building of our own trade unions taking care that the workers are politically mobilised to willingly join IFTU. No trade union should be organised in strategic defence and government employees organisations.

- Organise secret militant groups and Party cells in the trade unions whether under our leadership or under the leadership of others and thus build secret party units among the working class. These party activists and party members should in general openly work among the working class as Trade Unionists and not open party workers. Only well-known party leaders should work among the working class openly as party leaders. All others should work, in general, openly as trade union activists.

- The workers should be repeatedly brought forward in solidarity campaign in support of the struggles of other sections of the people, particularly the peasant struggles.

- Class conscious workers imbued with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and with the concept of Agrarian struggle should be encouraged to go to the rural areas and lead the struggles.

- In building the revolutionary trade union movement, we should utilise all the existing legal opportunities to the maximum extent possible. At the same time we should be prepared according to the twists and turns in the situation, to function trade unions in secret manner or penetrate other trade unions or work as a faction among them.

- The leading role of working class in the New Democratic Revolution through its direct particiaption and through its vanguard, the CPI(ML) was virtually denied in the past. This weakness has to be overcome.

- In conducting the trade union struggles give importance to political struggles. In building the Trade Unions, combine work in other unions with building IFTU Unions. In combining the legal and illegal work, give greater importance to building the secret party units among the working class.

These are the most important tasks to be implemented in building the revolutionary trade union movement in the cities and towns. In implementing these tasks, Party units should give priority to strategic industries. We should also give priority to the major industrial centres and railway junctions.

Giving priority to building the peasant movement does not mean abandoning work in the working class. Both should be properly combined. Where we are strong among the peasants and weak in the trade unions, we should plan to strengthen the trade union movement, while continuing the peasant movement. Where we are strong in the trade unions and weak in the peasant movement, we should consciously plan to strengthen the peasant movement so that it becomes the major part of our movement in that area.

But our leadership in the beginning rejected this allround conception on building the revolutionary trade union movement. All thought of conducting the struggles of the workers on their immediate economic and political demands and all demands to build the trade union organisations was condemned as revisionism. The necessity of combining legal and illegal work was rejected and legal activities were condemned as revisionism. Even the small number of Unions we had in the beginning of struggle were abandoned: in majority areas all work in the cities and towns came to a dead stop.

Such a sectarian attitude to the work in the working class was justified by creating new theories. They said: "It is ordinary workers who will conduct trade union struggles. Our comrades will do the work of building the underground party by propagating politics. But party cadres will in no circumstances get themselves involved in these struggles."

Trade unions serve as training schools for the proletariat only when there is no revolutionary situation in a country and when the bourgeoisie appears to be quite strong and the proletariat considers itself very weak.

But in another situation, that is when a revolutionary situation prevails and when any struggle rapidly develops into an open clash with the state power, in such revolutionary situation the Party organisation becomes the only class organisation of the proletariat.

A similar attitude was taken towards building the student and youth movements in the cities and towns. All attempts at mobilising these sections on struggles for their immediate economic and political demands and the necessity of building their mass organisations were condemned as revisionism. Even the important role that the students could play in the political and particularly in the anti-imperialist struggles was abandoned.

And as the movement in the rural areas suffered serious setbacks, the flagging enthusiasm of the students were channelised into destructive actions in the cities and towns in the name of "cultural revolution", by calling them to such action as (a) destroying schools, colleges, libraries and laborataries, (b) breaking up of idols of all sorts, (c) attacking clubs and recreation halls, (d) annihilating small and middle traders, businessmen, merchants and capitalists and (e) annihilating general cadres of the revisionist parties.

These activities have nothing to do with any cultural revolution least of all the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China which took place after the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. We have to fight colonial and feudal culture. We must fight for new democratic cultural institutions but it can be achieved only gradually replacing the colonial and feudal culture with a new democratic culture and it can be achieved only after establishment of People's Democracy.

Instead of that, destruction of bourgeois cultural institutions or idol breaking can never lead to People's Democratic Revolution. People could never accept such methods. They only look at it as destructive activities. With such method our Party students and youth were isolated from the mainstream of the broad masses of students and youth and became an easy target for destruction by the enemy.

6. Rejection of the United Front Line

Comrade Mao has taught us that the Chinese Revolution could achieve success because the Party there was able to forge three magic weapons - creation of a powerful PLA, United Front of the democratic classes the workers, peasants, urban middle classes and the national

bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class - and a strong, disciplined broad based Communist Party, based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. These three tasks have to be combined from the beginning of the struggle because they are interlinked.

Our Party leadership, as described earlier, completely failed to identify correctly the main enemies and the main friends of the revolution. It failed to take a correct attitude towards the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants. The leadership wrongly assessed the whole bourgeoisie being comprador in nature and therefore took a line of struggle against the national bourgeoisie. They wrongly identified rich peasants dependent on feudal exploitation and took a line of struggle against the rich peasants.

In the later stages, the leadership went still more when they declared: ***"Any thought of making a front with middle peasants or other forces of revolution at this stage will only adversely affect fundamental work of grasping the Party's class line" (Liberation,* Vol. No. 1, July 1971, Jan. 1972, page 85).** What is meant by other forces of revolution? It can only mean the workers, urban middle classes and the national bourgeoisie. Thus the leadership abandoned the path of worker-peasant alliance. They abandoned the path of winning over the middle peasants. They treated the rich peasants and the nationai bourgeoisie as enemies of the revolution. Whom do they want us to rely upon for the Democratic Revolution? Only the agricultural labourers and poor peasants! That means in practice they rejected the task of building People's Democratic Front.

As described earlier, in practice, they denied all struggles of the peasants for their immediate economic and political demands particularly the land struggle. They opposed all Trade Union struggles on immediate economic and political demands. They opposed the building of mass organisations, either of the peasants, the workers or students or youth.

Having rejected the day to day struggles of the masses both economic and political, they never felt the necessity of investigating the various class divisions in society, the contradictions of the various imperialist powers, exploiting and suppressing our country, the contradictions of the various political parties and groups and utilise

them in building the people's struggles and movements, to isolate the main enemy and defeat the enemy one by one.

On the other hand they declared: "Today all the political parties of India have turned into active accomplices of US imperialism, social-imperialism and Indian reactionaries and become enemies of the revolution." (Collected Works, Vol. 2, page 12).

Of course all big bourgeois, big landlord parties are always opposed to Agrarian Revolution and are allies of one or the other imperialism. The revisionist parties are the faithful accomplices of social-imperialism. But on this score not to see the contradictions and conflicts among the ruling class parties and groups including the revisionists and neo- revisionists and to utilise them in building the people's struggles and movements is nothing but short-sightedness.

The growing dissatisfaction of the masses with the ruling class parties and groups, the growing people's struggles, the growing economic and political crisis, and above all the rivalry of the two super powers, Soviet social-imperialism and US imperialism, for hegemony over India is resulting in growing conflicts and splits among the ruling class groups and parties and intensifying the instability of the ruling classes as a whole.

In such a situation, a revolutionary party should utilise the contradictions of the ruling class parties and groups, the contradictions of the two super powers, taking particularly the Soviet Union and its allies as the greater danger, isolate and defeat our enemies one by one. A section of Communist Revolutionaries never looked at the problems from this angle. That is why this section failed to understand the significance of the people's movement under the leadership of JP before Emergency. They were satisfied with verbal condemnation of the whole movement as the manouvre of pro-US forces. They failed to see that the dissatisfied masses were rallying for struggle against the then pro-Soviet government. They failed to see the necessity of utilising the contradictions of the ruling class parties, to join the movement of the people, champion their demands and try to win them for higher forms of struggle, to the extent we could, while at the same time exposing the aims of the pro-US sections. To the extent we successfully did it, our Party could get positive results for the movement.

Thus we could see how our leadership was opposed to the concept of united front tactics of struggle from the very beginning.

They even opposed Communist Revolutionaries joining the national struggles, the struggles for self-determination of nationalities. They declared: ***"Many people think that the Communist Party should lead the various national struggles..... each struggle of the nationalities. This is an erroneous idea. The Communists should not be leaders of national struggles... the duty of the Communists is to develop class struggles and not national struggles. We, Communists can never become leaders of national struggles even if we try and on the eve of victory of every national struggle will ultimately be transformed into class struggles."*** (Collected Works, Vol. 2, page 240).

This is nothing but a bunch of absurd ideas. The utmost that they concede is that we should support the right of self determination to the nationalities and unity with the nationalities.

Self-determination for nationalities is part of the Democratic Revolution and the struggle for nationalities succeeds when the Democratic Revolution succeeds. As self-determination for nationalities is part of our programme we should fight for it, taking into consideration the specific circumstances in the particular area, where it arises, as our Programme has said "Unification of India and recognition of the right of self- determination to all nationalities, autonomy to all the nationalities and protection of the rights of national and religious minorities. We support only such struggle for self-deter mination that help the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. We should join such movements led by others and consciously work to win the leadership of such struggles and make them a part of Agrarian Revolutionary struggle. To counterpose class struggle to national struggle is un-Marxist. Comrade Mao has said that all national struggles in the final analysis are class struggles and not 'National struggles will ultimately be transformed into class struggles', as our leadership have depicted it.

The writings and practices of these leaders clearly show that they are opposed to building the united front to lead the Agrarian Revolutionary struggles. Actually they counter-posed armed struggle to united front. They declared. "A united front can be successfully built up only by successfully directing an armed struggle."

They do not see united front and armed struggle as dependent on each other, United Front helps in advancing the armed struggle and

growing armed struggle in its turn helps in strengthening the United Front. Ultimately they declared that the United Front could be built only after establishing liberated areas. They declared: "Only when worker-peasant alliance is achieved through armed struggle and red power is established in various parts of the country can democratic front of all these classes be formed under the leadership of the working class'. (Collected Works, Vol. 2, page 100).

With this, their whole un-Marxist concept of United Front is complete. Anyhow, where is the necessity of a United Front when their whole programme is 'annihilation of class enemies', which is but individual terrorism, pure and simple? In a country like ours, the Party of the proletariat strives to build the United Front from the very beginning of our activities.

7. Boycott of Elections as a Strategic Slogan throughout the period of People's Democratic Front

Lenin had taught us the basic attitude of the Communist Revolutionaries towards elections. We reject the parliamentary path as a path for the liberation of our people from all exploitation. Ours is not a peaceful path. People's War is the only path for the liberation of our people.

When the revolutionary movement is advancing and the people are engaged in direct armed struggle with the ruling classes and their government, naturally we boycott elections as that would only divert the people from revolutionary struggle. But when the revolutionary movement is not advancing but is on the ebb, when the people show illusions on the parliamentary institutions, we should participate in the elections. Participation in the elections should not be equated with parliamentary path. But participation in the elections should serve the purpose of advancing Agrarian Revolutionary struggle.

We feel the earlier decision of the Party leadership to boycott elections as a strategic slogan throughout the period of the New Democratic Revolution was definitely wrong. Election work is a question of tactics, to be decided on the basis of the attitude of the people and the level of the movement in a particular situation. Keeping to the path of Agrarian Revolution as the main form of struggle, we should decide to participate in elections when and where necessary.

Summing up the experiences of the Party, gained by participating in the election, the Special Congress of our Party recently has clearly defined the relation between Agrarian Revolution and elections .

VII. Agrarian Revolution and Elections

In our country, protracted People's War has to be conducted mainly in the form of armed Agrarian Revolution. At the same time, taking the level of the People's Movement and the consciousness of the people, we will continue to participate in the elections. The question of participation in elections where and when and in what form should be decided in each election.

The basic aim of our participation in elections should be to extensively propagate the politics of Agrarian Revolution and the political line of the Party among the people, to extend and consolidate our mass base among the people. If in this process of struggle, we win some seats in elections we will utilise that position to achieve the same aims.

While participating in the elections, we must boldly tell the people, that elections under the present big bourgeois, big landlord constitution will not lead to any basic changes in the present society and that only a protracted People's War could lead to such basic changes in our country.

In participating in the elections, as a general principle, we should follow Lenin's principles on the question. We should, as a general principle, participate in the elections on the basis of our strength. We should not have election alliances or adjustment of seats with any ruling class parties, national or regional, CPI and CPM. We can have alliance or seat adjustments with or support only those who support our New Democratic Revolution.

Our participation in the elections should not lead to strengthening of election illusions in the people but should help in despelling the same. It should help in preparing the people for further revolutionary struggles after the elections. We should not have any illusion that our Party could share power with any section of the ruling classes and their parties, regional or national under the present big bourgeois, big landlord constitution.

These should be the general principles guiding our participation in the elections. If any exception has to be made in this general principle in any different phase of the struggle, the Central Committee of the Party should take a decision on the basis of the concrete situation existing at that time.

Instead of taking a positive attitude, the leadership had declared " so the slogan boycott of elections " and establish rural bases and create areas of armed struggle' which the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists have advanced remain valid for the entire era'. (Collected Writings, Vol. 2, page 48).

To take the boycott of elections as a strategic slogan was absurd. It is always a tactical slogan. What were the arguments advanced by the leadership for the strategic boycott of elections (a) Indian revolution is taking place when world capitalism has entered the stage of parmanent crisis, (b) Parliamentary system has become very old and out-moded, historically obsolete too, (c) Parliamentary democracy is based on bogus votes, (d) Indian revolution is not in a period of lull, (e) Party takes to the path of armed struggle from the very start.

A look at the arguments clearly shows that these arguments of the leadership are nothing but fictitious arguments meant only to justify their violation of Lenin's teachings on elections.

What then was the tactical line followed by the then leadership to implement the line of Protracted People's War? It was a line of rejecting the mobilisation of the people for direct participation in the struggle.

- In fact annihilation of class enemies' replaced all other forms of struggle, it became the single form of struggle to mobilise the people and even to create liberated base areas.

- Revolutionary trade unionism was abandoned in the cities, but instead a line of destruction of bourgeois cultural institutions and idol breaking by the students and youth was adopted.

- United Front tactics of struggle were rejected.

- A line of 'annihilation of class enemies' and propagation of politics was adopted and later even the propagation of politics was reduced, thus reducing the whole line of People's War into one of 'annihilation of class enemies', which was nothing but individual or squad terrorism.

- How was the line of individual or squad terrorism implemented? After the first wave of peasant struggles with mass participation for peasant demands and to establish peasant authority in the areas of struggle - Srikakulam, Naxalbari, Midnapore, Birbhum, Mushahari were all smashed by the government because of our own left adventurism, all ideas of concentration and extension in strategic areas to mobilise the people for struggle to build base areas was abandoned and the philosophy of 'roving rebels' was adopted and implemented.

- It was no surprise that such a line met with disastrous results. The Party was isolated from the masses and it became easy for the government to smash the heroic people's struggles.

- A movement which started as a heroic peasant armed struggle, a movement in which about 5000 communist heroes and people became martyrs due to our left adventurist mistakes, resulted in serious setbacks and distorted the correct concept of People's War.

We appeal to all genuine communist revolutionaries still believing in the ***"battle of annihilation of class enemies"*** to deeply consider this aspect of the question and its harmful consequences for the Indian Revolution as a whole.

Why is our Party so much opposed to the concept of ***"battle of annihilation of class enemies?"*** Can it be considered as a tactic of struggle? Our sole aim should be to destroy the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system. It can be achieved only by rousing and preparing the people ideologically, politically and organisationally to directly participate in the struggle. It can never be achieved through the killing of a few landlords. No Marxist teacher, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin or Mao have ever said that "battle of annihilation of class enemies" is a tactical line at all. Now for some comrades to say that this is a 'creative' application of People's War to the specific conditions in India is absurd.

No doubt it is true that some wicked landlords will be punished by the people throughout the period of armed struggle, according to their guilt. It must not be confused with the line of annihilation of class enemies. Some landlords will be punished by the people, not because they are landlords but because they join with the police and military and become agents for suppressing the peasant struggles. Sometimes it becomes absolutely necessary to punish such elements in order to

preserve the cadres and people's movement. But all such actions should be preceded by all other methods of persuasion, exposure of their cruelties before the people, rousing the people to resist these cruelties themselves and finally, when all other methods have failed, we have to take necessary action only with the demand and participation of the people or their militants, as the situation demands. All such decisions should be taken only by the responsible higher committees, depending on the nature of action.

'Battle of annihilation of class enemies' is nothing but individual or squad terrorism. Individual terrorism does not believe the people to be heroes, but believes the people are to be led by the heroes! It is against Marxism-Leninism. Individual terrorism kills the initiative of the masses. It makes them passive spectators. Of course when some landlord is punished the people exhibit enthusiasm and sympathy for such action. But if they are not prepared for anti-feudal struggles and if such actions do not accord with the needs of the movement, once repression starts, the people get easily demoralised and the Party gets isolated from the masses and becomes an easy target for attack by the government.

Now some Communist Revolutionaries and groups having realised the losses, the movement has suffered in the past, are advocating of combining both the mass line and the 'annihilation of class enemies'. This they justify on the basis of Lenin's article 'On Guerilla Warfare', and Mao's 'Hunan Report'. It is absolutely wrong to compare the annihilation line with the teachings of Lenin and Mao.

In the wake of the failure of the great 1905 Revolution in Russia and in the wake of Black Hundred repression, Lenin did advocate guerilla warfare and even the killing of certain fascist elements. It is absurd to compare the present Indian situation with that of 1905 in Russia, and still more it is absurd to advocate 'annihilation of class enemies' with a view to create base areas.

It is still more absurd to justify 'annihilation of class enemies', from the writings of Comrade Mao from 'Hunan Report'. This was a period when the peasantry has been roused for struggle against feudalism, and the people have taken up arms for that struggle. At such a time, Comrade Mao had said: 'Executions: This is confined to the worst local tyrants and evil gentry and is carried out by the peasants

jointly with other sections of the people.... 'the execution of one such landlord reverberates through whole country and is very effective in eradicating the remaining evils of feudalism. Every country has these major tyrants, some as many as several dozens and others at least few, and the only effective way of suppressing the reactionaries is to execute at least a few in each county who are guilty of the most heinous crimes. (Vol. 1, page 38).

Thus we could see that Comrade Mao envisaged such actions against landlords as and when the whole peasantry has been roused for struggle against feudalism and against the authority of the landlords and establishing the political authority of the peasants. Even then he advocated such actions by the participation of the people themselves and not through individual killings by secret methods by any squads, as some are advocating.

If comrades do not take a correct attitude to this 'battle of annihilation' fight and defeat it politically and ideologically and educate the cadres on the correct policy of mass revolutionary struggle, petty bourgeois elements are bound to take to the path of 'annihilation of class enemies' under conditions cf growing repression, as in the present situation.

VIII. Gross Over-estimation of the Revolutionary Situation and Subjective Forces and Under- estimation of Enemy Forces

The leadership could advance such absurd 'left' line because they grossly over-estimated the level of the revolutionary situation in the country and estimated that the revolutionary situation in the country has already reached the highest stage of revolutionary crisis and a stage of nation- wide insurrection awaiting the people and Party round the corner.

In our country, revolutionary situation has been there right from the Second World War, and it has been growing. Because of this growing revolutionary situation, people have been repeatedly coming forward to fight for their economic and political demands and coming into clashes with the established authority. But it could not develop into a sustained armed struggle of the masses against the state for changing the society because of the revisionist policies of the then leadership and these struggles repeatedly failed.

The revisionist leadership failed to correctly identify the real enemies and real friends of the revolution. It refused to understand the significance of the Chinese Path and People's War. They refused to understand that the peasants are the main force of the revolution. Only by pursuing the Path of People's War, particularly depending on the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, and firmly uniting the middle peasants, mobilising the peasants for Agrarian struggle against the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system, arming the peasants from the very beginning of the anti-feudal struggles, conducting the guerilla struggle based on the masses, creating the PLA, we could have advanced step by step to the stage of establishing the liberated base areas one after another in the rural areas.

Because of their understanding of the present era as an era in which 'imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism advancing towards world-wide victory' our leadership began to see revolution about to succeed in one country after another in quick succession. They declared: "This is not an era of Chinkiang of 1926. This is the decade of the 1970s, the era of the downfall of the imperialists and reactionaries in one country after another." With this understanding they declared "India has become a volcano."

In the name of revolutionary upsurge, they refused to mobilise the people on their immediate economic and political demands, refused to build mass organisations to lead these struggles, rejected the tactics of revolutionary trade unionism in the working class, equated the work in the cities with work in the rural areas, resorted to 'annihilation' both in the cities and villages. Thus left adventurism finally ended in individual or squad terrorism.

It is with this over-estimation of the revolutionary situation that they failed to see the uneven political developments and without adopting fighting and agitational slogans that conformed to the level of the movement in each area, they tried to implement a one-point programme of 'annihilation of class enemies' applicable to all areas. They even abandoned the path of building base areas, when they said: "It is the enemy who is in need of finding out the base areas for his self- preservation and not revolutionaries."

They gave up the task of mobilising the people for struggle of conducting the guerilla struggle based on the masses and thus build the

PLA. Instead they adopted the method of squad 'annihilation of landlords' to create the PLA. They said: "the battle of annihilation of class enemies is the successful, practical method of fulfilling the revolutionary task of building the Red Army." This they termed as the creative application of building the Red Army in India...

With such a wrong understanding, they declared that embryonic form of liberated areas have come into existence in Srikakulam, Midnapore etc., even without the creation of regular Red Army. This is nothing but a gross over estimation.

In the name of present era, they advocated the killing of landlords on a big scale to build base areas. They said : "the leadership at different levels advocated the limited aim of annihilating only the wicked enemies instead of carrying the battle of annihilation to terrorise the landlords in a big way" in order to create base areas.

With this over estimation of the revolutionary situation in the country, they gave an open call for the formation of the PLA and saw visions of the PLA marching on the streets of Calcutta. Any action of annihilation by the squads was termed as an armed struggle and thus they said that armed struggle was taking place in 14-15 states which was gross over estimation and sometimes a total falsehood.

Finally they came to the conclusion that the world war between Socialist China and the two super powers was bound to come before 1971 and India would be liberated by 1975. They declared 1970s to be a decade of liberation.

What is the essence of these statements? A gross over- estimation of the revolutionary situation and a gross under- estimation of the enemy forces. It was nothing but abandoning the path of protracted nature of People's War, and adopted the method of 'roving rebels' finding shortcuts in order to get quick results and a nation-wide insurrection to succeed in the conditions of our country.

1. Formation of the CPI(M-L) was correct, but wrong attitude towards Party Building

The formation of the AICCCR the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries in November 1967, and the formation of the CPI(ML) in April 1969, are two golden chapters in the annals of the history of the Communist Movement in the country.

These two events signify the final break of the Communist Revolutionaries ideologically, politically and organisationally with revisionism and neo- revisionism and finally embarked on the path of People's War, never to go back.

Accepting this fact does not mean that no mistakes were committed on the eve of the formation of the AICCCR or the CPI(ML). Certain sectarian tendencies, even factional tendencies were exhibited by the leadership in the formation of the Party itself, both during the formation of the AICCCR and the formation of the CPI(ML). Of course one should take proper lessons from these wrong tendencies and rectify them in our functioning.

Inspite of this, one should not miss the historial necessity of the Communist Revolutionaries politically and organisationally breaking away from revisionism and neo-revisionism and consolidating themselves in a separate revolutionary Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and continue the glorious traditions of revolutionary struggles and successfully lead the Indian Revolution. The formation of the AICCCR and later the formation of the CPI(ML) fulfilled the historical task of forming the revolutionary Party.

Even now, in the wake of the split of the Communist Revolutionaries into various groups, some justify the existence of the various groups as a historical necessity, that the time for the formation of a centralised Party has not yet come, that complete unity in ideology, programme and tactics and politics has to be achieved before forming a pure Party. Some even go to the extent of saying that the formation of the Party in April 1969, was itself a product of conspiracy.

For three reasons we reject all such theories as wrong. (1) The Communist Revolutionaries have not grown out of nothing. They are the off-shoots of the old Communist movement in the country. Through a long process of two-line struggle in the CPI and CPM and having broken from the CPM ideologically, politically and organisationally, the Communist Revolutionaries could not but consolidate themselves in a separate revolutionary Party, the CPI(ML), (2) In 1969, having emerged from CPM, we have embarked on the path of armed Agrarian Revolution, and one can not conduct a struggle like an armed struggle without the centralised leadership of the CPI(ML) based on democratic centralism. Such an armed struggle could not be conducted by small

groups or through co-ordination. It could only be conducted by the centralised leadership of the Communist Party working on the basis of democratic centralism. (3) There was basic agreement on the question of our ideology being Marxism- Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, on the stage of People's Democratic Revolution, and the Tactical Path of People's War. In addition there was minimum agreement on the assessment of the political situation existing in the country at that time.

When there is agreement on the strategic orientation, it is incumbent on us to build the centralised Party inspite of certain differences on matters of detail. If these differences are not there in the beginning, they are bound to crop up later. Not to build the central Party in the name of these differences, is to neglect our revolutionary duty. There are bound to be some differences of some nature or other. Left- deviation or right deviation are bound to raise its head some time or other. We have to solve them through an internal two-line struggle.

Because of these considerations, we firmly hold the opinion that the formation of the AICCCR in November 1967, and the formation of the CPI(ML) in April, 1969 were absolutely correct.

But in building the Party, the Party leadership did take sectarian attitude towards those who politically differed with them on certain issues. Instead of comradely discussions with such differing groups and adopting a policy of persuation towards them, the leadership adopted an attitude of arrogance, factionalism and bureaucracy and failed to win them all to join the AICCCR or the CPI(ML). It was because of such an attitude that the Andhra Committee was wrongly expelled from the AICCCR.

In the beginning the leadership took a very wrong attitude to building the Party. Liberation (June 1968) declared: "Such a Party will not only be a revolutionary Party, but will at the same time be the People's armed force and the People's state power. Each and every member of such a Party must participate in struggles in the military, political, economic and cultural spheres. We must immediately take in hand the task of building such a Party. It may not be possible right now to build up such a Party on an all-India basis, but that should not discourage us. We must begin our work wherever we can and build up such a Party, no matter how small that Party may be."

This approach to Party building denotes the following: "At that time, the leadership was not thinking of building a party at the all-India level in the immediate future. It was thinking of conducting an ardous struggle, like the armed struggle through the existing All-India Coordination Committee. That means it was thinking of building a revolutionary Party from below, from small areas.

But a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party has to be built from the top and not from below. A mass organisation can be built from below, but not the Marxist-Leninist Party. But later the approach to Party building was changed due to the pressure of the cadres and the necessities of armed struggle and it was correct. Inspite of wrong attitudes towards other groups still outside, the formation of the CPI(ML) was a historical necessity.

Second, the leadership was thinking of building the Party consisting only of those who were prepared to participate in the armed struggle, which later turned to be nothing but individual terrorism. The then leadership even went to the extent of saying that "one who did not dip his hand in the blood of the class enemy was not a Communist." What nonsense!

Such slogan may appear to be very 'heroic'! But it is very absurd and a vulgarisation of the ideals of communism.

It is absurd to say that only those who are members of the armed squads are members of the Party. Party members have to work in various fronts, in the mass organisations, in running the Party journals, in carrying on agitation amongst government employees etc. Party membership is decided on the basis of one's commitment to revolution, loyalty to the Party and its discipline and acceptance of Party programme, tactics and political line of the Party. Clear rules have been drawn in our Party Constitution of this.

2. Violating Collective Functioning and Committee System and Democratic Centralism

From the inception of the Party, the leaders followed a sectarian and factional approach towards those who differed with them. Appearance of differences inside the Communist Party is not a surprising thing. As a reflection of the class struggle outside, differences on the question of principle, left or right deviation will raise its head inside the Party. A proper method of persuasion has to be adopted

towards those differing with the official line of the Party. The minority, reserving its right to differ, has to submit itself to the majority decisions of the Committees. If the differences are of major nature, attempts must be made for maximum agreements and if differences still exist, a proper discussion on these differences should be organised at the necessary Party levels as the situation demands. Every difference need not and must not lead to confrontation inside the Party. A proper attitude towards two-line struggle must be adopted.

The leadership failed to adopt such an attitude. Instead, an antagonistic attitude was taken towards those, both inside and outside the Party, who differed with the official line of the Party. All such comrades, both inside and outside the Party were condemned as revisionists, cowards, middle-roaders etc., thus doing a great damage to the cause of unity of Communist Revolutionaries in the country.

Many important decisions of the Party were not even discussed in the concerned Party Committees, were taken by individual leaders and given out as party decisions. Some decisions of the Party Committee and even of the Party Congress, were changed by Party leaders and interpreted by them in quite the opposite direction, for example with regard to Party's attitude to the national bourgeoisie and rich peasants.

Instead of the method of collective discussions, collective practice, and allowing the Party Committee system to function, a fictitious attempt was made from the beginning to foist the authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar over and above the Party and the CC. For this he was praised to the skies even to the extent of saying " greatest Marxist-Leninist out- side China." When the Party Congress did not accept the authority concept, it was implemented in practice through the press.

Ideological, political and organisational authority of leaders in the Party is built in the course of the revolutionary struggle, by testing the policies of these comrades in practice and by the advance of the revolutionary movement. It depends on the love, respect, confidence of the majority of the Party Comrades, gained in the course of long struggle. It is not given by anybody, it has to be earned. It is this way that the authority of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao had been built up through out the world. Even then,

they never over- rode the committees in which they were functioning. On the other hand they willingly submitted themselves to the majority decisions of the Committees even if they were found to be in a minority.

Instead of such a correct attitude towards leadership, a section of the Party tried to foist the authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar over and above the Central Committee. His left-adventurist line was described as a creative application of Marxism to the concrete conditions of India. Practice has showed how disastrous this line has been for the Indian Revolution. History is replete with many incidents. In the history of the Indian Communist Movement, certain successes of certain leaders and the support of International Communist leadership was utilised to foist wrong policies on the Party. The attempt to foist the authority of Comrade Charu Mazumdar on the Party is one more such incident.

The cry 'China's Chairman is our Chairman' was again and again placed before the Party and the people with ulterior motives. All Marxist-Leninists throughout the world including our Party, have the greatest respect and love for Comrade Mao. We consider him to be one of the greatest authorities of Marxism-Leninism and we greately treasure his contributions to Marxism-Leninism. That is why we proudly declare that our Party is based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. But with all our love and respect for Comrade Mao, he cannot be the Chairman of another Party belonging to another country. This only wounds the national feelings of the people.

It is a myth to say that the leadership gave such a slogan out of love for Comrade Mao, because they have violated all the lessons of Chinese Revolution and betrayed the tenets of People's War, propagated, developed and successfully implemented by Comrade Mao. But the leadership gave the slogan 'China's Chairman is our Chairman' with ulterior motives, particularly in the later stages, to suppress all opposition to the wrong line being pursued by the leadership.

3. All Principles of Self-criticism and Democratic Centralism were violated by the Leadership

Self-criticism and democratic centralism are the heart and soul of a Marxist-Leninist Party. But the leadership never placed full reports of the movements in various parts of the country, analysed the results,

drew proper lessons and made these the property of the whole party. Even when important decisions of the Party were violated and when numerous mistakes were committed, no self-criticism was offered by the leadership.

Even when the cadres revolted and the wrong policies of the leadership were being questioned at various levels of the Party, the leadership suppressed international advice on the very questions which were being hotly debated in our ranks.

The leadership, when challenged, refused to call the CC to discuss serious matters of differences and settle them in a proper way in the interest of the Party. Violating democratic centralism, it expelled members of the CC and the State Committees like UP and Bihar State Committees simply because they opposed the official line, in a most highhanded, authoritarian and bureaucratic way, even without calling for explanation.

In the place of proper two-line struggle based on politics and ideology, a line of lies, personal slanders, exaggerations and factionalism was fostered and encouraged in the Party.

Young Party members and cadres of the Party, full of enthusiasm and energy and the spirit of sacrifice, instead of being encouraged to study the works of Marxism-Leninism- Mao Zedong Thought were actually discouraged to take up such a study. Instead a one-sided stress of the study of the three articles of Comrade Mao and writings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, was given.

With a factional approach, young cadres, full of enthusiasm and energy, but lacking in the theoritical grounding and practical experience were promoted to positions of leadership over the heads of experienced comrades. The only criteria were empty leftist talk and blind obedience to the leadership. A relationship of 'leader' and 'followers' was sought to be built up inside the Party, destroying the committee system and democratic centralism.

IX. Source of Left Adventurism inside the Party

Thus we see the battle of annihilation was not the only mistake responsible for all our mistakes and failures, though it was the most important. Nor is it true to say that Comrade Charu Mazumdar was alone responsible for all our mistakes and failures. In one way or other to a lesser or greater extent, all of us share responsiblity for our

mistakes and failures though Comrade Charu Mazumdar, as the leader of the Party, the initiator of many of the wrong policies holds the greatest responsibility for the same.

Fixing the individual responsibility is not the most important thing. As described above, having embarked on the path of People's War, having taken to the correct general orientation, our Party leadership went wrong in all the important aspects of the conceptions of People's War - the Programme, the Path, assessment of the present situation and Party building. In all these aspects a left adventurist line was adopted and finally the leadership landed itself in individual terrorism bringing immense losses and damages to the Indian Revolution. What is the political, ideological and social root of these mistakes?

- Lack of maturity in understanding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The education in Marxism-Leninism had itself been for a long time thwarted by the continuous revisionist leadership.

- Proper lessons had not been drawn from the International Communist Movement, particularly from the Great October Revolution of Russia and the Great Chinese Revolution. The lessons of the peasant struggles, particularly the lessons of the Great Telangana Struggle had not been studied and proper lessons drawn so that the same could be applied in the present period.

- The level of the movement and experiences in each state were not patiently studied, general lessons drawn and concrete tasks in conformity with the specific conditions in each area were not evolved.

- Firm reliance was not based on the masses, their consciousness and preparedness for struggle in each area was not taken into consideration.

- Ours being a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, where small scale economy exists, particularly in agriculture, petty bourgeois thinking prevails in our society. This petty bourgeois thinking dominated our Party members and leadership. This petty bourgeois thinking prevalent at various levels in the party is the main source of left adventurism in the recent past. We should also be careful to see that these petty bourgeois elements when faced with serious losses and severe repression may swing equally well to the right and take to a right deviation and even revisionism.

- Our cadres were young, full of energy and spirit of self-sacrifice, but weak in Marxism-Leninism and practical experience in mass struggles. Long domination of revisionism and parliamentary path right from 1953 to 1967 both in the CPI and CPM leadership had created such deep hatred towards revisionism and as such the leadership could easily swing the youth in our party to left-adventurism and purposeless actions.

These are political, ideological and social roots of our mistakes and failures and a serious ideological struggle has to be continuously carried on to completely eliminate these wrong trends.

Assessment of the Role of Comrade Charu Mazumdar

Before closing this part of our struggle against left- adventurism, let us discuss the role of Comrade Charu Mazumdar in our struggle.

When the old CC was revived and an organised ideological, political and organisational struggle was taken up against the left deviation of Comrade Charu Mazumdar though its struggle was basically correct, the old CC declared that Comrade Charu was counter-revolutionary and a Trotskyite and expelled him from the Party. But this was only a majority decision. Due to pressure from the ranks this order of expulsion was withdrawn. The CC cannot accept either the evaluation of Comrade Charu or the expulsion order. Both are absolutely wrong.

Comrade Charu Mazumdar did a good service in the struggle against the parliamentary path pursued by the CPM leadership while being in that Party itself, in bringing the struggle for Armed Agrarian Revolution and People's War as the key task for all Communist Revolutionaries to achieve New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the working class. He took a leading part in organising the great Naxalbari Armed Peasant Struggle and on the basis of this struggle, led the Communist Revolutionaries for an ideological, political and organisational break with revisionism and neo-revisionism and put the Communist Revolutionaries on the path of Armed Agrarian Revolution. These were his positive contributions for the Indian Revolution, in the beginning of our past 13 years of struggle. It is true in the later period he slipped into left deviation, took to left-adventurist line both politically and organisationally and committed very serious mistakes on various important matters of

principle, affecting our strategy, tactics, assessment of the national and international situation and Party organisation and brought great damage to the cause of Indian Revolution, as explained earlier.

But our opposition to his left deviation in the later period should not blind us not to recognise his positive contributions in the beginning of our struggle in this period. Therefore, the CC considers that, inspite of his left-deviation, Comrade Charu Mazumdar was a revolutionary and a Marxist-Leninist.

X. Basic Lessions of the 13 Years of Struggle

Our Party, the CPI (M-L), and revolutionary movement under the leadership of the Party is a result of our persistence in our struggle for People's War based on the mass line. It is the result of a relentless ideological, political and tactical struggle both against left-adventurism and the line of class collaboration that have raised their head in our Party at different periods. This long and tortuous struggle has given many valuable lessons for the future.

- Experience has shown us that whenever a wrong trend, left or right deviation or even class collaboration raised its head inside the Party, we should carry on a fierce ideological and political struggle against it by throughly exposing these wrong trends before all the Party members and involve them in the two-line struggle.

- Experience has taught us that in the course of the two-line ideological struggle, our Party members and cadres are educated in the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism- Mao Zedong Thought.

- In the course of the two-line struggle against any wrong trend, sometimes those holding the correct line, may find themselves in a minority in committees. While implementing the decisions of the committees and observing the principle of democratic centralism, they should at the same time fight a principled struggle for their opinions and patiently wait for other comrades to realise the mistakes through their own experience. They should not take any hasty steps to split the Party. When there is basic unity on Programme, Tactical Path and New Democratic Revolution, it is wrong to split the Party on the basis of political differences of a day to day nature. At such a time we should observe democratic centralism and implement the majority decisions, while continuing a principled struggle against wrong trends.

It is because this principle is not being observed that there have been so many splits among the Communist Revolutionaries in the past.

-It is wrong and harmful to solve ideological and political differences through organisational methods. They can only be solved by a principled two-line struggle throughout the Party as the situation demands. But at the same time, in the name of ideological and political discussions we should not allow anarchism, factionalism, lies and slanders against individuals which disrupt the Party.

- It is true that through our participation in the elections we have been able to propagate the revolutionary politics of Agrarian Revolution among the people and extend the mass base of the Party. At the same time corruptive tendencies of legalism, economism, and the concept of parliamentary path have penetrated the Party ranks. We should fight the ideological struggle against this trend on the basis of the Party documents and resolutions.

While deciding its national and international politics, our Party should always depend on its own experiences of struggles and its own understanding on those issues. We should study Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin and Mao, but apply these basic teachings of our teachers to the concrete conditions of our country. Only then we will be able to formulate our policies correctly.

We are a part of the international revolutionary communist movement. We uphold Proletarian Internationalism. But this does not mean that we should blindly follow the policies or advice of our international friends. We should see whether those policies and advice suit to our conditions in the country. We should decide our policies based on our own practice and thinking. At the same time our policies should not go against the spirit of Proletarian Internaltionalism.

The success of our revolution is mainly dependent on the conditions in India and the struggle of the Indian people. We should patiently work for it.

While analysing the international and national issues, formulating our political and tactical line we are bound to face many difficulties. And we may commit mistakes.

We should always look at a problem from the politicial angle. We should look at from the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism, only then we could come to correct solutions. When looking at a problem

we should take into consideration all related problems. Only then we could come to correct conclusions.

- In all phases of our struggle we should always combine propagation of revolutionary politics, people's mobilisation, people's resistance and Party building. They are interdependent and we should not separate them.

- In all our activities, in all phases of the struggle, from the beginning, in deciding the agitational and fighting slogans, in mobilising the people for struggles on those issues, the resistance to the landlord-goonda-police violence, we should follow the mass line.

- In conducting the struggles in the villages, we should adopt such tactics as to unite the overwhelming majority of the people against the main enemy, utilising the contradictions of the landlord groups, political or otherwise, to isolate the main enemy and unite with all those that could be united against the main enemy to defeat the enemies one by one.

These struggles should be as extensive as possible in any area. The aim of these anti-feudal struggles should be to destroy the political authority of the landlords, and establish the authority of the agricultural labourers and peasantry. In our struggles in the villages, while mainly depending on the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, we should follow the policy of uniting with the middle and rich peasants in the struggle against government and big landlords.

- We must always plan consolidation and expansion, as to be continuously expanding the movement and build resistance areas. This we can achieve only by preparing the people politically and organisationally for resistance against landlord-goonda-police violence and by continuously expanding the movement in each area.

- In organising the Anti-feudal struggles, we must mobilise the people continuously on one issue after the other. Though our Party exists in 15 states, the mass base of the Party is confined to a few provinces and there too in certain pockets. In the recent period, the Party and the mass movements under its leadership have physically grown, nowhere the movement has grown to higher level of struggle. Unless we are able to advance the movement to a higher level and thus advance the agrarian revolutionary struggle, we are bound to be faced with left or right deviation again and again.

XI. Unity of Communist Revolutionaries in a Single Party CPI (M-L) based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought

At present in order to advance the Agrarian Revolutionary movement in the country, unity of Communist Revolutionaries is still one of the important tasks we have yet to achieve.

Before discussing the problems connected with this question, we have to understand the specific features of the decisions of our Special Party Congress on certain important issues.

1. Principal Contradiction

Many Communist Revolutionaries, groups and organisations still hold that the principal contradiction in our country at present is between feudalism and the broad masses of the people.

Our Programme has abandoned this formula as inadequate. We hold the contradiction between the allies of imperialism (including social-imperialism), bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism on the one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other as the principal contradiction. Imperialism (including social-imperialism) is the leader of this alliance. Agrarian Revolution is the main content of the New Democratic Revolution.

2. Attitude towards the two Super Powers

Some revolutionary groups still look at both the super powers almost as equal enemies, while some others say Soviet social-imperialism is the only enemy and that we should build, here and now, a general political united front with US Imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism. We have rejected both these trends. This is our Party Line :

Both these two supper powers are the common enemies of the world people including the Indian people. Of the two, Soviet Union is the greater danger to the world people, including the Indian people and the chief source of war danger today. Our Party has advanced a three point programme for the international situation.

Support to all Anti-imperialist struggles.

Unite with all the forces that could be united, to defeat specific Soviet aggression wherever and whenever it raises its head.

By combining both these two tasks, advance the world revolutionary movement, step by step, and in the process build the

International United Front against Soviet Union and defeat it if it dares to start a new world war.

3. Unity of Action with some Sections of the Ruling Classes on certain issues of the People

Some revolutionary groups and organisations are against utilising the contradictions of the ruling class groups and parties. For them it is revisionism. Some others advocate an immediate general political united front with the pro-US ruling class parties and groups. We are against both these trends.

We are for unity in action with the oppostion sections of the ruling classes on immediate issues of the people, economic and political, national and international. We must orient these struggles towards Agrarian Revolution. In this process we can build the People's Democratic Front under the leadership of the working class.

4. Attitude Towards CPI and CPM

Some revolutionary groups and organisations do not want to have anything with the CPI and CPM - the revisionists and neo-revisionists, while some others want to build united front with the CPM as against Indira Congress Government and its authoritarianism. We are against both these trends.

While opposing ideologically and politically subservience of both these parties towards Soviet social-imperialism and their parliamentary path, we are for a positive attitude to be taken towards their ordinary party members and cadres at the factory, village and educational institution level to build the people's united struggles on their immediate issues.

5. Elections

While some revolutionary groups still continue to boycott the elections, some others want to have election alliances and agreements with certain sections of the ruling classes and the CPM. We are against both these trends.

Taking the level of movement and conciousness of the people, we will participate in the elections as and when necessary to extensively propagate revolutionary politics of Agrarian Revolution among the people, consolidate our movement and prepare the people for further struggles. We should participate in the elections on the basis of our own strength. We are against any election agreements or adjustments

with the ruling class parties, national or regional or CPI or CPM. We will have such agreements only with those who support our movement or with the national bourgeoisie, who oppose imperialism and support democratic rights.

We must keep in mind these specific features in the line of the Party, that demarcate our Party from any of the revolutionary groups and organisations.

Inspite of this we should continue to take a positive attitude towards other revolutionary groups and organisations and continue to work for the unity of all the communist revolutionaries in a single Party, the CPI (M-1), based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

6. Who are the Communist Revolutionaries

It is nearly 13 years since we have been struggling for People's War. Then all the Communist Revolutionaries rejected parliamentary path and accepted Pelple's War. But during the last 13 years there have been many changes both nationally and internationally and we have to take them into consideration.

Only those who accept the ideology of Marxism- Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, who reject parliamentary path, who accept Peoples' War, and accept China as a Socialist country and base of the world revolutionary movement, should be considered as Communist Revolutionaries.

There are some dogmatists who still cling to the old line of "annihilation of class enemies". Similarly, there are certain individuals, who claim to be Communist Revolutionaries, but who in actual parctice, follow a line of class collaboration. Such individuals need not be considered as Communist Revolutionaries.

7. Our Programme of Action For the Unity of the Communist Revolutionaries

Our Central Committee has placed a clear cut programme of action (7-12-1980) before all the Communist Revolutionaries for their consideration.

- We should stop all mutual recriminations against each other in the press, but adopt a positive attitude towards each other, make friendly criticism on points of differences.

- We should exchange our Party documents and other literature to understand each other's point of view.

- Our Party is prepared to discuss with any organisation of Communist Revolutionaries on the question of merger into a single Party.

- Our Party is prepared to join hands with any organisation of Communist Revolutionaries for united action on those issues upon which there is agreement, leaving others for mutual discussions. We believe that joint action and mutual discussions finally lead to unity of Communist Revolutionaries in a single Party.

- We have been practising this policy in the past and our Special Congress has again reiterated the same object.

- With this understanding our CC is prepared to join any multi-lateral or bi-lateral discussions with other organisations of Communist Revolutionaries if they too are willing.

- For a long time we have been working on these lines and achieved positive results. We should persevere in the same course, whatever be the provocation from any side.

XII. Immediate Programme of Action

As said earlier, though our Party exists in 15 States, the mass base of the Party is confined to a few states and there too to a few pockets. We are not yet in a position to influence the Indian situation decisively in our favour either at the national or the provincial level.

The aim of the Party activities in all the states and the fronts should be to change this situation, to extend the mass base of the Party, intensify the people's struggle, on various fronts on the immediate issues and orient these struggles towards Agrarian Revolution.

We must combine these struggles with the political line of the Party at the all-India level and in each state and the struggle for world peace, taking Soviet Union as the greater danger of the two super powers, the common enemies of the world people.

The immediate struggles of the people should be conducted on the basis of united front, combining with all those that could be united, including those opposition sections of the ruling classes and others to isolate the main enemy, the Indira Congress government while ideologically and politically exposing all other allies of the Soviet Union.

We must clearly understand that at present in all the states, the level of our movement is mainly agitational and the consciousness of the people is mainly economic. Experience has shown that so far the people came forward in militant agitational struggles and participate in the resistance to landlord-goonda-violence. But the people show signs of retreat when once the police come into the scene, except in spontaneous upsurges and are not yet prepared for sustained resistance struggle. We should overcome this general weakness of our movement as a whole.

We must combine the propagation of revolutionary politics of Agrarian Revolution with the immediate struggles of the people, organising volunteer organisations at the village level, organising militant groups and conducting political classes for them and building of the secret Party. Only thus could we raise the political consciousness of the people and the large number of militants and the Party members. Only thus could we organise the areas of sustained resistance which is our immediate objective in our struggle for People's War.

The danger of repression has definitely increased with the passing of the National Security Act and things are definitely drifting towards fascism. Therefore, while utilising all available legal opportunities, the main task of the Party should be to build the secret apparatus of the Party in major states.

Keeping these general directives, all units of the Party should carefully study the national and international tasks of Party given in our political resolution of the Special Congress of the Party and concretely work out the specific task of the Party in each state, as the situation demands.

Keeping these tasks of the Party the CC draws the attention of the Party units to the following tasks of the Party on the most important fronts.

1. The Peasants Front

The political resolutions of the Special Congress of the Party has laid down the following tasks:

The main direction of the party work should be consciously orientated towards building the revolutionary peasant movement. Selection of strategic areas, concentration of cadres, formulation of fighting and agitational slogans with extensive discussions with the

people of the area, mobilising the peasants for struggles from the very beginning, organising the village volunteer organisations, and people's resistance to landlord-goonda-police violence and repression and thus create, develop and defend the areas of sustained resistance and thus advance to establish the areas of resistance in the country-side.

Keeping these general directives the state committees and district committees should select areas for concentration, distribution of their cadres accordingly and consciously plan for creating areas of sustained resistance and thus take the movement to a higher level. In this we should ceaselessly combine consolidation and expansion.

2. Workers Front

The Special Congress has laid down the following tasks: "In buidling the Trade Union Movement, our main direction should be to build the revolutionary TU movement, i.e., politicalisation of the workers, ideological and political struggle against legalism and economism, worker-peasant unity, volunteer organisations to resist police-management-goondaism and building the secret party among the workers. Only thus we could unite the workers and make it the leader of the New Democratic Revolution. The main concentration should be in strategic areas and strategic industries."

On the basis of these general directives, each state and district unit should plan their TU work in their areas. Though we have built TU movement in certain areas, we are still a small force in the TU when compared with the position of the other parties particularly the CPI and CPM. We should plan to overcome this weakness step by step.

We should combine this task of building our TU where the majority of the workers demand, with the task of building factions in other TUS under the leadership of others. The CC is conscious of the ideological and political points raised by certain comrades with regard to building Trade Unions particularly at the all-India level. We are postponing a discussion on these questions for the future. Having already committeed to the formation of TU organisations under our influence in certain areas, we should consciously build TUs under our influence where the majority of the workers demand and discuss the ideological and political issues raised by these comrades at a later date after getting more experience.

3. Students

Today our party has got a mass-based organised student movement only in two states, Andhra and Punjab, while we do have certain pockets of student movement in other states.

We should create an all-India Student Fraction to co- ordinate the activites of the student movement in all the states and consciously develop it in all other states.

While conducting the student struggles, we should give more importance to the political, ideological training of the student activists, the building of militant groups and party cells among the students, the integration of the student activists with the basic masses-the workers and the bustees and supporting all just struggles of the people. For this we should implement the tasks in our political resolutions.

We should consciously try to work among the women, particularly among the workers, peasants and students, draw them into class struggles and class organisations wherever possible while at the same time utilising all opportunities of working in bourgeois women organisations. But our main direction should be to work in the basic classes.

Wherever possible we should build Youth and Women organisations. We should persevere to work in the middle class employees' organisations and concisously build the party among them.

Our work in these class organisations, should be combined with building the non-class organisations like the Civil Liberties Organisations and the Revolutionary Writers organisations and India-China Friendship Organisations.

4. Build The Party

In building the Party, we must give importance to the following tasks:

- Give more importance to build the secret apparatus of the Party at all levels, keeping to the specific situation in each state.

- Consciously and perseveringly work for the unity of the Communist Revolutionaries both at the all India and state. Each state should decide its specific tasks according to the concrete situation in their state.

- Make the central organ of the Party Road to Liberation the Party organiser, the builder of the people's movement and a powerful weapon for the ideological and political unification of the Party.

The District and State Committees should send timely reviews of struggles on the political situation in their states to be published in the Central organ for all India education.

The States and District Committees should consciously plan to expand the sales of the Central organ and make it economically self-sufficient.

- Wherever there are local regional papers run by our State Committees, they must expand their sales and make them self-sufficient.

- All State Committees should get the resolutions of the Special Congress and political resolutions of the CC translated in their regional languages and get them available for the education of the Party comrades in the state. We must bring out frequently Marxist Leninist Literature in the regional languages for the education of the Party members who know only the regional language.

- All District Committees should make it a regular habit to send a two monthly written reports to the State Committees and they in turn should send consolidated reviews of the State to the CC to enable it to properly review the work of the party in all the states, take proper lessons and arm the whole party with these lessons. This will help in the ideological, political and organisational unity of the Party. This should become a regular habit with Party.

- Because of the continuous two-line struggle in the Party, a proper attitude to Democratic Centralism, self-criticism, collective functioning have been damaged. We must restore collective thinking, collective decisions, collective functioning, democratic centralism, method of self-criticism.

- Intensify the ideological and political struggle against both right and left deviation, inside and outside the Party, taking right deviation as the main danger today.

Comrades,

We have travelled a long distance in our struggle. Our recent Special Congress has registered the growth of the Party and the revolutionary movement under its leadership, and its victory against

both right and left deviations. The Special Congress has enormously increased the ideological and political unification of the Party. Let us guard it as the apple of the eye.

The Special Congress has already enthused all Party members and they are actively engaged in militant struggles in all states. We have a great future. Let us work with confidence.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!
Long Live people's War !
Long Live CPI (M-L)



Some Problems Concerning The Path of People War in India : A.P. Revolutionary Communist Committee

The present Congress Government is a big bourgeois big landlord Government, which has converted our country into a neo-colony of imperialists, especially of U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism. The broad masses of the people have understood the true nature of the present Government and are fighting in various forms against its policies of exploitation. With the armed peasant struggle of Naxalbari, the people's liberation movement of our country has taken a decisive turn. The communist revolutionaries in various states have rejected the parliamentary path, have taken up the path of people's war, the path of protracted armed struggle. Already in some states, the peasants under the leadership of communist revolutionaries are waging armed struggles. The Nagas, Mizos and other tribal people in various states have taken up the path of armed struggle. In towns and cities the workers, students and middle class employees are waging bitter strike struggles against the Government's policies of exploitation both on state and national scale. Very often these strike struggles are resulting in clashes with armed-police.

The Congress Government led by Indira Gandhi and the United Front Governments including those under the leadership of old and neo revisionists are preparing brutal fascist repression to put out the raging flames of peoples struggles in blood shed. Fascist police forces are deployed and they are on the rampage. Wherever the armed struggles are advancing, the armed police is raiding hundreds of villages. Village after village is burnt down. The properties of the people are looted. Hundreds of communist revolutionaries and the people are tortured. Dozens of communist revolutionaries are shot dead in cold blood. Hundreds of women are raped and humiliated vast areas are declared disturbed areas and police raj is imposed in the place of civil administration.

But defying this fascist repression the people's struggles are advanc- ing. They are rapidly developing from the stage of ordinary agitations to the stage of armed struggle. The armed struggles are

spreading from place to place and state to state. If they suffer a temporary set back at one place, they are rising at another place.

With the intensification of general economic crisis and with the growth of the people's struggles, the contradiction among the various ruling classes are intensified leading to open clashes among them. Finally, the Congress party, the party of the ruling classes has broken up into two. A bitter dog fight for power is going on between the two rival Congress groups. This has resulted in permanent political instability from top to bottom at all levels. As a result of daily growing instability, the ruling classes are fast becoming weaker and weaker.

The deceptive manoeuvres of the old and new revisionists in the name of UF governments have miserably failed. The UF governments are also engulfed in political crisis. One after the other they are also meeting their doom. As their mass base is shrinking, the exploiting classes, in order to save their rule of exploitation, are resorting to fascist methods or repression.

Today abolition of Assemblies, imposition of President's rule abolition of civil administration, declaring of disturbed areas, establishing police rule, indiscriminate mass arrests, lathi charges and police firings, provoking communal clashes-these are the methods adopted by the ruling classes to save their tottering regimes.

Today there is an excellent revolutionary situation in India and it is daily growing. The broad masses of the people are refusing to live in the old way; they are decisively coming forward to fight for a new society, a society free from exploitation. The ruling classes have failed to deceive the masses with the bogus parliamentary methods and hence are resorting to fascist repression.

In this excellent revolutionary situation, the only weak link is the lack of a strong popular communist party that could successfully lead the Indian revolution to a victory. We must build a strong communist party with a broad mass base by waging armed struggle based on Mao's Thought. This is the key task of all the communist revolutionaries in the country today.

Our people and friends ardently wish that all the communist revolutionaries who have rejected the parliamentary path and have taken path of people's war unite and build a strong communist party with a broad mass base and fulfill the revolutionary task.

All the communist revolutionaries are in agreement on the following basic points concerning our liberation struggle.

- The path of people's war is the only path for the liberation of our country and the people. And the parliamentary path should be rejected.

- Our revolutionary movement can grow only as a part of the world revolutionary movement.

- Today the great socialist China is the centre of world revolution. -Mao's Thought is the Marxism-Leninism of this era.

- Marxism Leninism-Mao's Thought is the ideology of the communist revolutionaries.

- Modern Revisionism led by the Soviet social imperialists is acting against world revolutionary movement. The Soviet social imperialists are acting in collaboration with U.S. imperialism against the great socialist China, against the world revolutionary forces and to create their own sphere of influence.

The leadership of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), instead of pursuing a policy of uniting all the communist revolutionaries, is condemning all those who differ with them especially, the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist committee as "counter revolutionaries" "cowards" etc. Our people and friends are naturally agitated over this development.

Without getting provoked by the abuses showered on us by the leadership of the CPI (ML), we are making our views clear here on some questions raised by them. Our only aim is to clear the differences among the various groups of communist revolutionaries and help in building their unity.

There is one important difference between the China of 1927-28 and the India of today. Since 1928 there was a regular Red Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. With the strength of the Red Army and the support of the masses the C.P.C. was able to establish liberated areas in some or other part of the country and carry on liberation struggle. At present we do not have a Red Army or a liberated area. Therefore, the communist revolutionaries have to struggle for building up a Red Army and establishing liberated areas. For this we must have a correct political and military line.

Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Committee has divided the areas in the state into three categories, based on the level of mass movement, in order to implement the path of people's war. The forest areas where the mass movement has reached the stage of armed struggle; the areas where there is a wide mass base and the class struggles are getting intensified; and the areas where the mass movement is relatively weak. We resolved to take the mass movement on to the path of armed struggle in the forest and mountainous areas; to gradually develop the mass struggles into armed struggle in the areas where there are powerful class struggles by expanding and intensifying them; and to systematically strive to develop class struggles in other areas. We decided first to concentrate in such areas where we could develop the people's movement into armed struggle in a short duration and thus influence the revolutionary movement in the whole province.

With this understanding we have given top priority to develop armed struggle in forest areas.

- We have a forest very vast in area running into many thousands of sq. miles. This lies on both the sides of river Godavari. On the right side of Godavari, the forest comprises of Telangana districts Khammam, Warangal, Karimnagar and Adilabad, and on the left side it comprises of coastal districts of West Godavari, East Godavari and Vishakhapatnam. This forest is linked with Srikakulam district's forest area with a gap of a small plain area. Moreover, the same forest extends into Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Maharastra states. Thus it can be seen that this will serve as a revolutionary base for the armed struggle in the said four states.

- This is not an uninhabited area. Lakhs of girijans and other exploited mass live in this area. They are subjected to worst forms of exploitation by feudal landlords, big money lenders, forest contractors, forest officials. Patel, patwaris and the police. The discontent among the people is acute and the people are fighting against the exploiters and the government in various forms.

- This area is economically self sufficient.

- This is an area with poor communication and transport facilities and the Govt. machinery itself is very weak. This is an area where, if the people decisively take to the course of armed struggle, the Govt. machinery could be destroyed in a short period.

- This includes the area which the peasant armed guerillas of the great heroic Telangana armed struggle used as their base and heroically fought against the Nehru military for a period of two years. Hundreds of girijans - men and women - took part in that armed struggle. Those memories are fresh in the minds of these girijan people even today.

- Thus these people enthusiastically support and participate in the present armed struggle against the much hated exploiters, and the reactionary Congress government.

- Moreover the Telangana plain area, where armed struggle was carried on for years, lie adjacent to this forest area, and this has a wide mass base for people's struggles. The struggles both in the plain and forest areas could be coordinated and developed to a higher stage.

If we could mobilise the people of the forest area for the people's war, on the basis of correct political and military line, we could develop this area soon into a guerilla zone and then a liberated area.

If our state committee has given priority to the question of developing armed struggle in the forest areas, does it mean that we have abandoned struggles in the plain areas? Certainly not. Our call for the seizure of food grains from the land-lords by the people during the days of famine, the struggles that developed on the basis of this call in Nalgonda district, especially the movement that developed in Jangoan taluk of Warangal district, our struggle for the seizure of Banjar-lands in Kurnool, Anantapur districts and in Jangoan taluk of Warangal district, agricultural labour strikes and toddy tapper's strikes in Nalgonda district all these clearly go to show our efforts to intensify class struggles and develop them into armed struggles. These class struggles are organised and waged under extreme repressive conditions. After every struggle, our party workers and militants are threatened with large scale arrests and false cases. On all such occasions, while keeping urgently needed cadre to carry on struggles in the plains we are sending rest of the militants to forest areas to intensify our struggles there.

Our decision to give top priority to developing armed struggle in forest areas and to send party workers and militants to the forest from the plain areas to intensify the struggle there, is being ridiculed by our C.P.I. (M.L.) leaders as 'Jungle theory'. They are accusing us of

'cowardice' and they charge that we are not waging armed struggle in the plains; they are loudly declaring, that they would wage armed struggle wherever there are peasants and this they declare to be a new discovery.

Can anyone who really wants to conduct people's war in India forget an extensive forest and mountainous area, inhabited by lakhs of people, which is economically self sufficient and lies on the borders of four states and still think of conducting an armed struggle?

If anyone out of subjective thinking refuses to build this area and such other areas into base areas then he is not serious of conducting a protracted armed struggle. Whatever they may say or write on this subject, are in practice, abandoning the struggle to create base areas in the countryside.

The learned pundits of the C.P.I. (M.L.) are attacking us for concentrating in forest areas to develop the armed struggle. But did not the Naxalbari peasant armed struggle start in a forest area? Did not the Terai peasant armed struggle in U.P. start in a forest and mountainous area? Did not the peasant armed struggle in Srikakulam district start in the forest areas of the district?

Let us see what comrade Mao says on the question of establishing base areas.

"What, then, are the base areas? They are the strategic bases on which the guerilla forces rely in performing their strategic task and achieving the object of preserving and expanding themselves and destroying and driving out the enemy. Without such strategic bases, there will be nothing to depend on in carrying out our strategic tasks or achieving the aim of war..... guerilla warfare could not last long or grow without base areas. The base areas indeed are its rear" **(Selected Military writings - P.167)**

"Base areas are mainly of three types, those in the mountains, those on the plains and those in the river-lake-estuary regions".

"The advantage of setting up base areas in mountainous regions is obvious where.. guerilla warfare can be maintained for the longest time and are important strongholds for the War of Resistance....".

"Ofcourse the plains are less suitable than the mountains,

but it is by no means impossible to develop guerilla warfare or establish any base areas there... while there is as yet no evidence on the possibility of setting up base areas there and maintaining them for long, it has been proved that setting up base temporary base areas is possible, and it would be possible to set up areas for small units or for seasonal use..... the objective conditions for spreading guerilla warfare and setting up temporary base areas in the plains are therefore fulfilled. Given competent military command it should of course be possible to establish bases for small guerilla units there, bases which are long termed but not fixed. Broadly speaking..... the enemy will undoubtedly launch savage attack on all the guerilla base areas, and those in the plains will naturally be the first to bear the brunt. The large guerilla formations operating on the plains will be unable to keep on fighting there for long and will gradually have to move up into the mountains as the circumstances required.

"Objectively speaking, the possibilities of developing guerilla war- fare and establishing base areas are greater in the river-lake-estuary regions than in the plains, though less than in the mountains".

(Selected Military writings - P. 168)

What are the main points in the teaching of Comrade Mao on the question of establishing base areas?

We cannot carry on a protracted armed struggle without establishing a base area.

- The base areas are mainly of three kinds-those in the mountain region, those on the plains and those in the river-lake estuary regions.

- Base areas in the mountainous regions are the strongest and most stable.

- Base areas in the plains are useful for small guerilla units; but they are of temporary nature and cannot hold for a long duration. With the experiences gained in the war of resistance comrade Mao has said that under certain circumstances it is also possible to establish long standing and stable base areas in the plains if the broad masses of people are extensively mobilised and where the enemy forces are less.

Based on the teachings of Comrade Mao on the question of base areas, our State Committee has given top priority to develop armed

struggle in the vast forest area covering seven districts and to develop it into a guerilla area and then into a revolutionary base.

Describing their aim of armed struggle in the plain areas, the leadership of the C.P.I. (M.L.) say ***"The purpose of our present phase of armed guerilla struggle is to build up reliable revolutionary base areas" (Liberation, September 1969. P.26). That means, the purpose of their armed raids in the plain areas of various states is to establish base areas in the plains.***

Comrade Mao says that we could establish only temporary base areas in the plains. And only in certain areas and under certain conditions, we could establish stable base areas in the plains. But our 'Marxist-Leninist" comrades are speaking of establishing stable base areas in any part of the country at the 'present phase' of the struggle itself. What is the basis for this new theory which totally differs from the teachings of Com. Mao? Do they conclude that base areas can be set up in the 'present phase' of the struggle by conducting a few un-coordinated armed raids on the landlords in different places in the plains? Yes!

Comrades, we are certainly rejecting this new theory of 'Marxist Leninists' on the question of establishing base areas in the plains. At the present phase of the movement we must struggle to create base areas in the forest areas, develop armed struggle in the plains, and as the conditions permit we must try to establish temporary base areas in the plains. As the armed struggle advances wherever necessary conditions develop we must try to establish stable base areas in the plains also.

It has been established by the great heroic Telangana armed struggle that we can carry on peasant armed struggle in the plains depending upon the level of the movement, the consciousness and the preparedness of the people.

After carrying on armed struggle for more than three years, with the concentration of Nehru's military, the guerilla in the plains of Telangana districts after suffering heavy losses retreated to the mountainous and forest area, established guerilla base there, and then continued the struggle for more than two years.

Our experience has taught us that, when class struggle advances to a higher stage, the movement could be advanced only through armed

struggle, whether in the plains or anywhere else. At the same time, the great heroic Telangana armed struggle has taught us, that we could not carry on protracted armed guerilla struggle without establishing a revolutionary base. This lesson is in consonance with the teachings of Comrade Mao. With this lesson in view, while intensifying the class struggles in the plains, with the concrete aim of developing them to the stage of armed struggle, we are concentrating in the forest area from the very beginning to create a guerilla zone and then a liberated area.

2. PEOPLE'S DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN THE PEOPLE'S WAR:

We wish to add a few words on armed struggle in the plains. The leadership of CPI (ML) is criticising us that we are not conducting armed struggle in the plain areas and that we are working only in the forest area. It is true that we are not doing what the "Marxist-Leninist' comrades are doing in the plain areas. Along with the propagation of revolutionary politics among the people, we are intensifying class struggles in the plains. We are trying to organise village volunteer corps with the militants who are coming forward in these class struggles, we are trying to resist the repressive measures of land-lords and the police with the help of the people. We are working with the definite aim of advancing these class struggles to the stage of armed struggle depending on the consciousness, preparedness of the people and level of the movement. We have to work in the plains in the face of heavy repression with absolutely no legal possibilities. We can carry on armed struggle only by depending on the consciousness of the people, their preparedness and their organisation. We cannot carry on armed struggle by conducting a few uncoordinated armed raids against landlords with the militants alone. The Marxist-Leninist comrades are refusing to see this basic truth. They are refusing to learn proper lessons from the few uncoordinated armed raids against landlords they have conducted in the districts of Vishakhapatnam, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Khamman, Warangal, Nellore, Anantapur etc. If they want to persist in the same course, they are at perfect liberty to do so and learn new lessons. As for ourselves, we certainly refuse to follow this wrong path. Let us consider the point more deeply.

Comrade Mao says that "the revolutionary war is a war of the masses". It is not enough if a few communist revolutionaries accept the path of people's war. Overwhelming majority of the people must accept this path. Only then the people will come forward to organise

people's war based on Mao's Thought. Only then it becomes really a people's war of the masses.

Our masses in the countryside are suffering from the age-long oppression and exploitation of feudal land-lords. They have been deceived by the parliamentary path of the old and new revisionists for the last 20 years. Today we have to rouse revolutionary consciousness among these people, make them realise the necessity of armed struggle; make the people to directly participate in the people's war. In the beginning such a task is a very difficult one and demands utmost patience. Comrade Mao says, that *"since the guerilla units in the War of Resistance (and in all other revolutionary wars) generally grow out of nothing and expand from a small to a large force, they must preserve themselves, and moreover they must expand. Hence the question is, what policies or principles have to be adopted before we can attain the object of preserving and expanding ourselves and destroying the enemy?"* **(Problems of Strategy in Guerilla War).**

If we compare ourselves with the total population of our country, the communist revolutionaries are a small force; the area where the armed struggles are going on when compared with the total area of our country is very small. How to develop this small force into a big, powerful force? This object can be achieved only when the people are made to directly participate in the people's war and their revolutionary potential is brought into full play.

Accepting in words that a revolutionary war is a war of the masses, is not enough. We must make the majority of the people accept the path of people's war and with their own experience directly participate in the people's war. This is a crucial task in the people's war.

Comrade Mao Says:

"Guerilla warfare is basically organised by the masses and there is no possibility for it to survive and develop once it is cut loose from the people or fails to attract the participation and cooperation of the broad masses". **(Aspects of China's anti-Japanese struggle)**

But our 'Marxist-Leninist' Comrades are refusing to accept the necessity of making the majority of our people to directly participate in people's war. According to them "the peasants wage war against the

State through their guerilla". (Liberation, Sept. 1969 Page.24) While Com. Mao says that guerilla war is a war basically organised by the masses and the masses must directly participate in the People's war, the 'Marxist-Leninists' are advancing a new theory of peasants waging war against the state through their guerillas. Thus according to them the people participate in the people's war only indirectly.

See what the 'Marxist-Leninists' say on the participation of the people in the guerilla struggle.

"The participation by hundreds of people in giving shelter and food, in collecting intelligence and information about the enemy's position, guarantee of passage for retreat and advance of guerillas, their participation in the attack and celebration of victories after a successful attack, the functioning of Krishak Samithies and people's courts". (Liberation, Sept.. 1969) P.24)

Will this be sufficient for a protracted armed struggle? From the military writings of Comrade Mao, we learn that people must directly participate in all aspects of people's war-formation of village volunteer squads, local guerilla squads, regular guerilla squads, regular Red Army, village revolutionary committees, government organisation at all levels, resistance against landlords, police and military. But for our Marxist-Leninist Comrades it is enough if the people give shelter, supply food, collect intelligence about the enemy, participate in a few raids and celebrations; Is there any connection between their conception and that of Com. Mao on the subject?

3. THE ROLE OF PARTIAL STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES IN PEOPLE'S WAR:

The key task of the Communist Revolutionaries in India today is to make the people directly participate in the armed guerilla struggle.

Because of the uneven economic and political development of the country, the level of consciousness of the people the organisation of the masses is also uneven. Under such conditions it is only through the mass struggles on immediate issues we can make the people class conscious, make the overwhelming majority of the people realise the necessity of over throwing the present rule of exploitation by armed force. We must conduct mass struggles on immediate issues, build up mass organisations, organise village revolutionary committees along with armed struggle.

In those places where armed struggle has not yet started, mass struggles on immediate issues will intensify the class consciousness of the masses and advance the class struggles to the stage of armed struggle. By combining the mass struggles on immediate issues with the armed struggle we can win the support of broad masses of the people for the people's war. Only through their own experience the broad masses of the people will realise the necessity of people's war and directly participate in the same. This is the principle that helps us make the people directly participate in the people's war.

What is the understanding of the 'Marxist-Leninists' on this question?

They say, ***"the political propaganda and annihilation of class enemies are the two political tasks." (Liberation, October, 1969 - P.30) and de clared that when the guerilla units begin to act in this manner in any area the class enemies will be forced to flee from the countryside and the villages will be liberated.*** **(Liberation, November 1969 - P.74)**

The meaning of this is quite clear. Along with the propagation of politics of armed struggle, by organising guerilla squads with the available militants and by killing the land lords in a particular area, that area or village could be liberated. They further say that guerilla struggle starts in any area with the killing of landlords. This is the principle of the 'Marxist- Leninists' to carry on guerilla struggle.

Without taking into consideration the level of consciousness of the people, their preparedness to fight, the political and organisational level of the masses, to think of establishing a liberated area by killing a few land lords with guerilla squads of a few militants alone, is nothing but an empty dream.

It is true that people have deep hatred against the landlords and they will be certainly happy if any body kills a land lord. But with the government repression, all the temporary jubiliation of the masses disappears because the people have not participated in the anti-landlord struggles they are not conscious of the necessity of resistance to the landlord and police repression; they will not come forward to resist the police repression; they cannot but surrender to police repression; and the movement will be disrupted. It is only through the mobilisation of the masses on immediate issues, by organising anti-landlord mass

struggles, we can make the broad masses of people consciously participate in people's war. It is only through such struggles, the people will consciously come forward to resist police and military to preserve the achievements of previous struggles, to win back their lands from the occupation of the land-lords to preserve the lands that they have won back from them. Thus they would realise the necessity of overthrowing the present Government and consciously participate in the armed struggle.

Comrade Mao Says:

"To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the needs and wishes of the masses. All the work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual however well- intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet willing or determined to make the change. In such cases we should wait patiently we should not make the change until through our work most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise, we shall isolate ourselves from the masses. Unless they are conscious and willing, any kind of work that requires their participation will turn out to be a mere formality and will fail. there are two principles here; one is the actual needs of the masses rather than what we fancy they need, the other is the wishes of the masses, who must make up their own minds instead of our making up their minds for them". **(Emphasis ours)**

Comrade Mao further says:

"Commandism is wrong in any type of work, because in overstepping the level of the political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of voluntary mass action it reflects the disease of impetuosity. Our comrades must not assume that everything they themselves understand is understood by the masses. Whether the masses understand it and are ready to take action can be discovered only by going into their midst and making investigations. If we do so, we can avoid commandism. Tailism in any type of work is also wrong.

Who is implementing this teaching of comrade Mao that we make the people consciously participate in the people's war? Is it 'Marxist-Leninists' or We?

We follow the line of propagating revolutionary politics of armed struggle among the people, of carrying on the mass struggles against the landlords and all other exploiters and co-ordinating them with the armed struggle. But the 'Marxist-Leninists' follow the line of 'Propagating the politics, forming guerilla squads of few militants and killing the landlords. They assert that "the spread of guerilla actions helps the broad masses to participate in the struggle". **(Liberation Dec 69 - Page 10)**

4. CO-ORDINATION OF OTHER FORMS OF STRUGGLES WITH THE ARMED STRUGGLE:

The path of people's war is the only path of liberation for our country. So the armed struggle is the main form of struggle and the Red army is the main form of organisation.

At the same time we are definitely of the opinion that mass struggles on immediate issues should be co-ordinated with the armed struggle. Only by co-ordinating the mass struggles with the armed struggle, by co-ordinating mass organisations with the organisation of the Red army, we could make the broad masses of the people consciously participate in the armed struggle.

This is not only our opinion but an important lesson that Comrade Mao has taught us:

Comrade Mao Says:

"In the past year we have fought in many places and are keenly aware that the revolutionary tide is on the ebb in the country as a whole. While the Red Political Power has been established in a few small areas, in the country as a whole the people lack the ordinary democratic rights, the workers, the peasants, and even the bourgeois democrats do not have the freedom of speech or assembly, and the worst crime is to join the communist party. Where ever the Red Army goes, the masses are cold and aloof, and only after our propaganda do they slowly move into action ..... We have an acute sense of our isolation which we keep hoping will end soon. Only by launching Political and economic struggle for democracy, which will also involve urban petty-bourgeoisie can we turn the revolution into a seething tide that will surge through the country" **(Emphasis ours) (Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains)**

Stressing on the necessity of co-ordinating armed struggle with other forms of struggle, Mao says:

"Our party was already able to achieve direct or indirect co-ordination of armed struggle, the principal from of struggle with many other necessary forms, that is, to co-ordinate it on a national scale, with the workers struggle, the peasant's struggle (which was the main thing) the struggle of the youth, the women and all other sections of the people, the struggle for political power, the struggles on the economic, anti-espionage and the ideological fronts and other forms of struggle." **(Emphasis ours)**

(Introducing the Communist-1939 Oct)

Comrade Mao clearly says that only by fighting for the immediate demands of the people, we can win their confidence

He Says:

"We should pay close attention to the well-being of the masses from the problem of land and labour to those of fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt. - All such problems concerning the well being of the masses should be placed on our agenda. We should discuss them, adopt and carry out decisions and check upon the results. We should help the masses to realise that we represent their interests, that our lives are intimately bound up with theirs. We should help them to proceed from these things to an understanding of the higher tasks which we have put forward, the tasks of the revolutionary war, so that they will support the revolution and spread it throughout the country, respond to our political appeals and fight to the end for victory in the revolution,"

While Comrade Mao says that we should take up every problem from the smallest to the highest from labour to land, affecting every aspect of people's life, to win their confidence, the leadership of the CPI (ML) say that mass movements and mass organisations ***"increase the tendency for open and economist movement"*** **(Liberation, Dec.69-Page11)** and that mass struggles and mass organisations, are "impediments" in the way of development of armed struggle.

It is not only we who say that mass movements and mass struggles on immediate issues should be co-ordinated with armed struggle but this is one of the important teachings of Com. Mao.

"In China, War is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organisations. Other forms such as mass organisations and mass struggles are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve the war."

(Problems of War and Strategy)

"..... Stressing armed struggle does not mean abandoning other forms of struggle; on the contrary, armed struggle cannot succeed unless coordinated with other forms of struggle." **(Selected writings - Page 36)**

Our line on the question of co-ordinating other forms of struggle with the armed struggles is not only in line with the lessons drawn from the experiences of Chinese Revolution and the teachings of Com. Mao, but also in complete accordance with the specific advise given by the C.P.C. to the Communist Revolutionaries of India in 1967.

"It is entirely necessary for India's poverty stricken peasants to wage a mass struggle to combat eviction, seize land, obtain rent reduction and resist taxation. But the various forms of mass struggle must be combined with the general struggle for seizing power by armed force; the armed struggle must be the main form of struggle. Otherwise, it is impossible to destroy the feudal system root and branch and to win complete liberation for peasants. Armed struggle is the basic task of the New Democratic Revolution in India at the present stage and this revolution will inevitably be a peasant armed struggle."

Com. Mao while stressing on the importance of mobilising the broad masses of the people into various organisations, says that even the armed squad must undertake this task. He says :

"The third indispensable condition for establishing a base area is the use of all our strength, including our armed forces, to arouse the masses for struggle against Japan. In the course of this struggle, we must arm the people i.e., organise self-defence corps and guerilla units. In the course of this struggle, we must form mass organisations, we must organise the workers, peasants, youth, women, children, merchants and professional people - according to the degree of their political consciousness and fighting enthusiasm into various mass organisations necessary for struggle against

Japanese aggression and we must gradually expand them. Without organisation, the people cannot give effect to their anti-Japanese strength."

(Problems of Strategy in Guerilla War)

But the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are advancing a totally new theory completely different from that of Comrade Mao on this subject.

They say:

"Is it possible to wage guerilla warfare without mass movement and mass organisation?

"The revolutionary peasants have demonstrated through their struggle that neither mass movement nor mass organisation is indispensable for waging guerilla warfare." **(Liberation, Dec. 1969 - Page10)**

Another theoretician further says that the mass movement and mass organisation are not necessary to carry on the guerilla warfare in the "present era".

Comrade Mao says that mass movement and mass organisations are indispensable for conducting armed struggle. But our "Marxist-Leninist" theoreticians say that they are not indispensable and even are impediments for conducting the armed struggle. What a gross distortion and that too from persons who claim to be the sole custodians of Mao's Thought in India

5. THE ROLE OF MASS STRUGGLES IN PEOPLE'S WAR-CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS OF 'MARXIST-LENINIST' THEORETICIANS:

Look at the contradictory statements of the 'Marxist-Leninists' on the role of mass struggles in people's war.

In April 1967 they said:

"Naturally the problem arises whether there is any further need for mass movements based on partial demands. There is certainly such a need now and it will remain in the future. India is a vast land and the peasantry is divided into many classes. Thus in every area and among all classes the level of political consciousness cannot be the same. Thus an opportunity will always exist for peasant movement based on partial demands and communists must make good use of this opportunity.

"How should we conduct these movements for partial demands ? Tactically we should try for the largest peasant participation and our principal aim should be to see whether the peasants class consciousness is enlarged and whether it moves forward towards armed struggle. Mass movements based on partial demands will intensify the class struggle and increase the political consciousness of overwhelming masses of the people. Overwhelming masses of peasants will be inspired to make sacrifices and the struggle will spread to new area. The movements for partial demands can take many forms but communists must always propagate the necessity for a higher form of struggle. Under no circumstances will it be proper to circulate as 'best' whatever form the peasants adopt. In reality communists will always propagate revolutionary politics among the peasants i.e., the politics of armed struggle and the campaign for gun collections. But inspite of this propaganda the peasants may decide on mass deputations and if they do so, it will be our duty to lead them. During the period of white terror the effectiveness of these mass deputations cannot be minimised because these will draw into the struggle large number of peasants. Movements for economic demands are not wrong but to conduct these movements with the technique of economism is a crime".

(Liberation November 1969 Pages 83.)

What fine words! A completely correct formulation for co-ordinating the economic struggles with the armed struggles. It is not either Comrade Chandra Pulla Reddy or T.Nagi Reddy who said this. It is none but Comrade Charu Mazumdar himself who wrote this.

But a small doubt. What is the difference between what we are saying on this question and what Com. Charu Mazumdar said in 1967?

Then how is it that Com. Charu Mazumdar becomes a revolutionary for saying this and we become, for our Marxist-Leninist Comrades. "Counter- revolutionaries" for saying and practicing the same?

Com. Charu Mazumdar who said in 1967 that ***"mass movements based on partial demands will intensify the class struggle and intensify the political consciousness of overwhelming masses of***

the people" now says that, "mass organisations and mass movements increase the tendency for open and economist movement" **(Liberation, Dec. 1969 Page 10).**

How many contradictory statements! Can we expect such fine circus feats on a single question from the "learned pundits" who arrogantly claim that "now the people of India know that, except the C.P.I. (ML) all other parties, though different in name, are in essence the parties of Morarji or Indiraji, that they are the agents of Soviet Social imperialism or of US imperialism ?" **(Liberation, Sept. 1969 Page 21)**

Yes. Comrades, we have certainly refused to dance to the tunes of our "Marxist-Leninist" pundits on this question. We are not sorry for not having satisfied the "Marxist-Leninists" by behaving as obedient school children.

The "new" "creative" principles of the "Marxist-Leninist" theoreticians are against the teachings of Com. Mao on this subject and also they are against the practical experiences of the armed struggle.

The great heroic Telangana armed struggle started with the agitation on very ordinary issues like abolition of free labour (vetti) and reached the highest stage, the stage of armed struggle. It started with the struggle for abolition of debts in all forms, against grain levy and reached the stage of occupying the lands of land lords. Starting with ordinary agitational forms it reached the stage of establishing People's Government in thousands of villages. The great heroic Telangana armed struggle has proved that if the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle is combined with mass struggles on immediate class issues, they can be developed to the stage of armed struggle. Coming to the present period, has not the armed struggle in Terai area of UP start on the basis of peasant mass struggle against the landlords? Did armed struggle in Bihar start on the basis of peasant struggles for the seizure of lands under the occupation of zamindars?

Srikakulam armed struggle is the highest form of struggle in the recent period against the landlords and the Government. It is a people's struggle where the people participated on the broadest scale possible. Could we imagine the present Sreekakulam armed struggle without mass agitation, mass struggles conducted there for the last eight years?

6. ANNIHILATION OF CLASS ENEMY:

We firmly hold that by coordinating the class struggles with armed struggle, by coordinating other forms of struggle with armed struggle, we could make majority of the people consciously participate in the armed struggle. This is in consonance with the teachings of Com. Mao on the subject. 'Marxist-Leninists' are rejecting this correct principle.

Instead, they are advancing a new principle that 'annihilation' of class enemies along with the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle as the key task. They are loudly declaring that killing of a few land lords will lead to the establishment of liberated area, that killing of land lords should be the main aim of the guerilla struggle at the present stage.

During the period of Paris Commune in 1871, when the capitalist Government was killing thousands of workers Marx gave a fighting call "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" to save the movement from complete destruction. When the Chinese Red Army was fighting against the armies of Chiang- Kai-Shek. Com. Mao gave the call "tit for tat".

If only these principles are implemented taking the objective conditions in any particular area into consideration, the movement will definitely advance.

As the class struggles and the armed struggles get intensified, some of the landlords, who completely expose themselves as the arch enemies of the people will certainly be killed by the people in the course of the struggle. But so far we have not seen a single example where killing of landlords has been declared to be the main aim of the struggle. We know that destruction of class society based on exploitation has been declared to be the sole aim of the class struggle. But we have not seen anywhere in the writings of Marx-Engles-Lenin-Stalin and Mao, wherein they have said that by killing landlords one could liberate a country.

We, the Andhra Revolutionary Communists are certainly rejecting the strategic slogan of the 'Marxist-Leninist' leaders that liberated areas could be created by killing a few land lords. Their theories on this question are against the fundamental principles of class struggle itself.

They declare that "annihilation of class enemy is the higher form of class struggle". When class struggle gets intensified, the exploiting classes and their Government will resort to police repression to throw

the people's movement in blood. Then the people are forced to arm themselves and fight it back. With this, class struggle will change from ordinary form to the higher form of struggle, i.e., the stage of armed struggle. So armed struggle is the higher form of class struggle. Some of the class enemies will certainly be killed by the people both in the lower and higher forms of class struggle. It is wrong to say that killing of class enemies is the higher form of class struggle.

They further say that "the act of annihilating class enemies through guerilla actions is the primary stage of the guerilla struggle". What an atrocious formulation! The sole aim of the guerilla struggle from the primary stage to the end, is the destruction of class society of exploitation. Its quite wrong to say that the act of annihilating the class enemies through guerilla action is the primary stage of guerilla struggle. Comrade Mao has said that armed struggle has got three stages - the period when the strength of the enemy is superior to us; and the period when our strength and that of the enemy are equal and the period when our strength is superior to that of the enemy. Com. Mao has never said that act of annihilation of the class enemies through guerilla action is the primary stage of the guerilla struggle.

As the armed struggle advances, some of the peoples enemies will certainly be killed by the people. But the sole aim of the armed struggle could only be the destruction of class society of exploitation and the killing of landlords could never be the aim of armed struggle.

Com. Mao says:

"Our task is to abolish the feudal system, to wipe out the landlords as a class and not as individuals".

But the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are declaring that the annihilation of class enemies is the key task of the present stage of the guerilla struggle and killing of a few landlords in a particular area will turn that area into a liberated area. This is against the teachings of Comrade Mao on the subject.

7. MOBILISATION OF WORKING CLASS AND MIDDLE CLASSES FOR PEOPLE'S WAR:

In India People's Democratic Revolution, armed Agrarian Revolution should be led by the working class. The working class should directly participate in the revolution. We should formulate a program that helps us to draw the entire working class into the struggle. We have to rouse the working class with revolutionary consciousness

and make them realise the necessity of people's war,mobilise the working-class and lead their struggles against the present Government and its policies, send the militants who come forward in their struggles to the rural areas to join and lead the armed struggle there. It is only by organising them on economic issues, keeping in view their consciousness, organisation and readiness to fight, that we could draw the working class into armed struggle. All the fighting slogans in our 'Immediate Programme' are directed to the purpose of mobilising the work- ing class for struggle against the present Government's rule of exploitation and oppression.

Without giving such a programme the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are satisfied by repeating the strategic slogan "Workers of the World unite, you have nothing to loose except your chains. You have a world to win!" With such strategic slogans we may draw a few militants into the struggle and some of them may go to the areas of armed struggle. But without mobilising working class on economic issues along with the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle, to think of drawing working class into armed struggle through mere political slogans is a mere day dream.

The 'Marxist-Leninists' are taking the same sectarian attitude towards the middle class. We firmly hold that we must work among the middle classes to remove their illusions in the parliamentary institutions. We firmly hold that it is only by mobilising the middle classes for struggles on partial demands along with the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggles that we could win the support of middle classes for armed struggle.

Without such a fighting programme, mere strategic slogans like, "Oh Intellectuals! Go to the villages and carry forward the armed struggle" can at best draw a few people into the armed struggle, but will never help us to mobilise the support of majority of the middle classes for armed struggle.

These comrades are adopting the same sectarian attitude towards the small landlords and small merchants.

In the rural areas, to concentrate in the beginning on the big landlords and neutralize small land lords is a common tactic of the struggle. With such tactics we could isolate the big landlords. Our 'Immediate Programme' has clearly said that as the armed struggle advances the small landlords will be neutralised to the extent as the

necessities of the movement demand. Such a tactic is in accordance with the teaching of Mao on the subject.

Similar tactics should also be adopted towards the big usurious merchants. In the beginning the struggle must be concentrated to isolate them. We must not attack the small merchants who accept the people's demands. Such tactics will help us in isolating the main enemy.

8. SEPARATE TELANGANA MOVEMENT:

Com. Mao has said that "in the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." But, the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades distorted this statement and said 'only in the final stages, national struggle will change into class struggle', and as such communists should not take up national issues. Having distorted the national issue these very comrades, within a few months came forward to support the separate Telangana Movement and criticised us for not having done the same.

Telangana People do not constitute a separate nationality. In their struggle for power a section of land-lords in Telangana took up the demand of separate Telangana as against those in power. Students, youth, middle classes and even a section of poor classes, who were dissatisfied, disgusted with the policies of Congress Government took part in the movement. A section of landlords of Telangana utilised this dissatisfaction of the masses; for their own selfish ends. In these circumstances, we Revolutionary communists of Andhra Pradesh, exposed the conspiracies of land-lords, who were leading the separate Telangana movement, we declared that only by overthrowing the present Congress Government the people of both the regions can be liberated. We worked to direct discontentment of the masses against the present Congress Government and the entire system of exploitation.

Oppression of one nationality by another should be opposed by the communists. Communists should support and participate in all the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, national struggles and utilise all the opportunities to convert all such struggles into liberation struggles. There is no nationality issue in the separate Telangana struggle. It does not have any anti-feudal or anti-imperialist character.

Now the landlords of Telangana who took up the separate Telangana movement have further split themselves into three groups.

One group supports the slogan of separate Telangana, another group of state within a state and the third group demands referendum on the question. Now Marxist- Leninist comrades are at liberty to choose as to which group of the landlords they want to support.

9. TWO PRACTICES - TWO RESULTS

We followed the line of co-ordinating armed struggle with mass struggles on partial demands. The Marxist-Leninist's followed the line of forming armed squads with the available militants and carrying on raids against landlords. Let us analyse the results of these two lines followed in Andhra.

Let-us take the experiences of our own armed struggle.

In the beginning, we started our work in the forest area of Mulugu taluk of Warangal district, where we had a mass base. Along with the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle among the people, we mobilised the people against the exploitation of forest officials, contractors, village patels, patwaries, landlords etc. We mobilised the people for the occupation of forest lands for cultivation and also uncultivated lands of land lords. Wherever the landlords tried to oppose this mobilisation of people, we resisted them on the basis of squads. When the landlords of Pagideru area in Khammam district tried to terrify the people with guns we had to forcebly seize those guns from the landlords. Government sent central Reserve police in large numbers to suppress the movement. With this our armed resistance has started. In Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar districts along with armed struggles, we are mobilising the masses of the people on immediate issues against landlords, forest officials, patels, patwaris and forest contractors. We concentrated our armed attacks against the arch enemies of the people. Forest officials have been driven out of the forest area; majority of village patel, patwaris have been forced to take shelter either in the towns or in the police camps. They dare not move about freely in the forest villages. Our armed squads attacked some of the landlords and burnt to ashes the promissory notes worth lakhs of rupees. In some cases the people have seized the grain stocks and guns from the landlords. Sixteen landlords or their agents who are responsible for heinous crimes and who are notorious enemies of the people have been so far killed in this armed struggle. With this, some of the landlords of the forest area have run away to the towns.

Similarly in East Godawari district, the people have been mobilised for the re-occupation of the lands that have been seized by the landlords. The people in some places both men and women, resisted the landlords and police with the available weapons and re-occupied their own lands, raised crops on the lands and gathered the produce. In some villages, the people recovered their gardens from the landlords and the people are freely enjoying the forest produce.

While we are carrying on armed attacks on the enemies of the people, is the Congress Government sitting with folded hands? Certainly not. The Govt. have concentrated thousands of armed police in the districts of Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar. The police has raided every village in the forest area where the armed struggle is going on. Masses of the people have been lathi charged to force them to give out the whereabouts of our armed squads. At the village level, party workers and family members have been subjected to cruel torture. Properties of the people have been looted by the police; thousands of rupees have been extracted from the people by the police; many women have been raped. Hundreds of police have raided certain areas from all sides to put down the armed squads. They repeatedly carried out these "encirclement and suppression" campaigns to wipeout the armed squads. We could defeat all these campaigns with the support of the people. When CRP squads and our squads came face to face, the police had to run away in many cases. When our squad attacked a home guard centre, the commandeer of Home-guards was killed and the rest of them ran for life, our squad attacked the Peruru Police Station in Nuguru taluk which was suppressing the people in the surrounding area; the police were forced to lock themselves inside the police station to save their skin.

Before the armed struggle started, we propagated the lessons of great heroic Telangana armed struggle, both in the forest area and the plain areas. With this we tried to take the conception of armed struggle to the nook and corner of Andhra Pradesh.

During today's famine we mobilised the broad masses of the people to forcebly seize the grain stocks from the land lords. A broad mass movement has developed on this issue in Jangaon taluq of Warangal District. In this taluq, people were mobilised to occupy the banjar lands under the illegal possession of the landlords. The people

not only seized the banjar lands but also standing crops and moveable properties on these lands.

In Kurnool and Anantapur districts the people were mobilised for the occupation of banjar lands. In Anantapur district a broad people's movement developed on this issue, covering several taluks and drawing thousands of people into the movement. But to our Marxist-Leninist comrades all this appears to be mere 'counter-revolutionary' acts. Hard facts do not seem to have any value to our Marxist-Leninists. In Anantapur district majority of the banjar lands are already under the occupation of the landlords. Our 'Marxist-Leninist' pundits do not seem to know even this simple fact. At first people of some villages came forward to seize these banjar lands from the landlords. Against all the threats of the landlords and police, the people occupied the banjar lands in the possession of the landlords. Soon this developed into a big people's movement. The people of one area after another area came forward in hundreds and thousands, for the forcable seizure of these lands. This movement developed in the face of fierce resistance and threats from the land lords and the police. But all this appears to our Marxist-Leninist pundits as simple occupation of mere Govt. waste lands. What a colossal ignorance! What jaundiced eyes! In their arrogance and blind hatred against us these comrades are stooping to such low depths as to condemn even a people's movement wherein thousands of people participated.

During the past year in the course of armed struggle, four comrades, namely Bathula Venkateshwara Rao (state committee member), Suryanarayana, Venkanna and Yella Reddy have laid down their lives. Majority of our Leaders both at state and district levels working in the plains have been arrested and two conspiracy cases have been hatched against about 100 comrades. Many comrades, especially in Warangal and Khammam districts are thrown into the jails.

Armed attacks on the people's enemies, seizure of their movable properties and guns, burning of promissory notes, Government records with the Patels, Patwaries, re-occupation of lands from the landlords, attack on the police station, seizure of grain stocks from the landlords and distributing them among the people - are all these acts revisionist and counter revolutionary?

It is true that we have co-ordinated all these actions with mass struggles. It is true that we have co-ordinated all the partial issues. In our experience, when the people's movement is advancing, wherever we lagged behind in forming armed squads to fight back landlord and police suppression, the movement has suffered a set back. And similar wherever we carried armed attacks without taking into consider- ation the level of the people's consciousness, their political and organisational level, the movement has suffered a setback. Wherever the armed struggle was correctly co-ordinated with mass struggles on partial issues, the movement has advanced.

Only by correctly applying Mao's thought all the mass struggles could be developed into armed struggle and the partial struggles into a struggle for state power.

Intensive propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggles, mass struggles on immediate issues, formation of guerilla squads wherever on the enemies of the people- i.e., co-ordinating the mass movement and mass struggles with armed struggle - is our line for developing the mass struggles into armed struggle. We are trying to firmly implement this line to advance our armed struggle.

It is by pursuing this correct and fighting line, the movement started in Mulugu Taluk as our base, has developed in a contiguous area of 7 taluks of the three districts. Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar. In this vast area, no government department could function except with heavy police protection. Even land revenue could only be collected with police help. Even the police could enter the forest villages only in large numbers.

People's support to the armed struggle has increased. The people have begun to move on their immediate issues. The number of armed squads, the number of squad members, and the weapon strength has increased.

In East Godavari district, the movement has spread to about 100 villages in the agency area. In about 50 villages, village committees have been formed. But, here the results of the line followed by us suffered a temporary set back which we hope to overcome soon. Let us now analyse the results of the line followed by the 'Marxist-Leninist's in Andhra Pradesh.

In Srikakulam district the people moved on a large scale against the landlords and the police. Broad masses of the people participated in the movement. The people, pursued the liberation struggle and heroically fought back Govt. repression. Dozens of comrades have laid down their lives in this heroic struggle. What are the results of this struggle? How far has it advanced? How far has it spread? What are their experiences? We do not have any detailed reports on this. When such reports are available, we will certainly take proper lessons from them. But here we wish to say a few words on two issues.

- It is fact that even in Srikakulam district, the armed struggle developed out of anti-feudal struggles. We are of the firm opinion that the future of the struggle here depends only on the co-ordination of the armed struggle with the agrarian revolutionary programme.

- Now Srikakulam comrades are writing that they have established red political power in the agency areas of the district. But comrade Mao has taught us that along with other conditions we must have a regular Red Army to create Red area.

He says:

"The existence of a Regular Red Army of adequate strength is a necessary condition for the existence of a Red political power. If we have local Red Guards only, but no Regular Red Army, then we cannot cope with the regular white forces, but only with the landlords forces".

Comrade Mao has clearly said that without a Regular Red Army of adequate strength capable of fighting back the enemies, we cannot establish a Red area. Have the Sreekakulam comrades established 'Red Area' by creating a Regular Red Army, or through the guerilla squads only? What is the shape of the Government in the 'Red Area' at all levels? What are their functions? If the Srikakulam comrades could supply these details, we will certainly study them and take proper lessons.

Let us now see the results of the line pursued by the 'Marxist-Leninists' in other districts.

Inspired by the movement in Srikakulam district, militant youth in other districts came forward to advance the cause of people's war. At such a time any leadership will naturally give such youth a programme to organise mass struggles and to create mass base for

armed struggle in various areas. But this is not what the leadership of C.P.I. (M.L.) did in Andhra. They organised these militant youth into squads and asked them to conduct armed raids against the landlords. Let us see how this line was implemented in the districts other than Sreekakulam.

Some of the youth both from Andhra districts and other provinces were gathered and sent to Visakhapatnam district to carry on this line. These comrades without doing any mass work and political propaganda among the people and even without establishing any preliminary contacts with the local people straight away started planning for armed raids against the landlords and soon they were all arrested.

The youth that were sent to East Godavari were soon either got arrested or ran away from the field because of the same reason.

In Guntur district, youth gathered from different places of the district carried armed raids in some taluks, and took shelter in some other taluks. In many villages where they have carried on armed raids on the land-lords the 'Marxist-Leninists' do not have any cadre. They did not carry on any political propaganda in these villages or in the neighboring villages before the raids nor did they establish any contacts with the local people.

In Jangaon táluk of Warangal district 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades repeated the very same course. Their 'armed struggle' ended with only two raids.

In two other districts, the 'Marxist-Leninists' with the encouragement of one group of landlords killed two men belonging to the other group of landlords. These incidents have nothing to do with any mass issue or any political issue. They were carried out only for-money and nothing else.

It is only in Khammam district they have pursued their line for quite sometime. Here two squads with about 30 members each were formed in Manukota and Palwancha taluka and about 50 raids both minor and major were carried out. In Palwancha taluk they carried raids in the plains and took shelter in the forest. This was their only programme. They neither did any political propaganda not did they carry out any mass work either in the plains or in the forest area. They did not establish even minimum contacts with the people of the villages

either in the plains or in the forest area. But this struggle ended within three months of its starting.

Their squad in Manukota taluk carried out raids both in Manukota and Illandu taluk. Armed raids in the plains and shelter in the forest area was their only programme. No mass work or political propaganda was carried out. Their raids were not even confined to only big landlords, the arch enemies of the people. They raided even the middle class peasants homes. The raids were indiscriminate.

This squad was taking shelter in the very same area where one of our squads was also working. Our squad tried to discuss with them and make them realise the great harm that was being done because of indiscriminate raids and that too with no relation to mass movements. But they refused to yield to reason. With what consequencies?

Two squad leaders, one after another, deserted the squad and ran away with money. The squad which started with a strength of about 30 in May 1969 was soon reduced to 7 by October as a result of surrenders, desertions and arrests. When the leader of the remaining 7 members tried to run away with money he was killed by the squad itself. Of the six remaining, one surrendered to the police and the rest were arrested.

Excepting in Srikakulam, this is the way the 'Marxist-Leninists' have implemented their line of people's war in other districts. Contrary to these facts, these comrades are boastfully claiming that their movement "has now spread to 7 of the 20 districts of Andhra and is about to start in 5 others; that we have been able to win over the masses under the influence of all the various political parties which serve reaction (Liberation September 1969 Page 82). They further declared "that Red political power which has been established in this hilly area of Srikakulam has turned the whole district, nay the whole of Andhra Red" (same paper page 83).

The unfortunate thing is that at the time when these boastful claims were being made their 'armed struggle' has come to an end in other districts except in Srikakulam, Such statements may succeed in temporarily de- ceiving the people who are faraway from Andhra, but they will never succeed in deceiving the people of Andhra who are seeing the facts with their own eyes.

Not satisfied with the result so far obtained, recently they have carried out similar raids in Nellore and Anantapur districts and met with the same results.

Leaving Srikakulam district aside, what is the character of 'armed struggle' that these comrades carried on in other districts of Andhra Pradesh .? They gathered a few militant youth from one corner of the district, carried out armed raids in the villages of another corner and took shelter in another part of the district. Either before or after the raids, they did not even carry on political propaganda nor did they establish any contacts with the people of the locality where they carried out armed raids. This, in essence is the character of 'armed struggle' that they carried on in the districts other than Sreekakulam.

These 'armed' raids have nothing to do with any mass work or the mass issues or the mass movement. They were not co-ordinated and not conducted in a contiguous area. Such raids, at best, can only reflect the deep-rooted dissatisfaction and discontentment among the youth at the present situation and their determination to do something to put an end to the present order of things. But they can never be considered as part of an armed struggle based on Mao's thought. Such uncoordinated raids, having no connection with any mass movement cannot help organise people's armed struggle and more over they harm the very concept of armed struggle based on Mao's thought.

The line of Marxist-Leninist comrades that liberated areas should be established by way of political propaganda, organisation of squads, annihilation of class enemies has miserably failed in all these districts.

Our line of political propaganda, mass struggles on partial issues and armed struggle and their co-ordination, that was implemented, has helped the armed struggle to spread to seven taluks of three districts and to develop extensive mass movement in East Godavari and some other places.

Here are the two lines and two results. Which is correct and which is wrong? The practice itself has proved.

It is true there are differences between the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Committee and the leadership of C.P.I. (M.L.) on the question of application of Mao's Thought and the path of people's war un- der the concrete conditions of India.

- We say that propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle, mobilisation of broad masses of the people for mass struggles

on partial issues and co-ordination of mass struggles with the armed struggle-will help in drawing the majority of the people to consciously participate in the armed struggle and in broadening and advancing the armed struggle. It will help in creating guerilla zone in a particular area and establishing revolutionary stable base area to carry on protracted armed struggle. This is how the Revolutionary Communist Committee of Andhra Pradesh understands and implements the path of people's war.

But the leadership of the CPI (ML) says that mass struggles and mass organisations will increase the tendency towards legalism and breeds economism and they are impediments in the way of development of armed struggle. Political propaganda, organisation of squads and killing of land lords is the line of people's war.

- We say that we must conduct the struggles at the present stage to create guerilla zones and then liberated areas in the forest and mountainous areas; the struggles in the forest areas and the plains must be co-ordinated to achieve this aim.

But the leadership of the CPI (ML) says that, at the present stage itself, stable revolutionary base areas could be established in all the areas in the plains. They assert that by killing a few landlords in any area stable revolutionary base areas could be established; and mass movements and mass organisations are not necessary and are impediments in the way of developing the armed struggle.

- We say that the aim of the guerilla struggle is to overthrow the present big bourgeoise - big land lords Govt. and establish people's Democratic Government in its place. It is true that in the course of this struggle some of the arch enemies of the people will certainly be killed by the people but the aim of the struggle at any stage could not be the killing of individual land lords. Our sole aim should be to destroy the present semi feudal and semi colonial society.

But the leadership of the CPI (ML) says that killing of land lords is the key task at the present stage of the guerilla struggle.

- We say that the working class and the middle classes should be drawn towards the revolutionary politics and the path of peoples war through mass struggles on partial demands and propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle and thus make them to

consciously and directly participate in the armed struggle.

But the leadership of the C.P.I. (M.L.) says that it is enough if a general call is given asking them to go to the villages and carry on the armed struggle there.

- We say that in the beginning of the struggle, in the rural areas, the struggle must be concentrated against the big land lords and the big usurious merchants. As far as possible small land lords, and small merchants should be neutralised; thus isolating the big land-lords and the big merchants to easily breakdown their resistance. As the movement advances and the necessities of the movement demand, the lands of the small landlords will also have to be distributed to the extent necessary.

But the leadership of the C.P.I. (M.L.) says that no difference should be shown between the big and small land lords, between the small and big merchants and that we should attack both the big and small land lords and merchants all alike at the same time. This wrong tactic is the result of their having no agrarian programme to implement now. See their contempt for it in the following:-

"..... the agrarian revolution has to await the smashing of state power. To attempt an agrarian revolution without first smashing state machinery is straight forward revisionism".

(Liberation, Nov. 69 Page 80)

We are certain that on all these issues, the line of thinking and practice of the 'Marxist-Leninists' is opposed to the teachings of comrade Mao.

Our programme, on all these issues, will help us to win necessary support of broad masses of the people to the armed struggle, make them realise, through their own experience, the necessity of armed struggle and their participation in the armed struggle.

The 'Marxist-Leninists' refuse to see the necessity of patiently working among the people to make them consciously participate in the armed struggle; refuse to have faith in and rely on the masses. They say that by killing land lords in any area, the broad masses of the people could be drawn into the armed struggle and stable revolutionary bases can be established. Thus the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are exhibiting blatant revolutionary impetuosity on all the issues affecting the people's war.

If we carefully analyse all their arguments, it will be clear that in the place of individual terrorism which is against Marxism-Leninism, 'Marxist-Leninists' are adopting squad terrorism. Marxism-Leninism has long ago rejected the theory that people can be moved into action through the heroic deeds of individuals against their exploiters. But the Marxist-Leninists are adopting in its place a new theory that through squad heroism the people can be moved into action against their exploiters. Both these new theories are against the Marxist principle that the people alone will make history.

Our program will enable us to work patiently among the people, to go deep into the people and move the masses step by step, towards armed struggle. However, we firmly believe that in the national and international revolutionary situation of to-day, if we work with patience and perseverance among the people on the basis of the path of people's war, we will soon be able to draw broad mass of the people into the armed struggle.

But the programme of the C.P.I. (M.L.) has no faith in and no reliance on the masses, on mass organisation and mass struggles that will only lead to adventuristic actions by a few individuals. With such an understanding nothing can be achieved and after some time they will be reduced to mere empty left-phrase mongers. It is no surprise that our programme appears to them, a 'revisionist programme'. We can only remind them of comrade Mao's reply to all those theoreticians of "quick victory" who opposed the line of protracted war.

Comrade Mao said :

"Are we not afraid of being denounced as non-resisters? No; we are not. Not to fight at all but to compromise with the enemy-that is non-resistance, which should not only be denounced but must never be tolerated. We must resolutely fight the war of Resistance. But in order to avoid the enemy's deadly trap it is absolutely necessary that we should not allow our main forces to be finished off at one blow, which would make it difficult to continue the war of Resistance. In brief-it is absolutely necessary to avoid national subjugation" **(emphas is ours) (On Protracted War)**

We must preserve our small forces from destruction by the enemy; combine work among the people with armed struggle and thus win the

support of the broad masses of the people for a protracted armed struggle. This is our aim. This is the only course that must be adopted when we have to fight an enemy whose military strength is far superior to us. This is the only course that helps us to accumulate strength, become a strong and powerful force and ultimately overpower the strength of the enemy.

Because of the uneven economic and political development and uneven development of mass movement in India certain differences are bound to arise on the steps to be taken to implement the path of peoples war in various parts of the country. We should patiently study the experiences of armed struggle in various parts of the country. It is only through mutual discussions based on practical experience that a general fighting programme applicable to the whole of India can be hammered out. We must always remember comrade Mao's saying.

"History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle. These lines must combat 'left' opportunism on the one hand and 'right' opportunism on the other. Without combating and thoroughly overcoming these harmful tendencies which damage the revolution and the revolutionary war, it would be impossible to establish a correct line and win victory in this war".

We are prepared for such mutual discussions between communist revolutionaries implementing the path of people's war in various parts of the country. But the 'Marxist-Leninist's without showing any patience for such mutual discussions are accusing all other communist revolutionaries who differ with them as 'cowards', counter-revolutionaries and 'revisionists' etc. and are mainly responsible for the disunity among the communist revolutionaries in India today.

11. DISTORTIONS AND LIES:

We must carefully note how the leadership of the CPI (ML) is distorting even the principles of Comrade Mao in order to support their wrong principles and lines.

- While Comrade Mao says that "In the final analysis National struggle is a matter of class struggle, the 'Marxist-Leninists' say that only in the final stage national struggle will change into class struggle.

- While Comrade Mao says, that along with the armed struggle ***"other forms of struggle such as mass organisations and mass struggle are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances be overlooked". The 'Marxist-Leninists' say "neither mass movement nor mass organisation is indispensable" and that they "increase the tendency for open and economist movement",***

- While Comrade Mao says that armies of the enemy should be annihilated, the 'Marxist-Leninists' say that the annihilation of landlords should be the key task.

- While Comrade Mao says "Our task is to abolish the feudal system, to wipe out the land lords as a class and not as individuals", the 'Marxist-Leninists' put forth the killing of landlords as the key task to establish stable revolutionary base areas.

Towards us, the revolutionary communists of Andhra Pradesh, the 'Marxist-Leninist' Comrades have adopted a hostile attitude and resorted to distortions, lies and abuses in their polemics against us.

For instance, take only three examples of their gross distortions:-

- In the third page of our "Immediate Programme" we have used the expression "Soviet Revisionist neo-colonial exploitation". The 'Marxist- Leninist' pundits are trying to show that this expression is different from "Soviet Social Imperialism" as characterised by the great Chinese Communist Party. But in the fourth page of the very same document we have characterised the International Policies of the Soviet Revisionists as "Soviet Social Imperialism".

For the benefit of Marxist-Leninist pundits who are so labouriously trying to show that Soviet revisionist neo-colonial exploitation is different from "Soviet Social Imperialism", we refer them to the following lines from Pecking Review, 30, 1969 wherein it is said:

"However the so-called exemplary model is nothing but a typical example of Neo-colonialism pushed by Soviet revisionism in Asian-African region. The so-called "tremendous achievements" is nothing but India's heavy dependence on Soviet Revisionist social imperialism economically, financially and militarily, that is to say, India has been reduced to a colony of both Soviet Revisionism and U.S. imperialism."

We request our 'Marxist-Leninist' professors to see that both soviet revisionist neo-colonial exploitation and soviet social imperialism are terms used to mean the same and are used by the great Chinese Communist Party itself.

- To dub us as anti-C.P.C. the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are criticising us for having included British imperialism along with American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism who are exploiting India. Do the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades not accept the fact that British capital still occupies an important place in Indian industries? Do they not see British capital in the form of loans and 'aid' in India? Do they want to argue that British capital in India does not have the character of neo-colonial exploitation? Or do they want to protect British capital in India?

In their blind anxiety to attack us, they do not see what C.P.C. has said on this point. Peking Review 30, 1969 says: ***"Soviet revisionist renegade clique is also ruthlessly exploiting Indian people by large scale capital export to India in the form of 'Loans'. The Soviet revisionists have become India's third Largest creditor next to the US. and Britain.***

British capital is still occupying an important place in the Indian industries. In the countries supplying Loans to India, Britain still occupies second place. India is still a member of British commonwealth. Thus we see that India is still being subjected to neo-colonial exploitation by British imperialism. Accepting the fact of neo-colonial exploitation of India by Britain does not in any way reduce the leading position of U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism in the neo-colonial exploitation of India.

Look at the political Resolution of the C.P.I. (M.L.) themselves;

"At the same time, various sections of the ruling classes and parties who have tied their future with American, Soviet and British imperialists are having a dog fight among themselves" (Telugu version P.5)

In their blind hatred towards us the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are even forgetting what they have said in their own political resolution.

- Our "Immediate Programme" has said that one of the tasks of

People's Democratic Revolution is nationalisation of foreign capital in industries and banks and the capital of the comprodar bureaucratic bourgeoise tied to foreign capital. This can never mean, as the Marxist-Leninist pundits say, that we should leave the foreign capital in the form of loans untouched. The aim of the People's Democratic Revolution is to abolish foreign imperialist capital in any form.

12. BLATANT LIES:

In their blind hatred against us the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are resorting to blatant lies. Look at only a few examples :

- In two of our earlier documents, we had condemned the stand of the neo-revisionists on the internal situation in India and these documents were in the possession of the 'Marxist-Leninists'. But still they had the adaucity to falsely declare that we had no criticism of the stand taken by the neo-revisionists on the internal situation in India.

We proposed to the 'Marxist-Leninists' that comrade Nagi Reddy would resign his membership of Assembly in the February budget session of 1969. The 'Marxist-Leninist' leadership wrote a letter to us accepting it. But they made a false accusation later that comrade Nagi Reddy has refused to resign his Assembly membership.

Our armed struggle started in April 1969 in the forest areas of Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar districts. It took 15 to 20 days for the news to reach Vijayawada, as soon as the news reached our paper "Janasakti" prominently published this news of armed struggle. Soon after, our State Committee met and greeted the armed struggle and extended full support for the same. Our weekly "Janasakti" wrote an editorial in support of the armed struggle.

But, while these were the facts the 'Marxist-Leninists' have published in the "Liberation" of September 1969.

"Nagi's followers are carrying out guerilla actions in the two districts in the plains where they have some influence. This has put Nagi & Co. in a fix. They can neither disown the actions of their own followers nor can prevent them from doing it. So Janasakti, their organ has to play it safe by completely shutting out news of the actions their own followers are carrying out".

What a Himalayan lie!

- The 'Marxist-Leninists' are claiming that "Naxalbari represents the first ever application of Mao's thought on the soil of India and it

was in Naxalbari that the peasants, for the first time, launched their struggle for the seizure of power". But what are the historic facts?

The heroic and glorious Telangana armed struggle of 1946-51 brought on the agenda for the first time the path of the Indian Revolution - The Chinese path or the Russian path? The Andhra communists advocated that the Indian Revolution should follow the Chinese path, should follow the path of protracted armed struggle to achieve complete liberation and led the peasant armed struggle in Andhra based on the writings of comrade Mao. For the first time in India, during the course of the great heroic Telangana armed struggle the Govt. machinery at the village level was destroyed in about three thousand villages and People's Raj was established in these villages - 'Marxists-Leninists' are distorting this historic truth.

But when we are speaking of this historical truth, we do not want in any way to minimise the importance of the Naxalbari peasant armed struggle. This struggle has opened the eyes of the Communist Revolutionaries who have sunk them selves in the mire of the Parliamentary path. It has again opened the way for armed peasant struggles in various parts of the country. With this liberation movement of Indian people based on Mao's thought-has taken a decisive turn and advanced with great strides. We whole-heartedly congratulate the Naxalbari comrades for this. But out of overenthusiasm one should not distort historical facts.

Truth is greater than lies, it is greater than the lies of the leadership of the C.P.I. (M.L.) too. We can resolve the differences between the Communist Revolutionaries throughout the country only through mutual, comradely discussions. Angry words cannot occupy the place of reasoned arguments. Foul, arrogant accusations like "cowards" and "counter-revolutionaries" etc. cannot replace the arguments based on the thought of Mao and the path of people's war.

The 'Marxist-Leninist' leadership is refusing such mutual and comradely discussions on the differences between the Communist Revolutionaries throughout the country. All their foul accusations like "cowards" and "counter revolutionaries" are being taken by our Andhra people as the ravings of men who have reached the edge of madness. Our work among the people, our armed struggle against the exploiting

classes will certainly smash all that of the Marxist-Leninist' leaders misrepresentions about us.

An Appeal to the Communist Revolutionaries

Comrades, we have refused to get provoked by the abusive language used against us by the leadership of the C.P.I. (M.L.). We have patiently tried to explain our views on some of the differences standing in the way of unity among the Communist Revolutionaries throughout the country. We are always prepared for mutual, comradely discussions with other groups of Communist Revolutionaries on the existing differences. We are always prepared to learn from the experiences of other comrades. We firmly believe that this is the only way to build unity between the various groups of Communist Revolutionaries.

Let us remember that we are living in an era of disintegration of world capitalism and era of world-wide victory of the socialist forces. Recent world events have clearly demonstrated the correctness of the stand taken by the great Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of comrade Mao. We just remind all the communist revolutionaries about the great historic statement of Comrade Mao made on May 20, 1970. "People of the world unite and Defeat the U.S. Imperialists and their running dogs".

The American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, hand in glove with the Indian reactionary ruling classes are conspiring to make India a base against socialist China; against the revolutionary movement in Asia. It is the sacred duty of all the groups of the Communist Revolutionaries of India to defeat these conspiracies of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. It is only by overthrowing the present big bourgeois-big land-lord Government through people's war that we can defeat these conspiracies.

Unity among the various groups of the communist revolutionaries in India is the only way of vigorously continuing the people's war based on Mao's thought and the effective way to discharge our sacred duty towards not only our own people, but towards the people of the world also.

We dip our Red Banner in memory of those comrades who have laid their precious lives in the armed struggles through out our country.

We dip our Red Banner in memory of comrades Panchadi Krishna Murthy, Panchadi Nirmala, Ganapathi, Dr. Bhaskar Rao, Panigrahi Subba Rao, China Babu, Vempatapu Satyanarayana, Adibhatla Kailasam and others who have laid their precious lives in the Sreekakulam armed struggle and Jagadish in Warangal district.

We dip our Red Banner in memory of comrades, Bathula Venkateshwar Rao, Suryanarayana, Venkanna and Yella Reddy who have laid their precious lives in our armed struggle in Warangal and Khammam districts.

We salute all those comrades who are valianthy fighting in various parts of the country for the cause of people's war.

We firmly believe that the sacrifices of our martyred comrades and the cause of people's war will soon unite all the groups of Communist Revolutionaries into one.

Long live the path of People's War!

Long live the Thought of Mao!



What is resistance struggle?

In the years 1968-70, a debate ensued among the revolutionaries as to what is armed struggle and what is resistance struggle?. This debate went on when Charu's Left deviationist line came forward. This discussion took place when line annihilation of class enemy came forward. This discussion continued during the days when Charu's left deviationist line had gained an upper hand.

In those days our State Committee and other states had opposed Charu's left adventurism. We opposed the view point that annihilation of class enemy was armed struggle. Our State Committee had clarified that in a backward country like India, armed struggle is nothing but armed guerilla struggle. We have clearly explained our opinion that armed guerilla struggle could be conducted only on the basis of Agrarian Revolutionary struggle. On the basis of this concept, we had tried our best to build movement. Though in the beginning we made some mistakes, on the whole we were able to take forward the mass movement and the revolutionary movement.

But, at that time Charu's Left adventurism had gained upper hand among the revolutionaries. That is why the majority of the revolutionaries had followed Charu's Left adventurist line in those days. Charu's Left adventurism took recourse to the activities which had nothing to do with the people and the level of people's consciousness. Mainly the militants had participated in those activities. Since they were adventurist actions which had no connection with the people, the upsurge of great mass struggle had been completely smashed. The mass struggles like Naxalbari, Mushahari, Midnapur, Srikakulam etc., had suffered a severe set back. The revolutionaries of these movements split into several groups. Most of them had split into petty-bourgeois groups and are still splitting.

On the other side, the peasant struggle of Godavari Valley, was built up on the basis of mass line and opposed Charu's Left adventurism. It withstood and developed. The movements of other states, which had opposed Charu's Left adventurism also developed. In a process, all of them merged. In this process the present C. C. had been formed.

Today's Debate

Among today's revolutionaries, Right deviation has gained an upper hand. Attempts are being made to confine the Agrarian Revolutionary movement to legalism and economism. Some are opposing the principles of resistance struggle formulated by our Party. Their attempts should be defeated. Earlier, when Charu's Left adventurism was opposed, this debate ensued. Now, in the context of opposing Right deviation, this discussion has come forward.

Now it is being questioned as to what is resistance struggle, and what is the relationship between the resistance struggle and the armed struggle. They are thinking that Party is saying that resistance struggle is armed struggle. They say that we are considering the existing forest squads as the squads of armed struggle. These are nothing but distortions born in their minds.

What is armed struggle? What is resistance struggle? What is the relationship between these two? How do we prepare the masses for them ? These are the questions that are before us,

What is armed struggle ?

People's war means the war waged by the people. There is no other meaning.

India is a backward country. Here, the armed struggle will be conducted only in the form of guerilla struggle. For this guerilla struggle Agrarian Revolutionary struggle will be the basis. Through such guerilla struggles, some Liberated Areas will be formed locally. Finally the towns will be libertaed. Armed struggle in India means only the struggle that is conducted, based on Agrarian Revolutionary struggle.

What is Resistance Struggle

In the beginning The mass movement develops in different stages. backward masses will be organised to agitate on their immediate demands, We will utilise some provisions of the legislations to organise these agitations. We will get them implemented. In this stage also some strikes will be conducted. Class struggles also will be conducted. But on the whole, the movement will not exceed the stage of general agitation, some strikes and class struggles in villages. Veiwed as a whole, the movement will be within the confines of a legal agitation.

In the beginning, the mass agitation will continue in the form of legal agitation. But the landlords and dictatorial tyrants in the villages

will not tolerate even this much of general agitation. They will oppose even these legal agitations. They even clash with the people on occasions. But it should not be construed as resistance struggle due to these factors.

In the process of conducting general agitation in an area, some mass base will be created. The basic issues of the masses cannot be resolved through general agitation. That is why the people will definitely search for alternate methods. As the stength of the mass organisation increases an area, by its strength, the people themselves settle their demands. All sorts of problems arising out of feudal exploitation form the basis for this struggle. Issues are taken up one after another.

In the process of advancement of the movement, the question of distribution of the landlords' own lands also will come onto the agenda.

Thus in that area, people will resort to get their immediate demands settled. They will get them implemeted. When the movement reaches this stage, the feudal landlords and the dictatorial tyrants will resort to suppression of the mass struggles and the class struggles of the exploited people. For this end they use their goondas they have hired and are maintaining. Through these goondas, they try to suppress the revolutionary movement. They resort to all sorts of atrocities. People are compelled to resist the atrocities of the goondas. Through the strength of their mass organisation, and through the volunteer squads they have formed, people should fight back these goondas. Only when they are able to fight back, they can protect the growing mass base. Then only the mass movement can develop. When the goondas are unable to face the organised strength of the mass movement, the state forces will be brought into the field. Police,reserve police,para-military forces and army-such repressive measures will be used by the government. It will resort to all kinds of atrocities on the people. It will bring into play all the relevant repressive laws and Acts.

What should be done when the state forces enter the scene? If the people are ready to defy the state forces, the revolutionaries should lead the revolt of the masses. Otherwise, some revolutionaries should remain with the masses. Some important comrades should go into underground.

Though they are in underground, their programme will be mainly to rally the masses for the Agrarian Revolution.

To resist the atrocities of the landlords, the people will mainly depend on the locally available weapons. At this stage, the questions like whether underground comrades should move about alone? Or in squads ? Should the squads carry weapons? If yes, what sort of weapons ? will be decided depending upon the strength of the movement, the preparedness of the masses, their level of consciousness, on the geographical conditions, and on the strength of the Party.

In this process, the revolutionary movement should be developed. By the method of consolidation and expansion, the area should be developed into an area of sustained resistance.

We are calling this kind of struggle as resistance struggle and such an area resistance struggle area. Our Party says that the Godavari valley struggle is resistance struggle. Here our movement has surpassed the general agitational level. Land struggles, anti-government demands, corruption, coolie rates and the like, are being settled by the people depending on their own strength. Our comrades are working amidst police camps. On one hand our squads are defending themselves from police and on the other, they are mainly rallying the people for the Agrarian Revolution. There are also instances of the people enmasse resisting the police. That is why we are calling this as resistance struggle. We say that the struggle being conducted in Karimnagar district of A. P is also a resistance struggle. Here also the people, through the strength of their mass organisation, having their demands conceded and implemented. They are able to resist the goondas of the landlords through the strength of their mass organisation. For the past 6 years they are fighting. Through the process-consolidation and extension, the movement which was started in 20 villages, has now extended to 400 villages The movement which started in one taluk, has now extended to all taluks. That is why we say that this is resistance struggle.

Resistance struggle means 1. Anti landlord struggle, 2 Resistance to the atrocities of the goondas of the landlords, and 3 Extension of the movement withstanding the police repression.

Only when the movement of an area has acquired these three characteristics can it be called resistance struggle.

Principles of Resistance Struggle

These principles of resistance struggle are clearly enunciated in the document "Path of Peoples' War in India-Our Tasks". Note the following lines,

"Agrarian Revolution is the main content of the People's Democratic Revolution, i. e. the New Democratic Revolution, under the leadership of the working class. Armed Agrarian Revolutionary struggle is the main form of the struggle in the People's War.

Agrarian Revolution means an all round struggle against all forms of exploitation, oppression and suppression of the big landlords on the whole peasantry, on the whole population in the villages, in which distribution of private lands of the big landlords is the highest form of class struggle.

The exploitation by the landlords in our villages consists of various forms-exploitation of the agricultural labourers and farm servants, exploitation of the peasant tenants, forced labour, Nagu (usury through grain), usury, selling their surplus grain at exorbitant rates, communal and caste oppression and suppression and economic and political domination in the villages etc. Agrarian Revolution means a struggle against all these forms of exploitation, oppression and suppression practiced by the landlords.

But it is also true that landlord oppression and suppression cannot be ended unless the people are able to seize and distribute among themselves the private lands of the landlords, the basis of land- lord oppression and suppression.

So, while the peasants are mobilised for struggles against all forms of feudal exploitation, oppression and suppression, the people should be given the consciousness to seize the private lands of the landlords, which is the basis of landlord exploitation. All anti-feudal struggles should be consciously directed, step by step, towards seizure of the private lands of the landlords.

The land problem also presents itself in various forms in various parts of our country.

For example, government banjar lands, reserve and non-reserve forest lands, lands under religious institutions, banjar lands under the occupation of the landlords, uncultivated lands of the landlords, lands

of the poor peasants forcibly occupied by the landlords, tank-beds, abandoned tanks and landlords' own lands. Unless the peasants occupy the landlords lands, feudalism will not be abolished and the socio-political exploitation of the landlords cannot be put an end to. Therefore, we must strive to prepare the peasants to occupy landlords' own lands by mobilising them for mass revolutionary struggles and thus our main aim is to organise armed Agrarian Revolution in the country."

In the peasant areas, the salient points of the Party's orientation is (1) selection of strategic areas, (2) selection of cadres, (3) surveying the conditions of the area, (4) formulation of the agitational and struggle slogans in consultation with the people and giving them wide propaganda, (5) linking this propagation with revolutionary politics, (6) in the process of this propaganda formation of Rytu Coolie Sanghams, (7) formation of volunteer squads, (8) resisting the atrocities of the landlords, goondas and the police, and (9) for this, arming the people against landlords with the locally available weapons from the beginning of the struggles.

In the process of this struggle, utilising the method of consolidation and extension of the movement, the movement has to be built up in the widest possible area. Thus it should be developed into an area of sustained struggle.

In the stage of anti landlord struggles also, the landlords, goondas and the police will resort to attacks to suppress the peasant movement. Our Party units should lead the people to resist this counter revolutionary attacks. If the people are not yet prepared to put up such resistance, some cadres should remain with the masses and the remaining important cadres should protect themselves. They should work among the people either as individuals or as squads. They should work among the people with weapons or without weapons.

The form of defence depends on the level of the movement, the level of people's consciousness, people's cooperation, the dimensions of the area, the geographical conditions of the area, and the strength of the Party etc.

Though the armed squads are formed depending on the conditions of struggle, the main task of these squads will still be to rally the

people for the armed Agrarian Revolution. But these squads should never resort to annibilation of class enemies.

These are the principles of resistance struggle. As the participation of the peasants in the anti landlord struggles increases, as the role of the volunteer squads increases, as the resistance to the atrocities of landlords, goondas increases,the desire among the people for changing this system increases. Depending upon the intensity of this desire, the consciousness of the people for the armed struggle increases. Growth of this consciousness is important. Then only can the guerilla struggle start. When should the guerilla struggle be launched? In what form? Under what circumstances will the Liberated Areas be formed? These matters are left for the future. At present we have decided to work towards this aim.

It will be a mistake to apply Chinese experience in toto. The experience of Hunan peasants' struggle is important. In the present stage, such struggles are necessary. We strongly feel that our document of People's War path will come in handy in this regard.

That is why it is very essential to mobilise the people into anti land- lord struggles. It is essential to resist the attacks of the landlords, goondas. It is essential that people should participate in these struggles. That is why it is nothing but a distortion to depict the activities of today's armed squads as the regular armed guerilla struggle. We consider them as part of resistance struggle.

When did we achieve clarity on this struggle programme ?

At the outset we did not have clarity on this struggle programme. We achieved it in the course of struggle.

Taking as a whole, this programme has taken a turn to the Right in the plain areas. Rallies, processions etc. were conducted on some immediate issues. But on the issues like occupation of banjar waste lands etc., this had taken the form of submitting memoranda to the government requesting for issue of pattas (ownership deeds). Such issues have gradually got bogged down in court litigations. This also was confined to certain areas only.

In the forest area it took a turn towards Left adventurism. At the outset, in the forest area, agitation was conducted on issues such as exploitation by forest contractors, exploitation by patels and patwaris, exploitation by forest officials, high rates of interests, 'nagu'

exploitation, banjar waste-lands problems, exploitation of the landlords, atrocities of the police etc. On these issues the cadres who went from outside stayed in the villages and orgainsed at the village level. They had the co-operation of some girijans. Together they worked extensively among the people. On the immediate demands, they propagated among the masses, mobilised them. People had achieved many victories. On this basis, at village level, we formed village committees. Mass orgainsations were formed and began to function.

At this juncture, the landlords, patels, patwaris and the forest officials had conspired against us. They sent the landlords' goondas against us. They got the state forces into the forest.

Due to this, our movement had to undergo certain vicissitudes. 'Manthena action', giving weapons to squads, and the 'Pagideru action', and after 'Pagideru action' for several months, some more adventurist actions had taken place. All this is Left adventurism. These mistakes stemmed from lack of proper orientation in the Party, the declaration made in AP State Party Convention that the armed struggle would be launched in June, 1969, and the pressure of the Srikakulam movement.

Efforts had been initiated at first in Khammam area to rectify these mistakes. In May 1969, the Khammam Area Committee had taken measures to get rid of the Left adventurism that had made inroads into the movement. A programme was chalked out to extend the mass base.

Girijans must be mobilised to occupy the forest banjars which are adjacent to their fields.

People should be rallied to occupy available banjars.

People should be rallied for enhancement of wage rates for the work done to the forest contractors.

In border villages, people should be mobilised for strikes for enhancement of wage rates of agricultural labour.

People should be rallied on the demand of right to enjoy the forest wealth freely.

People should be rallied to distribute among themselves the surplus paddy of the landlords.

In addition to the above economic demands, the total political line and People's War Path should be put into wide propagation.

Sending out forest officials from the forest, burning the records

of patels and patwaris, thus paralysing the state administrative machinery.

Enrolling village militants, youths into squads, thereby increasing the number of squads and the areas of operation.

The police attacks on village, just like they do now, should not be allowed. Necessary steps should be taken to this end.

With these decisions, to a larger extent, the Left adventurism was rooted out. But traces of it still remained.

To say that we should not allow the forest officials to enter the forest had boomranged on our people. This had resulted in stopping the work without providing alternate employment for the people. Therefore this was modified because of the pressure from the people.

-Ambushing: we had found out that at the present juncture, they are impractical.

In this process, the movement had started working on people's problems. The movement extended.

Meanwhile, majority of the state leadership had been arrested. A joint meeting of the remaining leadership comprising of Warangal, Khammam area committees and forest squads was held to consolidate the movement.

In this meeting, a document enunciating four principles of struggle for the forest movement was prepared. These principles are:

A) Propagation of the politics of people's war,

B) Rallying the people on their problems,

C) Relevant measures against the enemies of the people, and

D) Self-defence from the police.

This meeting took place in the forest area in September 1970. These are basically the principles of struggle pertaining to the forest area.

With this new programme the movement in the forest areas had extended. People's participation in the struggles for settlement of their numerous problems had increased. The occupation of banjar lands had increased. In villages, a consistant mass base was formed. The village committees have come into existence and started functioning.

New committees were formed in plain areas with the existing cadres. Class struggles were widespread. The struggles of agricultural labourers and the strikes of hired farmhands had taken place in large number. We were able to rally students. The activities of the students union had taken a clear shape. Meanwhile, we had to face the disruption of D.V. Rao. He had started to implement the policy of legalism and economism, which was previously existing in the plain areas. Now he had resorted to extend this to forest areas. In the begining he was full of praise for the movement of forest area. Later he was critical of the forest movement. In this process, he, along with some of his followers, had left the Party. With this, the danger of Right deviation, for the time being, was eliminated in the plain areas as well as in the forest areas. In both the areas the movement had extended. Class struggles had extended in both the areas, the revolutionary movement had developed and reached a stage where we were able to implement a common programme.

The anti-feudal struggles broke out massively in the plain areas. In the forest areas anti-government struggles have developed, We had to give a common programme for both these areas. This task was fulfilled by the State Conference in September 1973. The Conference had decided that all the following tasks should be combined and work should begin for implementing them.

"Propagation of the politics of armed revolution; anti-landlord struggles and anti-government struggles; building up of mass organisations and village volunteer squads, resistance to the attacks of landlords and police, and formation of people's committees". The Conference decided that these principles apply to the plain areas as well as forest areas. It had enunciated how they should be implemented.

Within a short time after the State Conference, our state unit had merged with the All India Central Committee.

After the conference, the tasks enunciated above have been implemented. In the forest areas the movement had further extended and the land struggles have developed as a people's movement. The people had occupied 3 lakh acres of forest land. We were able to give appropriate forms of struggles for the people to fight against the atrocities of landlords, goondas and the police. In some places the people had taken up these forms of struggles. The squads were able to

defend themselves effectively against the police. They had become proficient in this. A wide basis for the unity of revolutionaries had been formed. We were able to overcome the obstacles created by the Right deviation in our movement. The people's movement had developed.

Thus the forest area had developed the form of resistance, it had developed as a movement for land. Thus from a small movement that started in Mulugu taluk in 1968 it has spread to Warangal, Karimnagar, Khammam and East Godavari districts and has developed as a movement encompassing the whole Godavari valley. The Party has created for itself a deep base among the people in Warangal, Karimnagar districts and in some area of the forest. It withstood politics of Right and Left deviations of all hues and also severe police repression.

In the years 1975-76, there developed a backward thinking in the minds of some Party leaders and ranks. Seeing the growing fascist repression they tried to reverse the onward going movement. They tried to start a debate that the programme of squads was wrong and that the programme depends on the militants rather than on the people and people's consciousness. They had come to a conclusion that the squads could not survive there and that they should be sent to some other area. They argued that the village activists and Party members should join girijan associations organised by the Congress. The then State Committee had stated that all these arguments were wrong. It opposed them and defeated them. The Party had taken up and implemented the programme of repairs of tanks and started village schools. With this, the Party had very much identified itself further with the masses. The party was able to create wide mass base for itself among the people. In the plain areas the movement had extended to Nalgonda, Nizamabad and Adilabad districts. The student movement had developed considerably in the state. Women's organisations had started developing. In this process, by 1978, the people's movement in Karimnagar district has surged forward in a big way.

Experiences of the People's Upsurge in Karimnagar district

After the movements of Srikakulam and Godavari valley, the great people's movement that has come forward in recent times is the Karimnagar district movement. During the emergency period itself, the foundation for this movement was laid; the movement had extended to about 20-30 villages in Sircilla taluk.

We had contested here in the 1978 Assembly elections and took the revolutionary politics extensively to the people. Several centres were selected in Sircilla taluk and organisers were allotted. They made a deep study of the conditions of the people and formulated the agitational slogans on the problems of agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Anti-feudal and anti-government struggle slogans were taken up. The problems of traditional craftsmen like washermen, barbers, potters and shepherds etc. in villages were taken up.

All the village poor were enrolled into Rytu Coolie Sangahams and agitations were conducted on the problems like banjar lands, wages of agricultural labourers, hired farm hands, lands under illegal occupation of landlords, forest banjars, exploitation by forest officials, Tendu (bidi) leaves problem, usury, collection of bribes by landlords, bonded labour etc. Strike struggles were conducted on the issues of bonded labour, bribes collected by forest officials. Along with these struggles, the problems of middle peasants and rich peasants were taken up and anti-government agitational slogans were given.

Thus all the people in the village were united against the village landlord. Struggles were conducted and successes were achieved. To suppress these movements the landlords employed their goondas and resorted to atrocities. Nevertheless, the landlords were beaten back.

Propagation of revolutionary politics, anti-feudal struggles and resistance to landlords atrocities was organised in several centres. Successes were achieved. The Rytu Coolie Sangham had gained upperhand in the villages. With this the villages in Sircilla taluk became conscious. A great commotion had started among the poor peasants and agricultural labourers. The hatred towards feudalism among these classes broke all the bounds. Rytu Coolie Sanghams were formed. In every village red flags fluttered aloft. The fluttering red flag has come to stay as a symbol of the anti feudal feelings of the masses.

In this process the atrocities of feudal lord Prabhakara Rao, a local tyrant, had come to light. Immediately the people assembled and took punitive action. They paraded him in the sorrounding villages and finally handed him over to the police. The people started to rise against landlord's atrocities. The landlords were terrified of the people and fled to the towns and began to hatch conspiracies from there itself. All the fleeing landlords sought the protection of Congress ministers.

They had given bribes. The government acted to protect the interests of the landlords. Sircilla and Jagityal taluks were declared as Disturbed Areas. Thousands of police were deployed in these taluks. Police camps were set up and raids on the villages had begun.

Whoever was named by the landlords, was beaten up by the police. Whomsoever they had shown, was arrested. The goondas of the landlords were given unfettered freedom to do as they liked. In village after village, destruction of the properties of the people, confiscating the crops by force, and molestation of women took place. Demonical vendetta reigned over the villages.

In such circumstances, the district committee adopted the following tactics, as instructed by the State Committee, to counter this brutal onslaught.

- Under no circumstances shall the important organisers be arrested. They should remain underground and organise.
- The people should be rallied to resist any arrests.
- All the comrades in jails should fight for their rights.
- The organisational net-work of the mass organisations and the Party organisation should be consolidated at the village level.
- Village volunteer squads should be orgainsed. By rallying the people the atrocities of the landlords, goondas, and the police should be resisted.
- The open and the secret activities should be coordinated.
- Ostentatious propaganda methods should be discouraged and the people in the villages should be habituated to the method of secret meetings.
- The agitation for civil liberties should be intensified throughout the district.
- The movement throughout the state should be rallied in solidarity with the district movement.
- By allocating some organisers from Sircilla taluk to other taluks, the movement in other taluks should be extended.

Based on these suggestions and by adopting the policy of consolidation and extension of the movement, the movement had extended to all the taluks in that district.

- The problems of middle and rich peasants were taken up along with those of agricultural laborers and poor peasants and struggles were conducted demanding remunerative prices for agricultural

produce, power supply and loans for agricultural purposes. Some successes were achieved.

- The issue of lands occupied by landlords under various pretexts, and other banjar lands had come forward as a people's movement. In many villages successes were achieved. The movement had been extending to the new villages..

- In resisting the atrocities of the landlords, social boycott had become a powerful weapon in the hands of the people. In many villages it was implemented with tremendous impact. It is still being used in making the landlords submit, it has become a useful and powerful weapon.

- The bribes extracted and appropriated by the landlords in the villages, are being calculated and the landlords are being forced to refund them. Thus in the last two years alone nearly Rs. 15 lakhs were refunded to the people.

- In villages the people are able to get higher rates for their traditional trades. In the villages where we have worked, giving sheep-gratis, to the landlords and 'vetti' (serfdom) has almost come to an end.

- Strikes are being conducted for an increase in the wage rates of agricultural work.

- People have chased and caught hold of the goondas who are committing thefts abetted by the landlords and the police. In many villages this tactic of the landlords and the police was defeated.

- The people are retaliating the attacks being made by the landlords, goondas in the name of 'radicals' and 'People's War group'.

- In the recent times the RSS goonda attacks are being retaliated with the support and cooperation of the people.

Throughout this period, barbaric repression was being let loose on our Party and on the people's movement. Inspite of this, the people's movement is extending to the new areas. Thus the resistance struggle being conducted among the peasantry has taken a definite shape. It is evident that this is an anti-feudal struggle. It is clear that this is a movement which resists the atrocities of the goondas of the landlords. It is clear that in the present stage passive resistance has to be continued against the police.

The Party Congress held in 1980 had made unambiguous formulations on the resistance struggle.

The principles of the resistance struggle should be linked to the political line of the party.

On the peasant front resistance struggle is primary. Our work in other fronts should contribute to the growth of this movement.

Principles of Resistance Struggle of our Party and the Attitude of other Revolutionary Groups

The resistance struggle principles of our Party are completely different to those being pursued by other revolutionary groups.

In our state, the People's War group says that on one hand they will build mass organisations and on the other hand will implement the 'annihilation of class enemy' line. In actuality they are implementing the programme of annihilation of class enemy.

It is true that a section of them are mass oriented. But they do not have clarity on annihilation of class enemy and are unable to continue their mass line. It is to be noted that they are time and again drifting into annihilation of class enemy.

Nevertheless they do not depend mainly on mass line but on the struggles which do not have people's participation.

On the other side, some of the revolutionarios have taken to the Right. In the name of united front they are confining themselves to general agitational programmes. They are sinking into the quagmire of legalism and economism and want a mass line without resistance.

Our resistance programme differs from these two. Ours is the only party that combines peoples resistance and withstood the test of struggle over a period of 16 years. It has proved this is the only correct way.

Controversy over Name?

In the initial stages, a debate ensued on naming our struggle. After the Pagideru incident, in the (party organ) Janasakti, published from out- side the forest, it has been declared that the armed struggle has been launched in the forest area.

In later period, there are instances when we called it armed struggle, self-defence armed struggle, and armed guerilla struggle. Whatever may be its name, we have always explained the actuality.

We had been explaining the situation of the movement. We said that even today the movement in the forest area has not attained military character and that the political character is primary. We made it clear that the primary task is to politically mobilise people into revolution. We made it clear that the primary task of the squads is only to defend themselves from police raids and on the other side mobilise people on their immediate issues and bring them towards revolutionary politics.

We achieved clarity on this after the Karimnagar movement came to the fore in 1978. Ever since, we are referring to it as resistance struggle,

We have explained principles of resistance struggle. We made it clear that this is a struggle which resists the atrocities of landlords, goondas, and the police. We made it clear that this resistance struggle should develop in a sustained area by the method of consolidation and extension of the movement. We made it clear that this is a struggle which marches ahead by joining people and the resistance.

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Background of SKL Movement – March 1968

Nearly half of Parvathipuram, Palakonda, Pathapatnam, Sompeta and Tekkali Taluks of Srikakulam district are agency areas with forests and hills. Though there are plain areas in between these areas, its extent is 800 square kilometers. 2 Lakh tribal people live in this area. Along with tribal people non-tribal people also live here.

Some of the plain area people who came and settled here became landlords and sahukars through business and money lending and are exploiting the people. In addition to these, village officials (Karanams) and forest officials became exploiters and robbed the tribal people.

Exploitation by the Landlords

The landlords and usurers who came from plain areas, utilizing the backwardness of the tribal people made friendship with them. They gave money to the tribal people @ 10-20 rupees interest. Having made false and wrong accounts and collecting compound interests, they gobbled all the fertile lands of the tribal people. These lands have got water resources and yield two crops in a year. The landlords who came to the forest areas in the name of business settled in the agency itself. They acquired economic, political and social dominance over the villages. Wherever more water resources and fertile lands are there, landlords made their presence. Villages like Gumma Lakshmipuram, Peddakharja, Neelakantapuram, Moidemkhallu, Seethampet, Marripadu and Kothuru became their centres.

Apart from grabbing the tribals' land they used them as bonded laborers. Since the people took debts landlords made the tribal work without wages throughout the year or sometimes they gave meager payments. They gave only 5 rupees for harvesting work per acre. A servant who is tied to the landlord was paid in kind in the form 60 kg of rice per year. For road and mud works they paid just 75 paise or 1 rupee wage per day. For a woman servant they paid 5 rupees per a year. They paid 3 or 4 rupees to those who work in landlord's fields with their plough and bullocks. This apart from occupying tribal's land, landlords made the tribal people- men, women and children – their bonded labour. They made the tribal people die of starvation.

USURY EXPLOITATION

Sondie's and Sahukars entered the agency areas in the name of business and started usury business lending 10-20 rupees as loans and charged compound interest. They took the hard earned forest produce like Tamarind, Mango, Bassia, Gall-nut, leaves, brooms etc at cheap rates. For every 10 rupees they lend, they collected interest three times in a year. They robbed people. They used to pay half the price for tamarind through their deception. They used to inflate the amount they lent to the tribals by claiming the principal amount 6 to 7 times higher than that was originally lent. Thus, the usurers ruthlessly exploited the tribal people.

EXPLOITATION BY GIRIJAN CORPORATION

It is a deception to say that Girijan corporations were established only to benefit the tribal people. Having lost everything due to the exploitation of landlords and usurers, the Girijans were driven to the hills for their survival. They were not even allowed to make a living by selling the forest produce from the hills. Whatever they bring from the hills they had to sell it to the corporation. The corporation paid even lesser price to the produce than outside - The corporation paid one rupee for 4 Veesai (1 Veesai weighs approximately 1.4 kg) while they can get one rupee for 2 Veesais outside. Similarly, the Girijan corporation paid 20 paise for a broom while they can earn 50 paise for the same outside.

EXPLOITATION BY THE VILLAGE OFFICIALS

Village officials like munsab and Karanams measure the dry and wet lands incorrectly and collect taxes accordingly. They threaten the tribal people with cases and looted and plundered them,forcibly collected chicken, goats and forest produce from them.

Before the survey in Palakonda agency area, Rs. 20 was paid as the tax per village. After the survey it was enhanced up to 70 to 80 rupees. Before the survey people who have less land used to pay Rs. 2 to 10 and after the survey it was enhanced up to 50 to 60 rupees.

EXPLOITATION BY FOREST OFFICIALS

In addition to the above exploiters, forest department created hell for the tribal people. Building a hut, rearing goats or cattle, cultivation of hilly land, collection of firewood – everything was treated as an offence and false cases were foisted on the tribals to subjugate them.

Tribals had to pay fines and bribe money. Even if they collect some firewood to keep themselves warm during the winter they had to face charges and to attend cases in courts. Thus, they forced the Girijan people to surrender and pay money in the name of taxes or on other pretexts. When they cultivate hills felling some trees, they were to pay one hundred to three hundred rupees every year. They were to pay Rs. 5 to 10 for grazing their goats, cows etc in the forest. Every peasant was to pay 15 to 50 kg of the produce for every crop that was cultivated.

Furthermore, there is a non-girijan community i.e. Paidies living in areas adjoining the hills. Every now and then these Paidies raided the girijan villages en-masse with their weapons and loot all the properties of the tribal people. They loot the valuable produce like tamarind leaving without any trace of it. When people try to resist their plunder and loot they would kill them and continue their robbery. Such type of goondas existed in all girijan areas.

In Orissa, the government assigned one chowkidar for every 5 villages. These chowkidars collect information of the tribal villages and report to the nearly police stations. People should pay whatever these chowkidars demand. Otherwise they foist false cases against the tribal people. They threaten and force the people to surrender.

The Uddanam area-Tekkali, Sompeta and Icchapuram taluqs are adjacent to the sea. Here the people live on the commercial crops like cashew nut, coconut, mango, Tapioca, Plantains, Drumsticks and on fishing . The labour power of lakhs of people who live here is exploited by the sahukars, sondies, and the village officials. The peoples properties are looted in the name of lease, exorbitant usury rates and with wrong measurements. In the end people leave their native places and go to other states losing their lands, houses etc under the burden of their debts.

THE ENDEAVOUR OF COMMUNIST PARTY IN SRIKAKULAMAGENCY

Communist party cadres started working in forest areas of Parvathipuram and Palakonda taluqas of Srikakulam district from 1958 when the agency people were facing such horrible situation. Gradually it extended up to Pathapatnam forest area. There was a party organization already, and it was leading some mass struggles in the adjoining plain areas of Pathapatnam, Parvathipuram, Sompeta and Bobbili etc taluqas.

Struggles were conducted in the agency area on the following 10 demands:

1. All lands seized illegally from Girijans by non Girijans should be returned to Girijans in the agency area.

2. Distribute banjar lands (waste) to Girijans immediately.

3. Increasing indebtedness by illegal means should be abolished. Credit facility should be provided

4. Agricultural implements and cattle should be supplied to girijans to carry on agricultural operations.

5. Forest produce should be purchased from Girijans at reasonable rates. Consumer goods should be supplied to them at fair prices.

6. Those who engage bonded labour should be severely punished.

7. Salaries and wage rates to farm workers and for agricultural labourers should be fixed in consonance with the cost of living.

8. There should be no restrictions on the use of forest timber by Girijans for their house construction and daily needs.

9. In the new environment created with the implementation of the above programme, educational and scientific programs should be organized on a large scale.

10. Girijan areas should be declared as autonomous regions and its administration should be handed over to the representatives of Girijans.

With the above 10 points party started working in the agency areas. Party concentrated its efforts to build the movement. Initially, the people did not believe the party cadres. They weren't ready for candid conversations. The people did not believe us when we tried to convince them that the party cadres have arrived only to safeguard their interests,. People did not receive the cadres with affection. The reason for this situation is that every non girijan who went there had only deceived them. They haven't seen a non-girijan who had not deceived them.

It is in these circumstances that the cadres from plain areas went to the agency area. They patiently started establishing relations with the people in the villages by finding the problems faced by them, and explaining them how they were being exploited. They established close relations with the youth and the militants in the villages. They explained about various types of exploiters and their exploitative nature; they explained the need of

concerted mass struggles to end the exploitation. In the beginning, party established its relations in Mondemkhallu and Neela Kantapuram areas.

They started organizing Girijan sanghams (associations). At first, they took up small issues. They demanded increase in the wages. They organized people against village officials like Naidus, Karanams and also against the atrocities of the forest officials. They demanded the conversion of short-term loan of Rs. 5/- into long-term of Rs. 50/- loan. They started uniting the local people to realize these demands and achieved successes. These minor victories created enthusiasm among the people. People started approaching the party cadres. Youth came forward with even more enthusiasm. The organization of Girijan Sanghams spread from one village to another. People started believing and were affectionately receiving the party cadres.

Village committees were formed with the village militants. Members of such village committees helped people to organize themselves against the exploiters of their village. They helped in the formation of village committees in other villages and tried to unite them in the struggles. Apart from uniting and organizing the people in anti-landlord struggles, the members of village committees helped the people in resolving the contradictions among themselves, and in conducting night schools etc. In this process, cadre building started; cadres prepared to leave their own home and go to other villages to propagate mass issues came forward. Area of the movement spread. The need of cadres in the plain areas increased. More and more cadres came forward. Areas of work extended. Night schools were opened to provide education. Along with general education, politics were also taught. During struggles in villages, children, youth and elderly people also participated as was the case with both men and women. Women's organizations and children's associations were also organized.

Party cadres of the three agency areas made villages like Mondemkhal, Gumma, Peddakharja, Neelakantapuram, Donubai, and Marripadu etc. - as the centres of their work and organized associations in the villages. They organized struggles on mass issues like increased wages for farm laborers, amenities for workers, and against faulty weights & measurements, bonded labor etc.

Cadres of Girijan Sanghams would propagate that there is no necessity of paying debts since the girijans have already paid the debts of

landlords and Sahukars. In the beginning the tribal people used to feel that their prestige would be damaged, if they do not not pay the debts. Sangham cadres also helped the people in selling produce to the corporations, getting them weighed properly and in getting the payments correctly for what was sold. Associations conducted agitations to ensure supply of essential commodities to the Girijans through corporations. They fought against the police and other official's malpractices like snatching of chickens etc. It propagated that according to 1917 regulations act, landlords should not occupy the tribal lands. These programs and agitations encouraged the Girijan people (tribals) to think about improving their lives. Landlords propagated that party cadres would take away the children of Girijan people; and people should not allow the cadres to come to their villages. Though people believed this propaganda in the beginning, later they did not believe.

Mass Struggles & Achievements

People refused to do bonded labor. They held a demonstration before the Kurupam corporation office demanding loans. The people of Gujjuvai, Sivada, Pedagothili started tilling the lands that were illegally occupied by the landlords. In 1960 the people belonging to the villages surrounding Neelukantapuram reoccupied the lands of the Neelakantapuram Mustadaar which were forcibly occupied by him. While the people harvested the crops from these lands, the landlords hatched their plans to subjugate the Girijans by threatening them with the help of police camps. At this juncture, farm laborers conducted strike demanding higher wages. With this, landlords were forced to clean up their cattle sheds and graze their cattle. Police were forced to carry the water for their own use. Ultimately, the landlords had to agree to the demands of the farm laborers as they did not have any alternative. They resolved the land issue through discussions and negotiations. This incident created a base for the 'Girijan Sangham' to bring a change in the lives of people of the agency area; It marked the beginning for the emergence of a new Girijan Sangham.

District Girijan conference was held in 1961. Four thousand Girijan people attended this conference. After coming from the conference the Girijans in the villages tied the flag of Girijan Sangham to a tall tree and declared that their village has joined the Sangham.

They demanded Rs. 25/- instead of Rs. 5/- for harvesting one acre. They proved the exploitation of village officials (NAIDUs, Karanams)

before the revenue officials. They rejected to pay bribes to Naidu and Karanams. They rejected to pay taxes. In 1962 Seethampet Samithi elections were won.

In 1964 three thousand tribal people held a rally in Parvathipuram against rising prices and extra tax levies. In 1964 also Seethampet Samithi elections were won. These samithis remained nominal since there was no scope for resolving any basic issues confronting the tribal people. Village tribal committees themselves became the lively organs which brought a change in the lives of the tribal people.

Labourers used to go on strike to increase their wages. They demanded 45 kgs. as wage in kind for drawing 60 kgs. of seedlings and 180 kgs. for planting the seedling of 60 kgs.

In October 1964 people demanded that the grains harvested in the agency area should be provided to the agency people at cheaper rates. They stopped lorries. The landlords beat party cadres. Cases were foisted against the people and police camps were set up. Police beat the people and took away chicken from them. They forced the people to resign from the Girijan Sangham. Even then, the people did not buckle under the threats from the police. In 1964 harvesting season coolies demanded Rs. 30/- instead of Rs. 25 (this rate means one rupee per head for a day). The people of Neelakantapuram, Pedagothili, Mondemkhallu, Gummalakshmipuram, Kedaripuram, Kukkadisivada and Kukkadi centres went on strike pressing for this demand. During this struggle a public meeting was held in 1964 Dec. at Gummalakshmipuram. Medida Sathyam and his goondas attacked the meeting and beat the people and cadres including the district party secretary.

In 1965 farm labourers struggles were conducted intensively. Usually, there would be 10 – 20 farm labourers working for a landlord. During farm labourers struggle 300 labourers attended one meeting. In 1967 Jan. election Girijan Sangham candidate got 10 thousand votes out of 11 thousand votes polled.

Demanding the supply of essential commodities at reasonable rates 1500 Girijans went to the collector in Srikakulam town walking 30 to 80 kilo meters and propagated about their demands among the people. Under the leadership of Girijan Sangham they received 3 ½ kgs of grain per rupee.

During 1965 paddy sowing season they got 45 kgs. for drawing the seedling of 60 kgs. and 180 kgs. for planting the seedling of 60 kgs. For other agricultural works the wages were increased and men received 6 kgs. for a day's work and women workers received 4 ½ kgs. for a day's work.

In some centres workers received a wage of 50 rupees per acre for harvesting . Senior farm labourers got 800 kgs. to 1200 kgs. of rice per annum and the junior farm servants got 420 kgs. to 600 - 720 kgs. per anum. A woman servant got 480 kgs. to 600 kgs. per anum.

Girijan Sangham used to resolve the contradictions among the Girijans. In each area one organizer used to solve the issues among people. In the process of these struggles the class- consciousness of the people and the strength of organization grew.

They started refusing to pay interest on debts which the landlords had been collecting for years. They stopped the system of the seasonal interest payment. They stopped debt payments in installments. People got the timber for cultivation and for household needs. They could freely sell their forest produce at remunerative prices. Bonded labour was completely abolished. Traders and landlords used to shift the grain from the agency area to the plains to reap profits. People fought against this method. They agitated to keep the necessary grain in the agency area and the rest to sell according to their will. Having seized grain from the landlords they sold it at the rate 4 kgs. per rupee. People stood united and more consciously in this struggle. They did not allow the lorries to be loaded. There was none who could draw the grain of the landlords and load. Thus, under the leadership of the communist party, people fought more unitedly against the artificial scarcity created by the landlords and in drought seasons. After this struggle people used to keep the necessary grain at the disposal of Girijan Sangham and sell it according to the rates declared by the government. The money thus obtained from the proceeds was paid back to the traders or the landlords.

People took back 700 acres of land which the landlords and the sahukars occupied. Nearly 1500 acres of forest was cut and cultivated. They rejected to pay the debts amounting to Rs. 2/- lakhs.

Those landlords who opposed peoples demands and who worked against the Girijan Sangham were socially boycotted. The farm servants and coolies did not attend to the works of landlord's house, field and

cattle grazing. They completely stopped working for such landlords. Thus, the Sangham controlled the notorious landlords.

Party constantly strived to remove unhealthy practices, superstitious customs and beliefs, which were deep rooted among the Girijan people. It convinced them to take medicines to cure their sicknesses instead of praying to gods. It taught them to live in a healthy fashion.

Taking the victories of people's struggles as the basis for stories and songs and other cultural forms, cultural programs were organised to inspire the people. People were enthused by performances in various forms like Burrakatha. Mainly Girijan cadres themselves gave such programs.

In a process with the growth of consciousness of people in struggles and in achieving victories, with the growth of their consciousness regarding the exploitation and atrocities of the landlords and the exploiters, people started to refuse the payments of debts. People started taking back the lands that were illegally occupied by the landlords. They stopped paying taxes to the village officials; started demanding the correct receipts for their tax payments. They refused to be bonded labourers to the forest officials. They engaged in podu cultivation. Forest authorities foisted hundreds of false cases against the people. People refused to attend the courts enmasse. All the village people collected funds to fight the cases against them by landlords and forest officials.

The party, mass organizations and their cadres strove hard to make the lands fertile, to prepare high quality seeds, to skillfully cultivate without wastage etc.

The Girijans stopped selling the forest produce to the corporation. The traders from the plain areas used to come and buy the forest produce as per the rates decided by the Sangham. To sell their goods carrying them to the fairs in plain areas or to buy goods and carry them from there was very difficult. For the benefit of the people weekly fairs were arranged in Mondemkhallu, Kukkidisivada, Jumbiri, Panasabhadra Valasaballeru etc. villages. This helped the people very much. People were freed from the yoke of forest authorities. The situation in which the people have to carry their materials for miles together and sell them at the rates dictated by the Sahukaars ended. Arrangements were made in such a way whereby they could sell their goods near their villages and

could bring their essential goods like tobacco, salt, kerosene, and clothes. This made the people happy. People rejected enmasse the false cases foisted by the corporation.

The Acheivements of The Struggle

The agency people who once completely collapsed economically, politically and socially have, by 1967, began new lives. They could get back most of their lost lands. They came out from the situation wherein they were to eat leaves and roots etc. People were the real power holders in the villages. Landlords and other exploiters had to abide by the decisions of the Girijan Sangham. People also sold their goods at the rates decided by the Sangham. They were politically developed. The people who once fled into hills on seeing the people with white clothes were freed. The people once who meekly submitted to the dictates of the landlords and other exploiters were freed. They could stand up and resist. They could contain the exploiters through their power. The exploiters were isolated from the people. The tribals were not scared of the landlords. On the other hand, the landlords and other exploiters were now scared to face the people. Owing to the tireless efforts of the communist party Girijan Sanghams and the cadres could bring a new change in their lives.

By 1967, the entire people of Palakonda, Parvathipuram and Pathapatnam agencies were mobilized under the banner of party. One thousand village associations were established. 50 thousand members joined the Sangham. 560 village committees were formed.

The Girijan people reoccupied 600-700 acres of lands occupied by the landlords during 1959 to 1966. During struggles up to 1967, people occupied 1500 acres of waste lands. They rejected to repay the debts amounting to Rs. 2 lakhs.

During 1967 rainy season people reoccupied 800 acres of land that was under the illegally occupation of the landlords and another 2500 acres of wastelands.

With the killing of Koranna and Manganna in 1967 October, more and more people joined the struggles. Crops of the landlords were taken by the people. Post- 1967 the people refused to repay the debts of Rs. 8 lakhs. They could freely bring all the necessary timber for cultivation purposes gratis. They could sell their forest produce to private traders and the corporation and in fairs for remunerative prices. Bonded labour was completely abolished.

They could increase the wages of farm labourers and agricultural labourers which hither to were nominal. Farm labourers could get 14 or 15 bags per year instead of 6 bags that were paid earlier. Likewise, their daily wages increased from Rs. 6/- to Rs. 12/- and they could freely utilize the timber for their daily and household needs. During these struggles. Numerous cultural programs were conducted. They tried to develop the political consciousness of the people through the night schools and getting them to read the party magazines.

Girijan cadres were developed through those struggles. Nearly 80 cadres used to work among the people. Apart from them, many more militants of village committees participated in struggles and were developed politically.

Struggles in Plains

During the same period communist party cadres worked in Tekkali, Sompeta taluks and in Uddanam area and organized associations. They mobilized the people against exploitative and domineering policies of traders, Munsiffs and Karanams. People were organized against the exploitation and dominance of forest officials. Many victories were scored. Poor and landless peasants occupied and cultivated the wastelands freely grazing their sheep and goats in the hills and forests. It became difficult for the forest officials to threaten the people and collect bribes from them. In many villages of Uddanam area traders used to buy the cashew nuts at fair prices. They could check the exploitation of Karanams and Munsiffs to some extent. The victories scored by the people in this area under the leadership of communist party enhanced their self-confidence and power of unity. In these struggles, women took an active part along with their men.

The role of students and teachers in building the revolutionary movement in Srikakulam district is remarkable. It was taught to organize student associations at high school levels and fight for their rights. During the high school days itself discipline, sincerety etc. were taught. In this endeavour, elementary and high school teachers played an important role. The high school students who go with such knowledge could attract the entire students in colleges soon. The role of students was great in organizing the Srikakulam and Sompeta plain movements after 1967. A large number of teachers and students were moulded as the builders of the revolutionary movement.

People refused to pay old debts to the Sahukaars in Uddanam area; refused to pay Panchayat taxes in Boddapadu and Rajam area. Waste lands were occupied in Boddapadu and Lakkavaram villages. In Uddanam area of Tekkali taluk, and its adjacent Pathapatnam taluq area and in Archanapurma, and Bandapalli areas five thousand poor and landless joined in a hundred associations and conducted many a struggle.

By 1967 the party's concentrated work was going on in the adjacent plain areas of Parvathipuram, Palakondas, and Pathapatnam taluqas. Waste lands were occupied and cultivated. Struggles were conducted for increased wages and against wrong measurements and achieved successes. They stopped the illegal transportation of grains, fought unitedly against the illegal hoardings of the landlords and had them sold at reasonable prices. The victories of agency area helped to achieve victories in plain areas struggles easily. These struggles took place in Meranage Lakhanapuram areas of Parvathipuram Taluq Seethampet and Veeraghattam areas Pathapatnam taluq Kuntibhadra, Bhamini, Nulakabodu and Battili areas. In these struggles, thousands of poor and landless peasants and middle peasants participated. Every victory of the agency areas were widely propagated through pamphlets, wall posters and wall writings. Considering the importance of the victories achieved in the struggles, campaigns were taken up. The victories of struggles in agency areas greatly helped the plain area people to increase their confidence, to unite themselves and score victories in class struggles. Struggles led to victories easily. But the organization, the power, the cadres relations with people and the party's mass base in plains was far behind when compared with the organization in the agency area. The entire agency people were mobilized under the banner of communist party. As soon as the party gives its call people get mobilized in thousands. How so ever hard the issue maybe, they used to succeed.

Marxism-Leninism Mao-Tse-tung thought and the victories of Naxalbari peasant struggles further inspired the Srikakulam party, its cadres and the members. It helped the people to struggle more organizedly and to conduct higher forms of struggles.

To lead the Srikakulam struggle along the road to liberation, to take the struggle to higher forms in a step by step manner, the party was trying to build movements in plain areas, keeping agency area struggles as the centres of struggles.

REPRESSION BEGINS

Government prepared plans to suppress the rising movements in the agency area. On October 31, 1967 Girijans going to attend the agency conference were fired upon by landlord Medida Satyam and his men at Levidi Village of Parvathipuram taluq, killing Sangham activists Koranna and Manganna. The girijan people were enraged. Protest meetings were held through out the agency. They pledged to take revenge against the savage attack of the landlords. They pledged to resist them and they held demonstrations and rallies throughout the agency area with axes, bows and arrows, spears sticks etc. The death of the Girijan cadres created more rancor among the people against the landlords and the ruling classes who protect the landlords. In November and December of the same year people seized most part of the grain of the landlords. The landlords were left with very little.

Government started foisting false cases in a planned way and began its repression from December 1967. Goondas were encouraged to loot and plunder at fairs of Polla, Seethampet and Kurupam. Cases were filed against people, Sangham cadres and party cadres. Using this as a pretext, government brought 500 police squads into the agency area. Police started looting people's properties and beating the girijans whoever came across them. Without discriminating a man and woman they tortured publicly in the streets. They paraded women naked. They raped the wife before the husband and sisters before their brothers. They burnt village after village brought goondas from the plains and looted. They robbed the hen and goats. They took knives, axes and other agricultural implements to prevent the Girijans, once again, from cultivation. They kept thousands of people in camps and starved them without providing any water or food for days together. Hundreds of conventional fire arms were taken away from Girijans. Actually, tribal people utilize these fire arms only to protect themselves from the attacks of the wild animals in the forest. Hundreds of police cases were filed and hunted the activists of Sangham. They took pleasure in hurling the slates and books of the people in fires. In these raids landlords acted as guides to the police. They had the police beat the people. In some places they themselves took the lathis from the police and beat the people.

Mistakes of the Party

There was a situation wherein the entire populace united, stood

like a rock to wage higher forms of struggles. The party got the necessary mass base among the people. The strength of the party and the mass organization was adequate among the people. Thousands of people were participating in the struggles against the landlords and other exploiting classes. But nowhere had the people resisted the police. Because party could not give adequate political consciousness to resist the police along with participating in class struggles. Organizationally party could not prepare the masses for resistance. It could not provide training for self-defense by organizing the village militants into village defense squads. There were good possibilities to utilize the weapons belonging to the people for this purpose. There were bright possibilities for arming the people. But neither the state leadership nor the district leadership could act with a foresight. Movement became a victim of fascist repression without resistance.

The main reason for this development was that the movement was conducted within legal limits, the line which was being pursued by the CPM leadership. The main defect during this whole period was that the party did not teach the people that they should wage a protracted armed struggle to liberate themselves. Though some district leaders might have such ideas they did not try to develop such consciousness among the people and the cadres.

Another important defect during this period was that the party did not strive to resist the police landlords violence and atrocities. The party did not prepare the village people,militant youth, organizationally for resistance.

This is the main weakness in our political and ideological struggle we waged against the CPM between 1964-67. It could not consciously strive to turn the movements towards peoples war taking the understanding of the peoples war as the central slogan. By 1968 we faced this defect in Srikakulam movement. Had we strived here with this understanding an alternative line of struggle would have come into existence for us and would have taken a definitive form.

Once More Our Efforts For Mass Mobilization and Resistance

By 1967 a strong girijan movement came forward. Many victories were scored. In addition to the land already occupied the Girijan peasants once again occupied 800 acres of land and 2,500 acres of forest lands.

People could thwart the efforts of landlords and sahukars to sell their grain at higher prices. They kept adequate grain for their use. Bonded labor was abolished. They refused to repay the money lent by the landlords, which amounted to Rs. 2 lakhs. They got remunerative prices for their forest produce in market and in Girijan corporation.

Girijan Committees were formed at village level. Party units were formed. Party organizers were created. Recognized leadership among the people was created. Hundreds of militant youth came forward at village level. People were coming forward enthusiastically to fight on their own demands.

With the implementation of the above programs the mass upsurge intensified. People participated in these programs in large numbers.

Having got scared with this mass upsurge, the landlords and their goondas attacked the people indiscriminately at Levidi on 31st October 1967. The people were enthusiastically rushing to attend their girijan conference. The goondas even fired on the people who came to support the girijans. Two cadres – Koranna and Manganna – were killed. These two comrades became martyrs.

Owing to this, temporarily a demoralizing situation had arisen. But after some time people turning upto the meetings held in memory of the martyrs was great and enthusiastic. Memorial meetings were conducted in a number of places throughout the agency in memory of martyrs. Struggles against landlords intensified. They took the crops in the lands of the landlords. They refused to repay the debts taken from landlords and Sahukaars. They could annul Rs. 8 lakhs of debts. They took away the cattle and goats of the landlords.

Not only that, the people of the agency held protest demonstrations against the Levidi firing incident. In these demonstrations people took all the available local weapons axes, bows and arrows and muzzle loading guns, held armed demonstrations.

These demonstrations continued up to February 20th of 1968 and the people enthusiastically participated in them. Even then party did not resort to the formation of village volunteer squads. It did not prepare the people and volunteers to resist police landlord's atrocities. It had not given necessary political training for this work. Srikakulam committee did not bring any suggestions regarding this. State committee

never rejected any suggestions regarding this matter. By then, we did not even form our separate secret state committee.

Keeping all these factors under cover, the All India Coordination Committee and the Srikakulam district committee alleged that the state committee did not allow the people to move against the enemy that reached to a peak after the death of comrades Koranna and Manganna in October 1967. They ascribed all these charges to the state committee in their magazine Liberation, 1968, December issue.

Their charges were simply meaningless and contrary to facts

We would like to mention one thing here. During our state committee leadership's ideological struggle against the CPM leadership i.e. up to February 1968, it simply propagated the slogan of peoples war as a general slogan but it could not implement any concrete programme in any area-including Srikakulam district. We have already clarified this.

The killing of comrades Koranna and Manganna occurred in October 1967. After that people moved in large numbers to occupy the lands of the landlords. Militant rallies and armed demonstrations were conducted. This situation continued up to the end of 1967. A clash took place between the people and the police on March 4th 1968. People fired on police in their self-defense. There was no retreat of people from October 1967 to until the end of February 1968. This was the period when people were moving enthusiastically. The main lapse in this period was the defect in organizing village volunteer squads and the defect in preparing the people politically and organizationally for protracted resistance.

The clamping of special police camps started in the girijan areas from February 20th of 1968. On 24th February government issued an order to the people to hand over their weapons to the government. These are locally made muzzle loaders which the people possessed traditionally. However, the police did not start their raids until the end of February.

Srikakulam district committee met on February 24th 1968. It sensed the impending danger of police raids. It decided not to hand over the weapons to the police. It decided that people should not get arrested and the arrested should get released. The DC also decided that cadres and masses should be mentally prepared for this.

But these decisions did not come into operation. In the meanwhile, police started raids on the people on a big scale. Raids started on March 3rd. That day police raided Boorjuguda (Sithampet). Police encircled the village ,arrested a large number. The sheep and hen of the people were taken away. In all the latter raids police repeated the same process.

On March 4th police raided Pedda Kharja village in Parvathipuram taluq. All the people vacated the village and climbed up the hills. Police opened fire on the people and the people also retaliated. Two girijans were killed due to the police firing.

After this incident demoralization started among the people. Police repression continued without mass resistance. People could not save their fire arms. They lost property – movable and immovable – and a lot of destruction took place. In fact, people were looted and robbed. Cadres faced difficulties in working among the people. The main leadership could not stay in the forest. They had to go out. People faced scarcity of essential goods like-salt, food-grains and clothes and these problems increased further.

Up to March 1968, people were not prepared politically and organizationally to resist the raids. Hence, we could not show any resistance. We could not protect the properties of the people. We could not take any self defensive measures.

During enemy raids, leaders and cadres of the movement had to go to the plain areas to take protection. Not only there was no resistance when there was severe repression on the people, but also there were no leaders who remained with the people. This caused pain among the people. In some places people expressed their anger against the party. Party recognized this defect very soon. Party tried to foster confidence among the people while staying with them. It tried to take necessary precautions to avoid arrests to the extent possible. It tried to organize the people while staying secretly among the people. Cadre restored their relations with the people and started working among the people. Thus in a process, people could overcome their demoralization and began to think about resistance. Peoples self-confidence grew once again.

Intensive campaign was taken against the police atrocities and terror throughout the state. The October 31st incident was taken as the

center for cultural programs to propagate the history of agency struggles in the state. To defend the agency movement and to help it economically, campaigns were taken to collect food grains, seeds, clothes, agricultural implements, etc. and were given to the girijan people.

In this situation, a secret state committee meeting was held from March 9 – 11 of 1968. State committee decided to discuss with the district committee to decide about organizing resistance movement in the agency area. For this special responsibility was given to the state committee representative.

Here is one point that is to be noted. Repression prevailed between Oct. 1967 and Feb. 1968. This was the period when state committee was formed and the SKL district committee took steps to put the Srikakulam movement on the tracks of armed struggle with the instructions of state committee. Repression continued without resistance. By then people became demoralized.

FIRST MEETING WITH THE SKL DISTRICT COMMITTEE

On state committee instruction, district committee met on March 29th, 1968. It discussed the situation. The question of immediately starting resistance throughout the agency did not come forward. Nobody proposed this point. How to secure the essential commodities for the people ? How to restore the people's confidence? How to establish contacts between cadres, leaders and the people? These were the main issues that came up in the meeting.

On the advice of the state committee, district committee took the following decisions unanimously.

- To strive for securing people's essential commodities.
- Reestablishment of cadres close relations with the people.
- Safeguard the remaining weapons with the people.
- Guerilla training to main cadres.
- Formation of village volunteer squads. Defend the villages while pursuing the tactics of resistance if police come in less numbers and escape if police come in large numbers.
- Srikakulam agency is small in area. Further there is road facility around the agency area. Hence it was decided to extend to plain areas and to the Orissa state.

What was the understanding behind these decisions ? To move the people into struggle. Basing on the mobility and the preparedness of the people we should prepare them for resistance. On the one hand we should provide minimum military training to our cadres on the other hand prepare the people to occupy the lands.

The main point by the time of district committee meeting was the problem of temporary demoralization among the people. The aim of the D.C. decisions was to remove the demoralization and to bring new spirit among the people. Prepare the people for resistance on the basis of peoples' mobility and to take necessary organizational and political preparations and extend the movement to adjacent areas. These were the important decisions. These are basically correct decisions.

Nobody opposed these decisions then. Through discussions they decided that starting guerilla struggle without mass mobilization was wrong. None of them opposed the arrangements for military training. Later they brought the argument that there was no necessity for such a decision, because military training could be gained only through struggle. This is a preposterous argument. The main training would be acquired only through struggle. But minimum training like learning how to use modern weapons to the extent possible is necessary. There is no harm in getting such a training.

Distorting facts comes forth as political differences become sharper and sharper. To say arrangements were made to provide military training in far off places instead of in Srikakulam district was contrary to facts. In the first place the decision was to give training in Srikakulam district itself. Actually SKL leaders themselves changed the decision. They told repression was the reason to change the place. Because of their request arrangements had to be made in far off places for the training.

The decisions taken in this district committee meeting were basically correct. But even these decisions did not come into effect. People could not defend their properties. They could not prepare for any resistance. They did not take the task of forming volunteer squads. Some more weapons with the people were lost.

Second meeting with SKL DC

SKL DC meeting was held again on June 16th 1968. State committee again discussed all these developments in the DC meeting.

Burdwan plenum was held in the beginning of April 1968. Our relations with CPM were cut in June. Our state coordination committee started functioning separately and openly. In the meanwhile, the leaders of AICCCR started open and unwarranted criticisms against the state coordinating committee. With the instigation of AICCCR leaders, Naxalbari Solidarity Committee was formed in Guntur. It spread many lies and slanders against the state committee. In these circumstances state committee leadership held its second meeting with the SKL District Committee.

It was recognized that most of the decisions of the last DC (March) were not implemented. That the demoralization and apathy among the people was still prevalent there. Keeping these conditions in view, state committee secretary proposed the following programme before the district committee.

The apathy and demoralization among the people is temporary. Since the basic problems of the people were not solved, people would come again to the field of struggles. We must patiently work for this. We should establish relations with the people. Try to move the people on their problems. In this process mobility will come among the people. On the basis of mass mobilization we can proceed towards armed struggle.

In the meanwhile we should encourage the people to resist the landlords and the police, encourage the militants, youth, men and women. We should encourage the people to use bombs, spears, bows and arrows along with the locally available arms.

We should strive to move the people on issues like land occupation and wage rates. With this, mass mobility would come either by the time of sowing or by the time of harvesting. On the basis of the mobility we can advance towards regular guerilla struggle.

Acquiring weapons by raids on the police should be decided by the state committee. State committee would take proper decision if district committee informs when such a situation arises. In the meantime, the programme of giving military training to cadres should be completed.

After some discussions the Srikakulam district committee accepted all these suggestions. After these decisions, though belatedly, we could provide military training for two batches. We collected some material for local resistance. But we did not try to prepare the people for that.

Here, one important point should be kept in mind. By the time of this meeting itself some leaders of the district committee established

relations with AICCCR leaders and Naxalbari Solidarity Committee (Guntur). These leaders started directing their preposterous criticisms against the state committee and the DC leaders swallowed them. Their confidence on state committee was shattered. That was expressed to some extent in state committee discussions. Gradually it further increased.

In this meeting itself some leaders of the district committee criticized the state committee saying that immediately after the Burdwan plenum, leadership of our state committee should have resigned individually and come out from CPI (M). Already we have explained above that it was wrong not to come out of CPM immediately after the Burdwan plenum. Up to this extent the criticism of comrades was correct.

But their suggestion to come out individually was surprising. In June the state committee issued a call to all the party members opposing CPM to come out of CPM,. These comrades took exception to give such a call and they likened the call to teaching indiscipline. These arguments were astounding.

In A.P., majority party members, cadres, and committees came out in support of PC. One day or other we have to give a call to all members to rebel against the CPI (M) leadership. There is absolutely nothing wrong with this.

By this time, these comrades raising such issues means they are trying to find petty faults in the leadership to level their criticisms. Further the comment they hurled saying that "this is nothing but the old wine in the new bottle" is also fantastic.

Yes, we should have settled our scores with the CPM at the time of Burdwan plenum in April 1968 itself. We could not gain much by waiting up to June. But alleging that within these two months great harm was done to the party is contrary to facts.

The sequence of events after this meeting prove that these comrades gave more importance to establish their relation with the leaders of AICCCR and the Naxalbari Solidarity Committee instead of implementing the decisions of the state committee.

Third Meeting with SKL District Committee

We had to discuss the entire situation. We had to remove suspicions. One more attempt was to be made to safeguard the unity of the party. For this purpose, state committee secretariat member again held discussions with the Srikakulam District committee. This meeting was held in September 1968.

For the first time, in this meeting the entire Srikakulam district committee except two totally opposed the programme of state coordination committee. They alleged that the state committee betrayed the SKL movement. They argued that armed struggle on the basis of mass mobilization was impracticable. They argued that it would take at least two years. They ridiculed it as old revisionist argument to say that masses should be mobilized on the mass issues. They argued if we start armed struggle, people would come to participate in it. They brought one more fantastic argument that the state committee was bringing all these arguments only to participate in elections.

Secondly, they demanded that the state committee should join the AICCCR. They made it clear that they would join in the AICCCR even if state committee decides not to join.

The state committee secretariat member sharply criticized all these arguments. He reminded them that up until then the Srikakulam District Committee never passed any resolution asking the State committee to start armed struggle immediately. He also reminded them that they never rejected any of the state committee's suggestions up until then. Hence the allegation that the state committee was opposed to start armed struggle in Srikakulam was far from truth.

He told them that it would be harmful to attack the police with just the militants without mobilizing the people for struggles. He appealed to them to recognize the efforts of the state committee to develop the mass movements of other areas as well into armed struggle. He explained them the efforts of the state committee in Godavari Valley forest area in particular. He explained to Srikakulam comrades on the need to remain patient to take the movements of other areas in the state also along with them. He further explained as to how such a restraint would benefit both the Srikakulam movement and the movement within the state at large..

He reminded them of the summer that is approaching. He also reminded them of the prospects of the state concentrating all its forces to suppress the movement during the summer.

The area of Srikakulam agency is limited.

The hilly and forest area providing cover is limited to just 400 square kilometers. Thus, he reminded them of the need to extend the movement to a wider area.

One who wishes to wage a greater struggle like an armed struggle should consider these points. But all these advices were of no avail to the Srikakulam leaders. By then, they got carried away with the left adventurism of the All India Coordination Committee leadership. .

They did not heed to the advice regarding the need to mobilise the people. They made up their minds to advance with the militant youth following them.. They completely lost their confidence in the state committee. They developed inimical attitude and a factional approach towards the State Committee.

Thus, they wrote the following letter to the state committee. "Police raids have started again. These raids began from the second week of August, after the withdrawal of the SAP in June. Our cadres reached out to the masses during the interim period and explained them the situation. They exposed the deceitful promises of the government. People were enthused. They made it clear this time they would fight and they were ready for it. But they feel that our leadership (squad) should be in their midst. Our cadre are also enthusiastic. They now have a firm resolve to be ready for struggles this time.

In this enthusiastic atmosphere of our cadre reaching out to the masses to explain the situation, police raids have begun again. These raids are launched by the landlords, goondas, aided by those who have surrendered to the police. It has become a norm to loot and beat the people and compel them to reveal the whereabouts of the activists.

In this situation the people are expressing their readiness to resist these raids. But they feel that the resistance should be an armed one this time. We retreated during the initial raids. At that time, we told the people and cadre that we were preparing for a higher form struggle and would soon resist. As anticipated, the raids have begun again. But we haven't been able to launch our resistance as promised earlier. With this the people and the cadre are loosing confidence in us..."

It categorically declared the aim of uniting the communist revolutionaries. It declared to mobilize the people of Andhra to support Srikakulam struggle.

To fulfill these tasks, it decided to build secret party while utilizing the possibilities for open functioning. New state committee was elected to implement these decisions. Basically all these decisions

are correct. Mass movements developed in different areas to the extent the decisions were implemented.

MISTAKES : But some important mistakes also occurred in the convention resolutions.

If we delay further there is danger of our isolation from the people. The cadre is very demoralized. So our DC requests for the decision to start armed struggle immediately.

For the present, we can use hand bombs, country-made guns and bows and arrows. We plan to use hand bombs during police raids and to give these hand bombs to militants. The squad should assist the people.

For the present we have formed one squad with 8 persons from the three 'propaganda squads'. Apart from these there are 80 militants and we can from squads with these militants.

Technical assistance from the PC is needed.. We request that this should be provided immediately."

While informing their decision to join AICCCR, they wrote the following :

"In the country Naxalbari comrades stood in the forefront and carried on the inner party ideological struggle. They exposed the betrayal of the neo-revisionists before the people. They first raised the flag of revolt; applied Mao's thought and blazed the way for all revolutionaries. In their call to comrades still with the neo-revisionists, they stated in December that 'we call upon the revolutionary comrades still within the Communists Party of India (M) to repudiate openly the neo-revisionist leading cliques and their politics and openly join hands with us. We are striving to build a genuine communist party in our country."

"This DC approves the call given by the AICCCR during December-May and agrees to join AICCCR. We hope the state committee will approve the call given by the AICCCR and join it.

There was an amendment to delete the sentence, "It (DC) agrees to join the AICCCR" as it implied to do so directly with the AICCCR without continuing to be part of state coordination committee. This amendment was lost 4 to 3 votes.

It is necessary to explain some important points in their resolution. Till then they told it was difficult to mobilise the people on their issues.

They told it would take two years to do that. They argued it was nothing but revisionism to think about mobilizing the people. But, in this resolution, they are writing that the people are coming forward enthusiastically and we should proceed to start the armed struggle based on the mobilization of the masses. There is no issue at all if people are ready to launch the armed struggle .From the very beginning the state committee argued that the armed struggle should be initiated based on the mobilization of the masses. There is no correlation between their earlier arguments and their current resolution.

They passed a resolution asking the permission of PC "to start armed struggle"

This request is preposterous. From the very beginning state committees position was to start the armed struggle based on the mobilization of masses. These comrades brought forward a different argument during the discussions in September earlier. They proposed to attack the police with the militants available and snatch their fire arms. The state committee was opposed to this understanding. These comrades equated the armed struggle with the attacks on police with the militants. This understanding is wrong.

3 points became obvious from the district committee meeting held in September. The secretary of the district committee lost his political and organizational grip over the DC. He did not have any clue on changes taking place in that DC. The district committee had already established political and organizational relations with the AICCCR. The leaders of the AICCCR were trying to detach the Srikakulam movement from the movement in the State. Srikakulam district committee leaders were ready for that. Until then the left trend of the AICCCR leaders was manifest in their writings, and in their exaggerations about the political situation. It used to reflect in their arguments that party building starts from bottom and only those who dip their hands in the blood of the class enemies can become a member of the party.

Now another new thing emerged during discussions with the Srikakulam district committee. They were launching the raids with just the militant youth and detached themselves from the masses. Their subsequent practice bears testimony to this.

All these were serious symptoms.. The state committee was faced with important issues - achieving the unity among the revolutionaries,

safeguarding Srikakulam movement and unifying the revolutionary movement in AP. These were the strong sentiments expressed by general party members and the district-committees.

It is in these circumstances that the State coordination committee met during September -, October 1968. It reviewed the whole situation. There emerged two strong opinions within the state coordination committee.

One: Left tendencies and factional approaches are manifest in the AICCCR leadership. We should not join AICCCR till these are addressed. We should work independently and continue our political discussions with AICCCR.

Two: Our state committee should forthwith join the AICCCR and let the AICCCR know about our differences. Resolution of the differences cannot be a condition to join the AICCCR. Only thus we can safeguard the unity among the revolutionaries and save the unity of AP revolutionary movement.

Of the above two, the second opinion won with a single vote majority. Comrades with the differing opinion also agreed to implement the decision to join AICCCR. A four-member committee was formed to hold discussions with the AICCCR in this regard.

This September – October state committee meeting made the following suggestions to the Srikakulam committee.

However serious the repression may be the basic problems of the people would not be solved. Hence, we should continue our efforts to maintain our contacts with the villages, mobilize the people on their issues like wages, seizure of land and the harvest. We can continue the armed struggle only when we base ourselves on mobilizing the masses. We should always persist with these efforts.

We see the indications of people coming forward to resist in certain places. Hence, we can launch attacks on the landlords and their agents in the villages. We should start with the raids on the landlords initially and gradually from there we should start resisting the police.

We should start our raids on the police and their camps in the rainy season. The rainy season hampers free movement of enemy vehicles while our squads can move more freely. This will be more advantageous for us.

If the DC does not agree with the above suggestions and decides to move forward with their plan of immediate attacks on the police

stations, the state committee will endeavor to implement the suggestions of the DC. State committee is willing to learn lessons from this.

State committee agreed to join the AICCCR unconditionally. It expressed its willingness to implement the tactics of struggle suggested by the Srikakulam DC while making its differences clear to them. Anyone wanting to unite the revolutionaries in the state and the country would welcome these decisions of the state committee.

Fourth round of discussions with the SKL-DC

A two member delegation was formed to discuss with the SKL district committee about the state committee decisions. State committee representatives met with the SKL DC representatives on October 8th 1968 and discussed with them. State committee representatives explained about the state committee decisions.

They told that they wouldn't discuss the question of armed resistance with the state committee until the state committee agreed to join the AICCCR. They refused to take guerilla training. We had to cancel the arrangements that were already made for the training. They did not stop at that. After this fourth meeting, important leaders of the district committee toured other districts and started to mobilize all the discontented elements against the state committee. They directly tried to rally them against the state committee. They established direct relations with the Naxalbari Solidarity Committee of Guntur.

Two things became quite clear with this. Up until then they have been spreading the false propaganda against the state committee that the state committee was against the armed struggle. The state committee expressed its readiness to implement the decisions of the district committee. Srikakulam district committee leaders have now rejected this proposal. Thus, the argument that the split occurred due to the state committees opposition to the armed struggle has been proved to be groundless. It is now evident that the split is caused by their left adventurist politics.

Second: They openly rallied against the state committee and have resorted to factionalism.

The Merger with AICCCR

It was in these circumstances that the four representatives decided by the state committee held their discussions with the AICCCR in October-November 1968.

During the discussions it became clear that there was a basic agreement between both on all important matters regarding the Indian revolution. It was noted that there was basic agreement between the two committees on various issues- imperialist character of the Soviet revisionism, China being the center of world revolution, Marxism-Leninism – Mao Tse-tung thought being our guide to action and the path of peoples war being the only way for the complete liberation of the Indian people.

There remained differences between the two committees on two issues. First one is on the question of elections. The state committee clearly stated that the question of elections was a tactical question and it would be wrong to boycott elections until the completion of peoples democratic revolution. Second issue was that the state committee felt there still are many revolutionaries outside of the AICCCR and we should strive patiently to bring them into coordination committee and that we should patiently strive to help the revolutionary forces within CPM come out from that party.

State committee representatives have expressed their opinions on these two questions. The representatives of AICCCR have rejected these opinions. Despite the differences, the state committee agreed to join the AICCCR.

These discussions and the merger with AICCCR took place in the very presence of SKL district leaders and the leaders of Naxalbari solidarity committee. They did not express any difference with us on these issues.

The situation did not improve with the merger. Slander and baseless criticisms continued against the state committee. Important thing here is that the SKL DC informed the state committee that they would only maintain relations with the state committee at the level of coordination. That just means that they will implement the decisions they like and wouldn't implement those decisions that they disagree with. The state committee was compelled to accept this as well.

In the meantime, district committee went ahead with its own program. They did not hold any discussions with the state committee. They started the armed struggle in November 1968 on their own. The people raided the landlord's house in Duddukallu under the leadership of the party. It was considered as the beginning of the armed struggle in Srikakulam district.

During the previous four meetings held before November 1968, the state committee provided correct organizational tasks to bring mobility again into the Srikakulam girijan movement. It explained the relation between armed struggle and the question of land and the tasks to that need to be completed to start armed struggle. However, state committee did not stick to its stand when the district committee started armed struggle in 1968. The state committee acknowledged it as an armed struggle and provided its suggestions in line with that understanding. It was wrong on the part of the state committee to acknowledge the Srikakulam movement as an armed struggle and provide suggestions to make preparations for ambushing the police, snatching of weapons and raid the police camps. Fact of the matter is that the armed struggle is a struggle to capture state power. The movement developed in a limited area like Srikakulam district alone would not suffice to launch the armed struggle. We should have accomplished the tasks of building party, mass organizations, village committees and volunteer organizations in a wider area and we should impart the consciousness of capturing the state power among the people while arousing them to struggle on their issues. Viewed from this angle, the SKL movement had yet to accomplish these tasks at that time. Hence, the suggestions given by the state committee with the understanding that it was an armed struggle were incorrect, regardless of the reasoning. The state committee should have given the necessary tasks to prepare the people for resistance struggle to defend the movement.

Srikakulam district committee did not even inform the state committee when they decided to take such a big step. They didn't even bother to give a hint. This was all done under the suggestions and the guidance of the AICCCR. With this, we can clearly understand the organizational principles adopted by these leaders.

Fifth Meeting with the SKL District Committee

Armed struggle in Srikakulam district started in November 1968. The secretary of the district committee asked the representatives of the state secretariat for suggestions to advance the movement. The state committee made the following suggestions.

- State committee welcomes this movement as hundreds of people are taking part in the raids. - These raids on the landlords and their agents should be further intensified. These raids should be conducted with the aim of driving them out of struggle areas.

At the moment these raids should be directed towards the seizure of lands from landlords and to take possession of the harvest. There should be a consistent effort towards this end. We can bring the question of the agrarian revolution before the people only through these efforts. With this, we would be able to counter the enemy's propaganda that we are resorting to loot and plunder. We can make the people understand the need of the agrarian revolution through this.

- Organize village volunteer squads with the militants who come forward at the village level. Their primary task is to defend the village. They should position themselves on the routes taken by the police, ambush, attack them and retreat.

- The objective of these attacks is not to wipe out the police but to foil their plans and to warn the people in advance so that they escape the police raids.

- People should take possession of weapons they snatch in the police raids. All the locally available weapons should be used in the raids.

- Party should be reorganized on the basis of zonal and area committees.

- We should take up the program of attacking the police stations and police camps when the monsoon season sets in.

- From now on, we should give priority to secure the weapons through all possible means.

- We should strive to extend the movement further and particularly we should strive to extend our movement to Orissa area in particular.

- We should seriously strive to intensify the class struggles and extend the movement in the plain areas. We can attack the landlords in the plain areas based on the level of movement and people's participation and need for such attacks. Our aim should be to defend the agency movement and we should not resort to such attacks that go beyond the level of the movement there. We cannot defend the agency movement through such actions and movement in the plain areas would also be weakened.

District committee secretary accepted all these suggestions when they were made. However, he rejected all of them once he stepped out of the meeting. Further, he wrote a letter to the state committee accusing it

of adopting a hostile attitude towards the SKL-DC. With this, the relations between the state committee and SKL-DC were cut.

Explusion of AP State Committee from the AICCCR

AICCCR meeting took place on February 7,1969. Our representative also attended the meeting. The relations between the state committee and the AICCCR were not part of the agenda. However, this item was brought up for discussion in an abrupt manner. State committee representative opposed this and despite his opposition they forced it for discussion. They passed a resolution expelling the state committee from AICCCR. On February 7,1969, the AICCCR issued a statement removing the AP state committee from the AICCCR.

The reasons they showed for this action also were absurd and ficticious.

First issue: They alleged that the state committee does not treat the SKL movement as its own and that the state committee is only providing a nominal help to the movement. There is no truth at all in this allegation. In this meeting, the state committee representative explained them that the state committee had held 5 rounds of discussions with SKL-DC and he explained them the state committee's proposals to advance the SKL movement in the direction of Armed struggle. The leadership of the AICCCR is opposed to the proposals of the state committee. That would mean that there is a basic difference between the understanding of the state committee and the the understanding of the AICCCR on the question of armed struggle. The fundamental understanding of the state committee is to move towards armed struggle based on participation of the people. On the other hand, the understanding of the AICCCR is to launch adventurist actions with the militants. Thus, the differences became serious.

After the start of the armed struggle in Srikakulam, Andhra State Committee launched a campaign about it among the people and to rally their support. Party magazine and cadres did their level best to support the struggle. It is nothing but a distortion of facts to deny all these efforts of the state committee. Second issue: The issue of boycott of elections is not a new one. This is not a strategic question but just a tactical issue. It is meaningless to argue that we would boycott the elections till we accomplish the people's democratic revolution. Such statements do not take the ebb and flow of the movement into account.

From the beginning, this was the opinion of the state committee. We have categorically stated this when we joined the AICCCR.

It is far from truth to say that comrade T.N. martyred since, vacillated to resign to his Assembly membership. He never exhibited any such vacillation. He stated he would resign when a session is in place. The same was reported to the center and they accepted it. They wrote the following in a letter in.

We have learnt through your letter that comrade TN is planning to resign in person during the assembly session and we are glad with that. Our sincere congratulations to him. (January 4th 1969).

State committee never agreed to the principle of boycotting the elections throughout until the completion of people's democratic revolution. To say that comrade Nagi Reddy has hesitated to resign to the assembly is nothing but a fabrication.

Third issue is related to the attack on a police station in Kerala that took place at the end of year 1968. On this issue, the leaders of the AICCCR flip-flopped. They opposed it initially and they supported it subsequently. The organ of state committee published both the statements in line with the organizational discipline .

In the meantime, a statement of comrade Nagi Reddy criticizing the attacks appeared in certain newspapers. It was reported that comrade T. Nagi Reddy mentioned that these actions might have been a handiwork of enemy agents. He clarified to the state committee that he did not say anything beyond denouncing the incident.

The main issue here is whether the attack on the Kerala police station should be condemned or not. The state committee was of the clear opinion that the attack was wrong. This attack did not corelate with the level of people's movement in Kerala nor did it reflect any need for such an attack. It is nothing but a reflection of the dissatisfaction and impetuosity among the middle-class youth in the country against the exploitative system. This incident, beyond the level of the mass movement, will cause harm to the movement. This is the opinion of the state committee. State committee clearly told this to the leadership of the AICCCR at that time.

Therefore, there existed no grounds to expel the state committee from the AICCCR. The decision was taken without even asking for

any explanation from the state committee. It is evident that their decision was arbitrary.

The left trend prevailing within the AICCCR and in the SKL DC and their factional attitude is the main reason for all this.

Thus, the political and organizational relations between the state committee and AICCCR, SKL-DC were severed. With this, the left trend prevailing within the leadership of the AICCCR and SKL-DC escalated further and reached its zenith with its theory of annihilation of class enemies.

On the other hand, state committee went ahead resolutely to build the revolutionary movement. It did not abandon the mass line despite committing some mistakes. It did not forsake the agrarian revolutionary movement. It could survive, withstanding the fascist repression.

Mistakes of the State Committee

This is not to say that the state committee did not commit any mistakes. It certainly did commit some mistakes. - At the outset, the internal struggle within CPM was confined to ideological and political issues only. Subsequently, the path of peoples war was brought forward as a general slogan but could not give a practical shape to it. Some efforts were made in this direction after March 1968. But that was not significant. Thus, it could not effectively combine its ideological struggle with practice.

- It provided basically correct suggestions to the Srikakulam district movement to forge ahead in the direction of armed struggle. The state committee leadership should have further concentrated in SKL district to implement its directions. Had it done so, it would have helped to prove the correctness of the directions provided by the state committee.

- The State committee leadership took a correct stand in stating that the question of elections is a tactical question. But it could not deal with this tactical issue at ideological and political levels in a detailed manner. Thus, the leftists utilized this weakness well to spread confusion and rake up sentiments against the leadership.

- State committee provided correct directions to different areas of its struggle in its circular, 'Lay foundations to struggle'. But concentrated efforts to implement the circular were made only in certain areas and certain committees, and only by certain members of the state

committee. Certain state and district committee leaders in the plain areas did not particularly concentrate to implement the circular. Thus, the movement was faced with some stagnation. Even in the Godavari valley forest area, the leadership could not concentrate its efforts to implement the understanding of this circular. Left mistakes like Pagideru incident took place because of this. The leftists utilized this weakness effectively to instigate our members against our line. Apart from this, the leftists were aided by few other things. They are.

- Naxalbari leaders waged their struggle against the revisionist leadership of CPI (M) basing themselves on the path of peoples war. They could organize armed peasant struggle in Naxalbari. The leaders of AICCCR gained a great prestige with this. They could thus attract a large number of revolutionaries in the country.

- At that time, the Srikakulam mass movement was at a higher level when compared to other mass movements within the state. Movements in other districts did not yet reach that level. We had to work patiently to bring them to the level of SKL movement. Srikakulam movement gained a significant prestige as a powerful mass movement at the time.

Further to the above, Naxalbari leadership had the support of the international friends.

Leftists have utilized all these factors to their advantage. They could rally a great number a revolutionaries within the country to their side. They could win the entire SKL movement to their side. They could attract some of the enthusiastic youth and rally with them.

In nutshell, these are the incidents that have taken place during this period. The efforts to work along the path a peoples war were initiated in the state. These efforts were taken up in the plain areas and in Godavari valley area. Movement in Khammam, Warangal, Karimnagar and East Godavari districts has expanded. Mass movement has sprouted in Kandamodalu area. Struggle against the levies started in the Manthena taluq. Strikes were launched by the agricultural labourers. At the same time, left adventuristic incidents like snatching guns from American hunters, burning of teak logs also took place. Left trend emerged within the AICCCR and SKL-DC. The correct directions given by the state committee to advance the SKL movement based on the mass line were rejected by the

Srikakulam district committee. They split the party. It has dealt a serious blow to the revolutionary movement within the state and the country.

Anyways, raids on the landlords started in Srikakulam district under the leadership of SKL- DC in November 1968. The correct directions given by the state committee to direct this struggle to seize the lands of the landlords and their harvest were rejected by the Srikakulam district committee. The movement incurred severe losses subsequently due to this failure..



Forest Movement in Godavari Valley : Present Situation and Tasks

The forest areas of the districts of Khammam, Karimnagar, Warangal, East and West Godavari constitute the Godavari Valley. Here armed struggle under the leadership of our party had started about 7 years back.

In these 7 years, our movement had to face severe government repression. About 10 Comrades have died in this struggle. Thousands of people were tortured and many were arrested.

At the same time, our movement had to face many political difficulties. We had to face disruption and propaganda from both the revisionists and the neo-revisionists. We had to face the left adventurist line of Charu group and its harmful consequences. In the middle of the struggle, the movement had to face the disruption from another section.

In addition to this, party leadership had no clear understanding on the principles of peoples' war, as a result of which the movement was subjected to both left and right mistakes. Thus, in this period, our movement had to face severe repression and political disruption. The movement had to face many political ups and downs. Inspite of this, our movement both in the forests and the plains has advanced from the beginning. It has spread to new areas. Today it is a growing political force in the province.

Today, with the declaration of emergency, the fascist government is trying to suppress the peoples' movement, particularly the revolutionary forces. Our party has become a special target for the government to attack.

Because of the wrong policies pursued by Charu and other groups, except in the valley of Godavari and Srikakulam agency area, there are no other extensive areas where the peoples' movement has taken the form of armed struggle. The armed struggle in the form of self-defence, in the Godavari Valley and Srikakulam areas under the leadership of the Party and its continuing development has become a challenge to the government. With the inspiration of the forest

movements, in the plains of Andhra strong anti-landlord peasant movement and other peoples' movements are advancing. The people's movements in new forest areas is developing; the heroic Srikakulam movement has again raised its head in the agency areas. At the same time efforts have started to unite all the revolutionary groups on the basis of a minimum programme.

Before the unity of the revolutionary groups had taken a definite shape, before the peoples' struggles in other provinces especially those in the plain areas of our own province, before the people take to armed struggle against the present fascist government, the government has started a fascist offensive against the movements in Godavari Valley and Srikakulam. It is torturing the people on a large scale. It is arresting hundreds of village elders at a time, taking them to the police camps and torturing them. At the same time the government is trying to create new illusions among the people through the 20-point programme. It is trying to divert the people from armed struggle, by implementing some reform work in certain selected villages and on the other hand it is organising separate girijan associations to create splits among the people.

Today the forest movement in Godavari Valley area is facing a repression beyond its capacity to resist. As a result of this intensified repression, the illusions created by the 20- Point Programme, the disruption caused by certain elements of the newly created girijan associations at the instance of the government the forest movement in this area is facing a very serious situation.

In Khammam, Warangal areas, in certain villages, at least temporarily, vacillation has appeared in certain village tribal eleders. In such areas the people are hesitating to help the squads as boldly as before. In this atmosphere police agents are raising their heads in certain villages. Today our task is to face this situation, defend the movements and again advance. We must have a programme and tactics suitable to this situation. Before going in to this, let us examine, briefly atleast, a short review of the past, its victories, its losses, its present weaknesses, the forms of government repression etc.

1. A Short review of the Forest Movement in Godavari Valley

.In Andhra Pradesh, in 1968 after the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Committee, we started to build the people's

movement in the forest area, with the conception of peoples' war. At the beginning, we had a very small base among the people. Our party had direct contact with the people in the forest villages of Mulugu taluk and the border villages of Bayyaram area. Then the PC sent additional Party workers to build the peoples' movement in this area.

In the beginning our Party workers worked legally among the people and implemented the Party Programme. Open, public meetings were held on a very wide scale. In these meetings politics of armed struggle were explained to the people. Along with this, we began mobilising the people on their immediate issues and build the peoples' movements. We began mobilising the people on forest issues, on landlord exploitation, usury and contractors' exploitation. We mobilised the people for the seizure of surplus grains from the landlords. We mobilised the people to occupy the illegally seized lands under the occupation of the landlords.

In this stage of legal work, there was agitation against the exploitation of the forest officials. At this time, the government announced that the peasants of this area were asked to pay land revenue arrears for the previous four years. We mobilised the people against this. The government was forced to make a retreat on this issue before the unity of the people.

In Mulugu and Parakal taluk people came forward to occupy the forest lands and the illegally seized lands under the occupation of the landlords. In some villages, people occupied such lands. People came forward to seize the surplus grain from the landlords and the merchants.

In Bayyaram area of Ellendu taluq, people seized the surplus grains. In Yathalakunta area of Palvancha Taluq, the girijans mobilised themselves for the seizure of lands which they had previously lost to the landlords and rich peasants. They defied the police and seized their crops.

In Nugur taluk, the people came forward to resist the violence and exploitation of the Vajedu landlords. In Pagideru area of Burgumpadu taluk, during famine conditions, people mobilised themselves for the seizure of surplus grain from the landlords. By combining the propagation of politics of armed struggle with the mobilisation of the people, their immediate issues and resistance to landlords' goondagiri at the village level, the Party was able to get

many militants. We began organising the people's committees at the village level.

During the celebration week of heroic Telangana struggle, these village militants demonstrated with Red Flags and public meetings were held on an extensive scale.

With this legal work for six months, when politics of armed struggle were combined with the mobilisation of the people on their immediate issues and resistance to landlords' goondagiri, our movement in the forest spread to a very wide area. We could take the politics of armed struggle to the people on an extensive scale. We could move and mobilise the people on their immediate issues. The people won many victories in these struggles. The movements spread from Mulugu taluk to Ellendu, Burgumpadu, Palvancha, Manthena, Nugur and Parakala taluks.

Here one point must be noted. We started our forest work and building the peoples' movements with merely a general understanding of combining the politics of armed struggle with the mobilisation of the people on their immediate issues and thus mobilise the people for armed agrarian revolution. But the PC and its leadership or the Forest leadership had not thought of how to defend the movement from the attacks of the government and the landlords which is bound to follow when once the people begin to move on their immediate issues. We had no clear understanding of the economic conditions and the class divisions of the Forest area. Of special importance is the fact, that in this forest area, landlord concentration is very small when compared to the plain areas. There is bigger concentration of landlordism in the border areas. In the beginning, we had no clear conception of the concrete programme to be pursued in this area in the existing concrete conditions to mobilise the people for armed agrarian revolution.

When the people began to struggle for their immediate demands in the Forest area, repression started. But the people were not yet ready to participate in the Armed Agrarian Revolution. We had no clear conception as to how to fight back this repression which started when the people were not yet ready for the armed agrarian revolution. Because there was no clarity on this issue, our comrades in Manthena forcibly seized two automatic weapons from a hunter. With this two armed squads began to function in the forest area.

We did not take sufficient precautions at this stage as to the measures to be adopted to resist the attack of the enemy on the growing peoples' movement. Instead, we began to think of self defence.

- During the period of legal work, people showed great enthusiasm and readiness to fight for their immediate issues. We took this as their readiness for armed struggle. We estimated, that with another 4-5 months period of legal work, we could start the armed struggle based on land distribution.

- The militants who were mobilised at the village level showed great enthusiasm in their work, but we failed to correctly estimate their political consciousness, we estimated that they were all ready for the armed struggle.

Because of this left thinking, the leaders of Khammam area and the PC representative there, provoked by the landlord offensive and police repression, abandoned the previous decision to mobilise the people for the seizure of surplus grain from the landlords and decided for the seizure of weapons from the landlords. On April 19, 1969 the Party Comrades in Pagideru area, raided the houses of the landlords and seized guns from them.

With this, police repression started throughout the forest area. Police camps were set up. The available Party workers, had to leave the village, form themselves into armed squads and work from inside the forest.

Even at this stage, we could not evolve a correct programme taking the intensified repression into view, to preserve the armed squads and the peoples' movement and advance the same. That means we failed to coordinate armed struggle, peoples movement and self defence properly.

Without taking the level of the peoples' movement into consideration, with the formation of the armed squads, we took it as the starting of the regular armed guerilla struggle. When the leaders of Khammam and Warangal areas went to take stock of the situation, they drew up a ten-point programme, which included attack on the police stations, driving away the Patels and Patwaris from the forest area, driving away the landlords from the area etc. Even in this programme, we abandoned the basic conception that this programme should be integrated and implemented with people's mobilisation. We entirely

depended on the strength of the armed squads to implement the programme.

With Pagideru events at least temporarily, we abandoned peoples' mobilisation and intensified the attacks on the landlords. As a result of this, both the areas suffered losses. With this experience, first in Khammam and then in Warangal, we soon realised that we were abandoning the people and that we were dragged towards raids unrelated to the demands of the people and that the movement was meeting with losses. Depending on our own experiences, we again took to the massline.

In this situation, in July 1970, a joint meeting of the squads and the Committee was held and reviewed the whole movement. The PC drew a four-point programme to advance the forest movement. The PC made it clear that the people were not yet ready for armed struggle. To prepare the people for this, a four-point programme - propagation of revolutionary politics, people's mobilisation on their immediate issues, necessary actions against peoples' enemies and self-defense from the police was prepared by the PC. By implementing this four-point proggramme, the movement began to spread rapidly. Mobilisation of the people on their immediate issues and peoples' struggles were intensified. In these struggles, people participated on a large scale. Now youth began joining the squads. The squads and their armed strength began to grow. The movement spread to new areas.

In the Forest area, from the beginning our Party had to wage a struggle both against left and right deviations and for correct ideology.

In 1973 September, we held our regional conference and the PC conference. The PC conference drew a 6-point programme to achieve the Armed Agrarian Revolution. Based on this programme, the forest committees are still working.

In this whole period, the movement had to face severe fascist repression of the government. Police camps were set up throughout the forest area. Regular police raids are taking place on the villages and the squads. They are being subjected to inhuman torture on an extensive scale, and women raped. People's properties have been looted. People have been forced to pay illegal payments to the police. About 60 of our comrades have been shot dead. Thus the forest

movement in Godavari Valley, had to advance in the face of fascist police repression, political ups and downs and in struggle against the left and right deviations. But still the movement could achieve many successes. When we evaluate these successes, we should have kept these difficulties in mind.

2. The Successes of the Movement

In this period, the forest movement could win many significant successes.

Preserved the squads and the Peoples' Movement

The government has set up many police camps in the forest area to suppress the movement. The people are subjected to harassment and tortures of various kinds. Regular police raids on the villages and squads are taking place. But still the government has failed to wipe out the squads. It failed to disrupt the close contacts between the squads, between the higher and lower committees. It could not disrupt our squads. Regular meetings of squads and committees are taking place.

The government has also failed to prevent the squads in mobilising the people for struggles on their demands on the immediate issues. Along with an intensive propagation of revolutionary politics, the squads continued to mobilise the people for struggles on such issues like land, nagu, usury, wages, construction of tankbunds, night schools etc. In certain areas, this work is still continuing.

The squads, in cooperation with the people could punish the local CIDs. Thus inspite of intensified repression, the squads not only defended themselves, but are able to carry on the political programme of the Party and lead the peoples' struggles.

Because of government repression, and our own weaknesses, our squads could not stay in Manthena and in a greater part of Mulugu area. We had to withdraw our squads from these areas. Again we tried to send the squads there in 1974-75. But we failed. In the rest of the whole area, our these squads are carrying on their work in an organised way. It is a significant victory, having a bearing on the future.

On the defeat and the successes of the People's Army, Comrade Mao has said thus: "What contributes a defeat for the Red Army? Strategically speaking there is defeat only when a counter-campaign against encirclement and suppression fails completely, but even then

the defeat is only partial and temporary. For, only the total destruction of the Red Army would constitute complete defeat in the civil war."

True when compared with the number of squad members, and the squad members in 1971, the number of squad members is less. But taking the political level, organisational discipline, our links with the people, today our squads are in a far better position. Compared with that period, our squads are implementing the programme in a wider area.

Successes of People's Struggle

In the Forest area, from the beginning, along with the propagation of revolutionary politics, we have been continuously mobilising the people for struggles on immediate issues like forest banjars, illegally seized lands by the landlords, against the exploitation of the Patels, Patwaris, forest officials and contractors, and wages, construction of tank bunds, and night schools. The people participated in these struggles on an extensive scale. People enthusiastically participated in small and big group meetings and strike struggles. In certain areas this work is still continuing, and through these struggles, the people have won the following successes:

(a) In all the areas where our squads are functioning, the people have mobilised themselves to occupy the forest banjars, both baren and arable. Thus the people have occupied about 3 lakhs of acres of banjar lands and are enjoying them. Inspite of the fact, that in the beginning, the people had to overcome many threats and pressures from the forest officials and the police, the occupation of the banjar lands by the girijans developed into a big peoples' struggle.

But we cannot say, that this occupation has been carried out on an equal scale in all the areas. There are differences in the level of occupation depending on the availability of the cultivable land, pressure for land, peoples' readiness and the concentration that the squads and the committees could give to this problem. As a reflection of this struggle, even in those areas, where the squads are not functioning, the people on their own initiative occupied the forest lands.

The occupation of the forest lands became such a big movement, that the forest officials and the police officers could not stop this. They were forced to stop putting up cases in the courts. When the government tried to take the felled trees the people in some places,

refused to allow it, but burnt the trees and used the ashes as manure for the lands. In many areas, the government had to create new barren lands.

In Palvancha and Polavaram taluks, the occupation of the illegally seized lands by the landlords has come to the forefront in some villages. Our comrades are taking these issues and are mobilising the people on this issue.

Thus we were successful in conducting this struggle for the occupation of the forest lands as a big peoples' movement. If we remember that there is not much of landlord concentration in the forest area and occupation of the forest lands is the biggest land problem here. One could understand the significance of the Party struggle on this issue for the agrarian revolution.

(b) In the areas, where our squads are functioning, the exploitation and violence of the Patels, Patwaris and forest officials has almost come to an end. In some villages, it has been completely ended. The extraction by the Patwaris of land revenue through falsification of accounts, has gradually come down. These Patels and Patwaris are not able to move about freely in the forest villages, and their harassment and corruption has almost come to an end. They have confined themselves either to the towns or to the police camps. In such places, their exploitation is still continuing, where the people's movement and peoples' resistance is weak, this exploitation is still continuing in some form or another.

Because of the existence of the squads and the peoples' resistance, the violence and the corruption and harassment has almost ended. Most of the forest officials have to be on friendly terms with the people. Then only they could move freely in the forest. The people have not only ended the exploitation of the forest officials, now they are freely enjoying the forest produce.

Still, some forest officials, depending on the police camps, are able to continue this exploitation in the nearby villages. In those areas where our squads are not functioning, the exploitation of the forest officials is still going on without hindrance.

(c) In the forest areas, strike struggles have been continuously going for increased wages for all kinds of work in the forest coupes particularly the fuel coupes and the bamboo coupes. Even now they are continuing. In the Birla bamboo coupes more than five thousand

labourers went on strike for increased wages. This is a significant event. As a result of these strikes, wages have been on the increase every year. As for beedi leaves, in certain areas, the people got 4 to 5 times increased wages when compared with 1969. In some areas, small bundle has come into practice.

Even on this problem, depending on the concentration of the squads, the concentration on the problem, on the consciousness and organised strength of the people, there are differences in the level of the wages from area to area.

(d) On the issue of tank bund construction and night schools, our movement had very significant successes. The people came forward to dig canals and build tank bunds to create water facilities to irrigate the land which they have newly acquired from the occupation of the forest banjar lands through self help. The party and the squads stood behind the people in this effort. Having lost confidence in the government the people mobilised own resources to carry this work. In some places our squad worked with the people physically in this construction work.

Taking the total need of the people on this question, what we did was very small. But the issue had a big political impact. The negligence of the Congress government and the care of the party for the interests of the people had a big political impact on the people. The fraternisation of the sqaud with the people got enormously strengthened. The love, affection and confidence of the people in the party vastly increased. The government took this as a very dangerous development for it and sent the police immediately into action to prevent this. The police put big pressure on these villages which had received help from the party and the squad. They began beating the whole village people, began torturing those persons who were directly responsible for that construction works. On certain occassions, the police officers tried to take many by force from the villages meant for tank construction. The District Collector of Khammam sent a special appeal to the government, asking the government to allot special funds for his district, since an alternative government was functioning in the forest area and carrying on construction works. The district Parishad held an extraordinary meeting and sanctioned special fund for tank construction to meet the so called 'Naxalite' threat. All this shows how the work of the party on

this question acquired political importance.

In the same way the work of the party in encouraging the people to set up elementary night schools acquired special importance. The government concentrated its repression on those villages which started the night schools. Because of this, the people stopped schools in some villages, but in others, they are still continuing.

Thus the party built a political peoples' movement for tank bund construction and night schools. With this work our links with the people got strengthened.

e) Peoples' initiative, consciousness and resistance power has grown from the very beginning in the forest area. Our party tried to rouse the girijans and other oppressed sections of the people politically and mobilise the people for armed agrarian revolution. We have carried an intensive propaganda among the people about the revolutionary politics of armed struggle, world politics, and the political situation in our country. We utilised small and big group meetings as a means to carry this work. We tried to carry this message to both the men and women.

In certain areas, in some villages, we have conducted political classes for the whole villages, on such subjects like historical materialism, socialist China, world communist movement etc. On these subjects, wherever possible, we held two- day, three-day classes for the whole villages. Where the village committees have been formed, we have tried to hold special political classes for the village committees and the youth of the village under its influence. We supplied party literature to such villages and helped them to read and understand that literature.

Along with the mobilisation of the people for struggles, and politicalisation of the masses, we tried to develop and strengthen the organised strength of the people, organisation of strike committees, village committees, organisation of volunteers, sending the village youth to carry the party message to the surrounding villages, setting up secret organisers in the villages organising mass associations.

Along with these orgnaisational tasks, we have got the people to resist police violence on the people, to keep close watch to take necessary actions on them to keep them under control, to resist the corruption of the tribal elders, etc. Thus we have tried to raise the resistance power of the people and their fighting capacity.

By working to raise the political consciousness of the people, to mobilise the people for struggles on their immediate issues, organisational steps at the village level, and raising the resistance power and fighting capacity of the people, the party has been able, to a certain extent, to raise peoples' consciousness, initiative and resistance power.

Growing consciousness of the people and growing fighting capacity of the people is being reflected in many ways.

- The people are showing initiative in taking up the immediate issues and fighting for them.

- In the areas where the squads have been functioning, majority of the people have been boycotting all types of elections.

- When the police tried to insult their women folk, and take away their goats by violence, the people have been collectively resisting the police. This resistance is growing from village to village. The resistance of the people of Gurujulumodu village in Bayyaram area is a standing example to this. After this, the resistance of the people of Thimmapuram in the same area was another big event. There are many occasions of collective resistance of people to police violence in the forest area.

- Inspite of all the harassment from the police, the people are helping the squads by way of supplying food, water, grain and other daily necessities..

- They are keeping a watch on the village CIDs. They by themselves are taking necessary actions to keep them under control. Only when it is beyond their control, they are informing the party and the squad. When the squad takes action against such persons, the people cooperate with the squad in every way.

- Not only that. Recently, the people on certain occassions have come forward to work as sentries for the squad, and at suspected places help the squad to safely cross such places. They are keeping watch at contact places. On such occasions, in some villages, the people are consciously coming forward to protect the squads. When compared with the type of help that the people were giving the squad in a few years back, this help of the people is definitely of a higher standard.

- However much the police are beating the people, however much the people taken to the police camps are being tortured, the

people in general are refusing to give any information to the police about the armed squad. Because of tortures, even if the people are forced to agree to give information to the police about the squad, they immediately give that information to the squad and promise to the squad that they will never betray the squad to the police. Even those who are tortured in the police camps, they are not abandoning their contacts with the squad and the party work. Though they hesitate for a few days about this, they again participate in the activities of the party.

- Though the government is offering hundreds and thousands of rupees as prize money for the arrest of the squad members and leaders, they are not tempted, the government has failed to recruit village CIDs. Even if anyone is tempted by this, the people immediately come to know of it and try to dissuade him from such action, or they inform the squad about this. Thus they take the initiative to keep him under control.

Inspite of heavy repression, village militants are coming forward to work in the secret village committees, to carry on secret propaganda in the nearby villages, and even join the squad.

- Inspite of heavy repression, in certain villages, people are continuing tank bund construction and the night schools.

Thus, in the forest area, as a result of the path followed by the party, peoples' consciousness, initiative and fighting capacity is increasing.

Even in this, there are differences with regard to the consciousness of the people and their organised struggle from area to area, depending on the social conditions in each area, the concentration of the squad, the way the squad implemented the mass line, the concentration given to raising the political consciousness of the people, on the organisational tasks carried out at the village level, nearness of the police camps to the villages, etc., etc., When we examine the successes of the peoples' movement in the forest area and the growth of the peoples' consciousness in the area, we must keep the following facts in mind.

These achievements have not been won at a single stroke in a single day. As the political campaign of the party grew in intensity, as the number of the party squads increased, as the confidence of the masses in the squad and the party increased, the participation of the people in the strike struggles on their immediate issues gradually

increased. Depending on the growth of the confidence of the people and their readiness to fight, the people could win many successes on issues like the exploitation of the patels and patwaris, forest officials, contractors, wages, exploitation of usury and nagu etc.

At present, in some areas, due to the intensified repression, the people are not able to retain all the achievements they have gained previously. On the recent period, especially during March-May, the government has intensified its repression to a high pitch; it is trying to create illusions among the people of implementing some of the 20-point programme in certain selected villages; it is encouraging separate girijan associations to create splits among the people. With all this, the government is trying to create a feeling of terror among the people. As a result of this, vacillation has raised its head among certain village tribal elders, especially in certain villages Khammam-Waragal area. With this, the exploitation of the patels, patwaris and forest officials is again raising its head. Seeing the vacillation among the village elders, the people in those villages are now hesitant to help the squad. In this atmosphere, in some villages, CIDS are showing up.

But even in this atmosphere, people are refusing to betray the squad to the police. They are assisting the squad to go to some distant places during the summer, to escape from water scarity and return in the rainy season when they could help the squad easily. In other areas, the people are helping the squad and are participating in the agitation on the peoples' issues.

We need not be afraid of this new development. Every movement will have its ups and downs. When the people are faced with unprecedented repression, and they themselves are not yet ready for armed struggle, it is natural for the people to lose some of the gains they have won in the previous period.

Even during the previous Heroic Telengana struggle during the time of intensive repression, there were occasions, when the people lost some of their gains, lost even the distributed land and gramraj crumbled.

It is an illusion to think, that the gains of the movement, achieved in a particular period, would remain till the end. Many times that will change after which alone some stability would come.

f) Raising of the political level and the fighting capacity of the squad. From the very beginning, majority of our squad members are

girijans. Their education is very low or is even absent. Therefore the party committees had to work to give them elementary education, to give them political, ideological and organisational training. We gave elementary education to the squad members as part of the daily routine work of the squad. Today in our squad, the number of uneducated is almost absent. Overwhelming of them are able today to read party books. But their understanding power is still very poor.

We have conducted regular political classes to the squad members every year to raise their political and ideological level. When the squads meet periodically, regular political reports are given. We are making the squad members read the party literature or it is being read to them and thus their thinking capacity is being raised. Even this work is being carried dependant on the initiative, concentration and level of the local leadership. Thus we are able to raise the political and organisational level of the squad members, improve their undetstanding of the concept of peoples' war. By raising the political and organisational level of the girijan youth, we could promote them to all levels of leadership in the forest area.

Along with this we tried to give military training to the squad members, but because of continuous repression, we could not continuously carry this work. In the running of squad and other tech principles to be observed, there is good improvement when compared with the past.

From the beginning, we have followed the principle, that when the police make raids on the squad, or the squads come across the police, with the help of the sentry we should be able to spot the police first, start shooting at the police first, put the police into confusion and then escape.

But, in the beginning for some years, some of our squads could not properly implement this principle. On seeing the police, without shooting at the police, they used to run away for safety.

But as experience has grown, there is a change. Recently, especially in 1974-75, even when the police were raiding the squad in large numbers, our squad, though small in number, are returning back the fire, put the police to confusion and escape without losses or minimum losses. In 1974-75, in our encounters with the police, our

comrades have been able to return back fire in majority of the cases. This has increased the self-confidence of the squad members and the party members to resist the police attacks and escape. We must strengthen this feeling of self-confidence.

g) A stable mass base for the movement. It is absolutely necessary to have a wide mass base and peoples' support to conduct a protracted armed agrarian revolution. By implementing the party line in the forest area for the last 7 months, from Eturunagaram in Warangal District to Polavaram in West Godavari District, we have been able to win the sympathy and support of the people for our struggle. In East Godavari District, the squad work and mobilisation of the people has spread from the banks of Godavari River upto the borders of Vizag District. In the wide area, many village committees have been formed. The people have participated in many struggles. Thus, we have been able to create a solid base among the people in a wide area, to continue the struggle. Because of this peoples' support, we could continue the armed struggle for the past 7 years in the face of severe government attack and pressure and the squad continue mobilising the people on their issues.

Because the party line was correct, our movement, starting from one taluq, has spread to new taluqs, to Palvancha and Polavaram Taluqs, to the agency areas of East Godavari. Today in other forest areas, similar movements are springing up. The Srikakulam movement is again reborn and advancing.

Thus in the Godavari Valley forest area, a wide mass base among the people has been created so that, in future we could conduct a protracted armed agrarian revolutionary struggle.

h) Inspiration to the plains movement: With a solid mass base in the forest area, with continuous mass work being done in the forest area by the squad, the fact that the squad could withstand the government attacks for so many years, and the people winning success after success in their partial struggles, the forest movements could give inspiration to the people in the plains to mobilise themselves and fight for their own demands. Particularly this had a great impact on the people in the border areas. It is inspiring the people for anti-landlord struggles. Thus the forest movement gives direct inspiration to people in certain areas and taluks to build strong peoples' movement.

The forest movement has a big role in building a people's movement, especially in the Telengana Districts, into a growing political force. Today the plains movement has reached a stage, when it could directly help the forest movement in various ways.

These are the achievements of the forest movement during the last 7 years. Today we are faced with the task of preserving the squad and advance the peoples' movement in the face of the mounting fascist attack of the government.

3. Weaknesses of the Movement

This does not mean there are no weaknesses in the forest movement. Still there are many weaknesses in the movement. There are many organisational weaknesses in the squad and the party committees there.

Particularly the following weaknesses are being reflected in the movement as a whole, in the squad and in the party committees.

a) The people are not yet ready to directly participate in the armed struggle: The forest movement in the Godavari Valley has got a life of 7 years. We have shown above the achievements of this struggle. The people are helping the party and the squad in various ways. They are helping us in various ways to protect the squad from the police. They are helping the squad to put the village CIDs under control. They are helping us to take necessary actions on the notorious elements among them. Even in the face of heavy police repression and torture, the people refuse to politically submit to the police. On the other hand, when the police use violence on their women, and to forcibly take away their goats and fowl the people are offering collective resistance on increasing number of occasions. The militant youth are participating in the formation of secret village committees.

But inspite of all this help to the movement, the people are not yet ready to directly participate in the armed struggle to overthrow the present government through a protracted armed struggle and win people's democracy. That is, the movement has not reached the stage when the people are prepared to directly participate in the armed agrarian revolution.

Because of this, hundreds of people are not yet joining the squad, so that we could take the movement to a higher stage and conduct

regular guerilla warfare. Even after 7 years of struggle, why is it that the consciousness of the people has not reached that stage when the people could directly participate in the armed struggle?

To this, the Nagi group has replied very easily. They say, that, because we have taken up arms, before the people have not yet come to the stage when they could seize and distribute the land of the landlord. Repression beyond the capacity of the people to resist has started, that the whole forest movement is on the retreat, and the whole forest movement is left adventurism without peoples' support. We have rejected all these arguements as a line of surrender.

It is true, in the beginning in 1969, when the squad work started, we took a left course for a short time. Depending on our own experience, we abandoned that course in a short time. We took to the path of self-defence against the police, and concentrated to build a mass movement. We drew up the 4-point programme and then the 6-point programme to achieve this aim. With this we have achieved many successes.

But still we have not been able to prepare the People to directly participate in the armed struggle. We must examine the reasons for this. The PC thinks that the following are the main causes for this :

- In the forest area, concentration of the landlords is not much. On the banks of Godavari, on the borders of the forest, and in areas of irrigation facilities, there is some landlord concentration. In the majority of the villages in the forest area, there are no landlords. The people are mainly subjected to the exploitation of the government, to the exploitation of the girijan corporations, forest officials, patels, patwaris and the contractors. Through the mobilisation of the people and the existence of the armed squads, the exploitation of the patels, patwaris, forest officials and contractors has been ended to a very large extent. Except the Birla Bamboo Coupe, all other contractors, have to come to terms with the people, if they stand unitedly and strike work for two or three days.

Because of the absence of the landlord in the deep forest areas there is no chance to develop anti-landlord struggles and thus raise the class consciousness of the people. We have to mobilise the people to directly fight the government and its police, and thus increase their class consciousness and fighting capacity. Our experience shows that this takes a long time.

The memory of the heroic Telengana struggle is still alive among the people. The people are still remembering the good achievements of that struggle and the bad things that happened in that period. The abounding results of that struggle, with counselling the people and their consent, has led to deep satisfaction among the masses. With the abandonment of the struggle all in sudden, the people had to face many difficulties and losses.

In the beginning, when our movement started in the forest area, the people asked us as to what guarantee was there that this time also the movement will not be abandoned in the middle. While helping the movement, they were expressing their doubts also. This situation continued for at least two or three years. As the mass work was intensified, the people began showing confidence in the squad and the party.

The persons deserting the squad were giving information to the police about the squad and the people supporting us. The people had to face many difficulties on this account. In the beginning this was one of the impediments in the way of winning the confidence of the people. Inspite of all these desertions, the squad continued to work among the people and were implementing the mass work and new militants were continuously joining the squad. In addition, the party ran a political campaign among the people about these deserters. Only by this work, we could dispel the doubts among the people about the squad.

In addition to this, cadres from the plains, had been sent to the forest area to build the movement. Among this, except some, all are new to the locality and its people. Even those who were previously known to the local people were known only to limited villages. They were also new to the majority of the people.

Only by implementing the mass line, we could win the local cadres. It took a long time to develop them politically and enable them to win the confidence of the masses.

Thus in the beginning we had to build leadership which has the confidence of the local people. We had to create such a leadership in the process of the struggle itself. We cannot expect the people to participate in the armed struggle unless they have got confidence.

In the beginning, without a clear conception of the peoples' war, without a clear understanding of the social conditions of the area, with

cadres entirely new to the area, we started our work in the forest area. In this situation, our party in Andhra committed both left and right deviations. In the forest area, we committed mistakes which were mainly of left deviation. Depending on our own experiences, we came to the correct path and a programme of mass work only in 1970. It was only after that, our movement began to grow. Even in this advance of the movement, some mistakes in the implementation of the party line continued to be committed in Warangal area. As a result of all this, in the beginning our movement was subjected to many political deviations. In the beginning our movement incurred too many losses. We could over come all these difficulties and losses only after 1970, Only after that our movement began to grow.

We started to work in the Godavari Valley area just a few days before the starting of the armed struggle in Srikakulam District. In a few days the Srikakulam movement reached a high stage. Along with Naxalbari movement and other peasant struggles, we propagated extensively about the Srikakulam struggle among the Godavari Valley people. We utilised the heroic Telengana struggle and the Srikakulam struggle to mobilise the people of the area for armed agrarian revolution.

As a result of the left adventurist line of Charu, along with Naxalbari and other peasant struggles, the Srikakulam struggle also suffered serious set backs. This had a great demoralising effect on our cadres and the people also. We had to overcome this demoralisation and through persistent mass work again to create confidence in the people.

Inspite of overcoming all these difficulties, by implementing the mass line, our forest movement, by 1971 was developing and expanding. In all the areas, militants both from the forest villages and the border areas were joining the squads. But at this time, the movement was not yet consolidated at the village level, through the formation of village committees and mass organisations. Majority of our squad members were new. We have yet to make them fit politically and organisationally and thus consolidate the squad.

Thus, when the movement at the village roots and the squad organisation was not yet consolidated, all in a sudden, the came out to dispute the movement and split the party into two. At that time, they were the recognised leaders of the party, both among the people and

the cadres. The government and the class enemies utilised this opportunity to create confusion among the people. They distributed the documents of this group among the people.

With this political and organisational crisis in the party, the new squad members were put to great confusion. Many of these new members were in Warangal than in Khammam left the squad and ran away. Along with them some of the old also deserted the squad. In Warangal District, the elements of DV-Nagi group tried to form alternative squad in the forest. We lost some squad members because of this also.

More than this, at least temporarily, there was great confusion among the people. With the desertion of many members from the squad, and surrendering themselves to the police, the people began to feel that the squad would not be able to withstand this situation. The party had to run a vigorus political campaign among the people explaining that the struggle would continue inspite of the desertion of DV-Nagi group.

By 1971, only in the forest areas of Andhra, the peoples' movement had taken the form of armed struggle. All other revolutionary movements in other states had met with serious set back due to the left-adventurist line of the Charu group. Only in Srikakulam efforts were being made to revive the movement on the correct lines. In other areas also revolutionaries were making the efforts to build the movement on the correct lines, but we had no direct links with those movements. We in Andhra had to stand on our own legs and continue the armed struggle.

Majority of the people are concentrated in the plains. Because of the right deviation of DV-TN group, in the beginning, the movement in the plains could not make any advance. In addition, we had to face the disruption from the Charuites. In the plains, we had to overcome the disruption of the Charuites, the difficulties faced by the wholesale arrests of the PC and DC leaderships and the disruption of the DV-Nagi group. Till 1972, our work in the plains was mainly concentrated to gather the available cadres and enthuse them for field work. Only after 1972, particularly in the Telengana Districts our movement took to the path of agitation. Only by 1974-75, we could organise anti-landlords struggles and create a mass base in wide areas.

All these show one significant fact. When the other peasant struggles in other states have received severe set-backs, when there are no vigorus anti-landlord peasant struggles taking place in wide areas on a higher level, depending only on the forest areas, it is very difficult to take the movement to the stage of the armed agrarian revolution.

In addition to this, in the forest area, the concentration of the population is very sparse. There is some concentration of population only on the banks of Godavari and in the border areas. Deep inside the forest area, there is only sparse population. Majority of the villages contain 4 or 5 huts upto about 50 huts. From the beginning, this small population in the villages have been expressing their inability to resist the police who come generally in large numbers armed with deadly weapons. We had to face this lack of self-confidence among the people even to fight for their immediate issues. In some areas, we are still facing this. We should also keep in mind that, for people who have been in ignorance for generations, it is very difficult for them to reach the stage of participation in the Armed Agrarian Revolution

Lastly, in addition to repression, the government has been adopting various methods of reforms to divert the people from armed agrarian revolution. It is trying to create illusions among the people by actually implementing some of them. It is trying to win the support of the upper sections of the girijans by giving them certain concessions. It is trying to create splits among the girijans by encouraging separate girijan associations in certain areas.

Deep in the forest area, the effect of the government reforms is very little on the mass of the people. But it has some effect on the tribal leaders in the villages, who somehow think of adjusting and live in peace with the government. Even in those villages where our village committees are functioning, the tribal leaders' influence over the villagers is still very strong. Without winning the people from the influence of those village tribal leaders, we cannot make the majority of the people participate in the armed agrarian Revolution. We have yet to accomplish this task.

These are causes that are still preventing the forest people from participating in the armed agrarian revolution. We must make our point clear here. The growth or the set backs of a movement mainly depend

on the objective conditions of that area and the correct line of the party.

Taking this into consideration, because of the economic, political and the social conditions of the area, lack of opportunities for the people, the left deviation of the party in the beginning, the disruption of the DV-TN group, lack of vigorous anti-landlord struggles in the plains on a higher level, are some of the reasons, in the opinion of the PC, for our failure to take the consciousness of the people to take it to the stage of directly participating in the armed agrarian revoluton.

We must remember another factor also. The participation of the people in the armed agrarian revolution entirely depend on their own consciousness and experience. The line of the party helps the people to get this consciousness. The struggles that we have conducted so far are not sufficient to help the people to get that consciousness. We have yet to continue these struggles. It is only by involving the people to participate in many economic and political struggles, that the people will acquire the consciousness to participate in the armed agrarian revolution. For this, their experience alone is the deciding factor. The participation of the people in the struggles depends on the growth of the contradictions in the country. The experience of the people in these struggles helps them to get the consciousness necessary to participate in the Armed Agrarian Revolution. The line of the party helps the people in this process.

The line of the party is basically correct. Because of this, while the movements under the leaderships of left or right deviation have suffered serious set backs, and failed to advance, it is only our movement, both in the plains and the forest areas, has been making continuous advances and could win increasing support from the people, could create a stable base among the people both in the forests and in the plains. It is because of this we could conduct the armed struggle in the form of self-defence for the last 7 years, and withstand the fascist attack of the government for so long. This only shows that the political and tactical line of the party has been basically correct.

We have also to admit that though our basic line of the party in the forest area has been basically correct, we cannot claim that mass line has been consistently followed on all occasions. In formulating the demand of the people, in running the agitation on them, in conducting

strike struggles, in organising the mass organisations at the village level, in organising the village youth into volunteer organisations, to sending the village youth for secret propaganda in the surrounding villages, in involving the people in actions against the peoples' enemies, we cannot say that all the zonal committees and the squads implemented the line of the party correctly on all occasions. There are occasions when, while implementing the above tasks, our comrades depended mainly on the squad and not mainly on the people.

Particularly, only after the 1973 party conference, the formation of secret village committees and this political and organisational training was earnestly taken up by all the zonal committees. We gave more importance to building legal or illegal mass organisations like youth leagues or girijan associations. After increased repression in 1974, even this work suffered.

Thus, when police repression was not so severe as now, even the people were participating in the struggles on immediate issues on a large scale.Because of our left mistakes, mass mobilisation and organisational work suffered. Even after we formulated the four point programme in 1970, we could not consistently follow the mass line on all occasions, which became an impediment in raising the consciousness and the organisational level of the people.

Inspite of all these costly mistakes, because the line of the party was basically correct, during the course of the struggle for the last 7 years in the forest area, the consciousness of the cadres has been continuously raising.

It is the confidence of the PC, that by persisting to correctly implement the political and tactical line of the party, in today's revolutionary situation existing in our country, we could rouse the people for Armed Agrarian Revolution.

b) Why some are deserting the squads: In the forest movement, another weakenss has been continuously with us from the beginning upto now. When repression increased, some members of the squad, both boys and girls have been deserting the squad and running away. This has been there from the beginning. At the time of the disruption by Nagi group, many deserted the squad. Afterward, as repression increased, these desertions were also on the increase. By 1973, the

majority in Warangal District deserted. During 1974-75, in Khammam, Warangal and Palvancha areas, considerable numbers deserted. Some stayed in the squad for only a few months and then ran away, surrendering to the police and giving information about the squads and the people supporting them. They were working as government CIDS and the movement and the people were facing fresh difficulties which were on the increase. In these conditions in 1974-75 March-April the Regional Committee in the forest area, took the decision to temporarily stop all new recruitment. The PC also accepted this decision.

Among the deserters, there are anarchist elements, new elements who could not withstand the rigours of forest life in conditions of repression and some also who were in the leadership levels who have shown some development politically and organisationally. We should face the fact that the number of deserters is greater than those in the squads.

Some people are regularly deserting the squads, some of them are supplying the information to the police about the people, the secret hideouts and dumps. Because of this the people and the movement faced hardships, the prestige of the Party and the movement is suffering. As a result of this the party is faced with the serious problem as to how to minimise the number of deserters, and to how to save the movement from the consequent losses.

The Party is to seriously examine the causes for these desertions and the steps the party has to take to remove the causes. In the present conditions of the forest movement, the PC is of the opinion that the following are the causes that are leading to these desertions.

- In the forest area, while defending ourselves from the police attacks, every time, we have been working to mobilise the people on their immediate issues, and conducting the struggles and build the peoples' movements. We have not yet been able to cross this stage and reach the stage of regular guerilla warfare. That means, our movement has not yet reached the stage when the people could directly participate in the Armed Agrarian revolution. When such a situation develops, large number of people will be participating in the armed struggle. Such a situation could have given the necessary enthusiasm and inspiration even to the weak to persist in the armed struggle.

Our squads do not have this opportunity from the very beginning. They should work in small squads, conduct political propaganda among the people, conduct peoples' struggles, and defend themselves from continuous police attacks, in which they are facing many hardships. Through their own experience, the squad members have come to realise the protracted nature of our struggle. Those who do not possess the necessary self confidence to persist in a protracted armed struggle have been deserting the squads.

- Of those joining our squads, the majority are either from the girijans or those of oppressed people on the border areas. They do not have even elementary education let alone elementary political education. They have not previously participated in the class struggles and thus acquired no class consciousness. They have not joined the squads with the consciousness of participating in the agrarian revolution. They are dissatisfied with the living conditions. They had the general cosnciousness that our Party as the poorman's party. Some of them even had anarchic habits, they somehow want to escape from the miserable conditions at home. In the beginning such persons had joined the squads. Such persons had to be given elementary education and elementary political education. We had to train them organisationally and thus digest them in our squads. The Party took up this task from the very beginning. With this work, some could be developed politically and organisationally and promoted into responsible positions.

But we could not develop some. The political classes given once a year by the RC or the ACS and the reading of political literature to them was not sufficient for their development. Taking their level into consideration, daily attention has to be given for their development. But the opportunities for this in the committees and the squads was very limited since we had no developed cadres in sufficient numbers to continuously carry this work. Taking the political level of the Party Committee leadership and the squad leadership the political training of the cadres could not be developed into a daily routine work. They had to mainly depend on the yearly political classes and the political literature supplied to them. The squad members could not fully understand the literature that they read. Thus, we could not give

sufficient political and organisational training to the majority of the squad members and some of the committee members.

In the forest area, from the very beginning, we did not have sufficient cadres who could give political and organisational training to others. We had to get cadres from the plains to carry this task. But in the beginning the PC could not take up this task because of lack of cadres. Only after the emergency, the PC is able to give some attention to this job.

The people are not yet ready to directly participate in the agrarian revolution. We have yet to patiently work to create that consciousness among the people. At this stage, only such cadres who have clear understanding of the present national and world situation, a clear understanding of the political and tactical line of the Party, a clear understanding of the concept of Peoples' War, full confidence on the people and their future, could alone remain in the field, faithfully implement the party line inspite of all the hardships they had to undergo in the forest life. But we could not create such a consciousness in majority of our squad members.

On the necessity of political consciousness in the cadres participating in the armed struggle, comrade Mao says: ***"During the Revolutionary upsurge (in June) many careerists took advantage of the Party's open recruitment of members and sneaked into the Party with the result that the membership in the border area rapidly rose to more than ten thousand. Since the leaders of the branches and district committees were mostly new members, good inner-party education was out of the question. As soon as the white terror struck, the careerists defected and acted as guides for the counter-revolutionaries in rounding up our comrades, and the Party organisations in the whole areas mostly collapsed. After september, the Party carried out a drastic house cleaning and set strict class qualifications for membership."***

- In recruiting new cadres to the squads, we committed many mistakes. In the beginning, whoever came to join the squads, we admitted them. We did not take the level of class consciousness, their fighting capacity, political consciousness, persistence, and sense of discipline of the members joining the squads. We did not even examine why they were joining the squads. We admitted all who were willing to join.

After taking them into the squads, we tried to give them necessary political and organisational training. Because we admitted all without necessary examination of their positive and negative aspects and consequently we had to face many difficulties. But in the beginning such an admittance helped us to increase the number of squads, intensify the mass work among the people, and extend the movement to new areas. At that time, police repression was also not so severe as now. Through party initiative, some could grow politically and organisationally and get recognition among the people.

But as repression increased, those who did not get the necessary political consciousness, could not withstand this police repression, weaknesses overcame them and they gradually began deserting the squads.

- By 1973 Party Conference, the Movement in Warangal district had received serious set backs. The remaining squads could not remain in the majority of the area. We had to remove the squads to the adjoining Khammam area and the nearby Warangal area. The PC prepared a document explaining the reasons that led to this situation. The PC had taken valuable lessons on this. The document had been explained to the delegates attending the Party Conference.

The document said, that in Warangal area, that the mass work of the Party had not been properly carried out, that sufficient concentration to political campaign has not been given, that sufficient attention has not been given to consolidate the movement at the village level. That without consolidating the movement deep in the forest area, we concentrated in the border areas, that we failed to take necessary steps to fight the anarchist tendencies in the squads, that we formed more zonal committees than our strength really warranted and consequently even anarchist elements entered the Zonal Committees having a bad effect on the discipline of the squads and the committees. That we did not take even necessary minimum precautions in the recruitment of new members to the squads, that we failed to give proper political and organisational training to the squad members, that the landlords and the police utilised this situation and intensified the repression and consequently the movement could not withstand the repression. That when compared with other areas, in Warangal area, there are less number of villages and hills and this situation also helped the goverment to suppress the movements. These lessons were accepted by all.

But the PC failed to convert these valuable lessons as the weapons of the whole party. We did not take these valuable lessons to the squad members and the zonal committees in Palvancha and Khammam areas and educate them on those lessons. We did not apply these lessons to the other areas and take necessary steps to prevent the recurrence of such mistakes.

(Now this document is not available. The RC dump has fallen into the hands of the police. At the PC centre, because of the recent dislocation, some documents are not available and this document is not available with the PC. Depending on memory, we had given the above lessons).

Here one point must be noted. Even at the time of 1973 Party Conference, the PC recognised the necessity of taking certain precautions in the recruitment of members to the squads. But we failed to effect a change in practice on this question.

We continued to take into the squads, who were willing without examining any of their qualities. In times of intensified police repression, experience teaches us, that anarchist elements, cowards and those with only economic consciousness could not remain in the squads for long. The experience of 1974-75 shows that only those with necessary political consciousness an withstand the police repression. Experience teaches us that the method of recruitment we adopted in the beginning when police repression was not severe, would not be suitable to conditions of intensified police repression. But some comrades say that those who join the squads because of economic difficulties at home, have stayed in the squads for longer periods and that it was wrong to say that such elements desert the squads.

Members joining the squads with mere economic consciousness is not a point to be opposed. The oppressed people get economic consciousness in the beginning. It is a natural development. It is only a partial truth to say that members with only economic consciousness will stay in the squads for longer periods. Even persons with the anarchic habits have also stayed for long periods in the squads. Such persons, some of them are still to be found in our squads.

The fact is, when police repression was less severe, majority of those joining the squads stayed with us for long periods. If they acquired political consciousness, they could stay in the squads for

longer periods. If they had confidence in the masses and the Party line, they were promoted to responsible positions.

Thus staying in the squad or deserting them is entirely dependent on the confidence they get from the national and international situation, the confidence that our movement could give them and the political consciousness they get.

Only those, who are not getting this political consciousness, whether they are anarchists or those with mere economic consciousness or those with other weaknesses are deserting the squads.

- Our leadership committees are not taking strong steps to fight these anarchic tendencies. They are not taking steps at the proper time to check these tendencies.

The leadership committees are afraid of sending out those who repeatedly exhibit anarchist tendencies. They say if such elements are sent out, they will bring losses to the movement, that they will surrender to the police and give them all party secrets, that if continued in the squads, they could be corrected. In practice such elements have not corrected themselves. They have stayed in the squads for more time, inpart their anarchist habits to others and spoil them and gather some more around them and when repression intensified, they deserted the squads along with others and brought greater losses to the Party and the people. Thus co- existence with these anarchic elements has also resulted in the loss of others.

- The government is taking a liberal attitude towards those who desert the squads and give information to the police. Such a liberal attitude is also keeping the weak elements among us to desert the squads.

- Disunity among the revolutionary groups and the disruption of DV-Nagi group has also helped in this desertion.

- Life in the protracted armed struggle and life in the forest area is full of risks and hardships, particularly during times of intensified police repression. Because of this, even some of those in the leadership level, with political and organisational training are deserting the squads now.

Here we have described the important causes that are leading to the desertion of the members from the squads. Lack of consciousness

of the people directly to participate in the armed struggle, lack of necessary political and organisational training to the squad members, uncritical recruitment to the squads without taking the political consciousness, class consciousness, discipline into consideration are the important causes that are leading to these desertions. We must work to remove these weaknesses in the movement.

(c) Because of these continuous desertions, the move- ment had suffered many losses.

- Because of these frequent desertions, there is no stability for our squads and squad leadership. Particularly, squad leadership, sometimes even zonal committee members have to be frequently changed.

- Some of the deserters have worked as CIDs for the police, have shown our contact places to the police, surrendered our dens to the police. Sometimes they are getting the people beaten by the police. Such activities are resulting in the loss of prestige for our movement.

Because of these desertions, the number of our squads have been reduced and consequently we have been forced to abandon some of the areas where we have been previously working

(d) In building the peoples' movement, in carrying on the agitation on peoples' issues in conducting peoples' struggles, we are not yet able to completely abandon all wrong practices. Our squads and committees are not always following the mass line to increase peoples' initiative, their consciousness and their fighting capacity. Even now, some times, tendencies mainly depending on the squads for the accomplishments of these tasks are being exhibited. Of course, when compared with the past, there is an improvement on this question. Still there is not sufficient understanding in the squads and the committees, that we should mainly depend on the initiative of the masses in formualting peoples' demands, in the formation of strike committees, in conducting strike struggles etc. There are cases even comrades are still dependent on entirely on the squads for the accomplishments of the above tasks. Yet there is not sufficient understanding in the squads and the members that getting things done by the squads, will get us the sympathy of the people, but will not increase their initiative and consciousness which are absolutely necessary for successfully conducting the Armed Agrarian Revolution.

We cannot also say that on the question of propagation of revolutionary politics among the people, formation of village committees, politicalisation of these committees, involving the village youth in secret propaganda in the nearby villages.

"By implementing the adopted programme, we could extend our contacts among the people, organise peasant, labour associations. CWC could organise 120 village committees in the agency area and reestablish our contacts with the people both in the plains and agency areas. We achieved many successes in the struggles for land and crops. In these conditions, we lost important comrades who were responsible for the movement in agency, both in 1973 February and August, with these losses the self-confidence of remaining comrades in the agency was shattered. The Party could not immediately contact them and give them the necessary self-confidence. Thus most of the remaining comrades surrendered to the government."

4. Peoples' struggle for land and crops

"As our contacts with the people increased, we ran a political campaign among the people, on the successes of the past struggle, the sacrifices of the peasants, the power of the people, the weaknesses of the enemy and the importance of the armed struggle etc., and thus raise their political consciousness and create self-confidence in the people. We formed secret peasant committees with the peasants.

The Party mobilised the girijans to seize the crops from the lands that the landlords had illegally seized from them and occupy the lands themselves.

In 1972 November-December, in Lothur zone of Sompeta area, about 200 people including women and children from 10 villages, armed with traditional weapons, seized crops from 19 areas. The initiative and the boldness shown by the people in this struggle inspired the people in the surrounding villages and helped us in spreading the peoples' movement.

With this understanding, the Party gave the call to the people in Andhra-Orissa border area and the Logam area, for the seizure of crops and lands. For implementing this programme, first the party formed village committees and tried to give political consciousness to the militants. (This work was done by two armed squads). With this work, in Logam area, in July-August the girijans occupied 25 acres of such land from the landlords and sowed crops on them. By 1974 in

these two areas, in about 30 villages, about 250 acres of land and standing crops were seized by the people. This shocked the class enemies and the police.

In 1975 summer crop season, the people could grow crops on them and enjoy the same. In 1975 sowing season also, the people could again grow crops.

On the demand of the people, our armed squads caught hold of the officers of the girijan corporation, held a public trial and warned them to put a stop to their misdeeds. The officers promised to work according to the wishes of the people. This enthused the people and the merchants. They came closer to the Party.

Last year, the government banned 'Podu' cultivation. But the Party roused the people to break this ban and continue Podu cultivation. The people collectively resisted the threats of the forest officers and broke the government ban. For this, many group meetings and public meetings were held on this issue. In Sompeta area, even the government failed to stop even 10% of Podu cultivation.

In some villages, we roused the people to stop paying debts created through wrong accounting and the people rejected to pay such debts. In this peasant struggle for land and crops, we must note two points.

- The whole village people, including women and children armed with traditional weapons, collectively went to occupy the lands. They resisted the goondas of the landlords and on some occasions, they drove them away and occupied lands and crops.

- On certain occasions, people of the nearby villages armed with weapons came to the support of the villages concerned.

The secret village committees and the armed squads stood in support of the peasant struggles. With the enthusiasm created by the struggle, we tried to reorganise the party in the plain areas of Sompeta and Uddanam and consciously worked to rebuild the peoples' movement by implementing the mass line.

Similar work was implemented in Palakonda plain area also. The people won many successes in their struggles on grain, wage issues. Peasant labour associations were formed. In 1975 sowing season, the people came forward to occupy the banjar lands, tank beds etc. In 6 villages, 65 acres of such land were seized by the people. The people armed with traditional weapons stood in opposition to the landlords and seized their lands. One village Patwari was beaten by the people.

In 1975 December, in 4 villages, the people went openly in broad day light and occupied the banzar lands, in two villages the people were armed. While developing the peasant movement, we worked to organise the student movement and entered the workers also.

While preserving the peasant movement on the border areas, we could send the armed squads into the forest area and they are building the peoples' movement.

In this whole period, while facing severe government repression, we struggled against the left adventurism of the Charu group and the right deviation of the Nagi group. With this struggle our Party has become the biggest among the revolutionary groups.

By implementing the 7 point programme drawn by the Party to achieve Armed Agrarian Revolution, the Srikakulam heroic movement revival in the area is again advancing.

5. Various forms of Fascist repression

At present time, there are no stable armed peasant struggles in other states. The government is utilising this opportunity to intensify its fascist repression and destroy the armed struggle in Andhra. To achieve this object, the government is adopting the following methods.

In the existing police camps, the number of police is increasing, new police camps are being set up. Particularly, new police camps are being set up in the border areas.

- Some police camps are being manned by more than 100 police to help smaller camps.

- To concentrate on police raids, higher police officials like Cls DSPs and ASPs are asked to stay inside the forest area. Apart from camps inside the forest, in all the towns bordering the forest area, hundreds and thousands of CRP are kept in readiness for raids in the forest area from these centres.

- Some two or three hundred police regularly go to the forest area to carry their encirclement-suppression campaign.

-In some areas, they raid all suspected places at the same time with hundreds of police. Last year in Bayyaram area, they raided the hills at the same time and the police camped on the hills for week days lying in wait for our squads to come there.

- If the police come to know of any information about a squad, hundreds of police rush to the area and try to surround it. In such raids higher police officials take part.

- They are converting some of the deserters into regular CIDS. Depending on their information, individuals are picked from the villages, taken to the camps and tortured. From 1974- 75, this type of torture is on the increase.

They are making these deserters beat the people and dishonour them. They are making the deserters propagate among the people that there are splits between the leaders of the movements.

- Taking summer as an advantage, they have been putting secret police to watch at all water resources. They are keeping watch over the village near the forest. They are placing police all along water resources and at cross roads, and in boat crossings across the rivers.

- Some police, in plain clothes pretend to be our squads and camp inside the forest lying in wait for our squads to come across. They secretly keep watch on all approaches to the village from the forest.

-Suddenly police from 4 to 6 camps surround a village and then enter the village.

-They are beating and torturing the villagers who have come forward to construct tank bunds and run night schools.

- Hundreds of CIDs in disguise are roaming about the villages to get information about the squads.

- In East Godavari district, where the movement is of recent origin, police camps are set up. They are keeping special police at all river crossings, and CIDs in large numbers are roaming about villages for information.

- They are spending lakhs of money to create village CIDs. They are utilising even village disputes, dissatisfied village elders for this, and on some occasions, they are beating and torturing the people enmass to force them to politically surrender.

- As anti-landlord struggles are erupting on the villages of the border areas, the government has intensified its repression in these areas. The government has declared even the plain areas of Mulugu, Narasampet and Manukota as disturbed areas. Police vans with loud speakers are roaming about the villages threatening the people. Thus they are trying to create an atmosphere of terror among the people. All

suspected people are being taken to the camps and tortured. Even some of the workers of the CPM are subjected to this repression.

- They are bringing pressure on all forest contractors, they are not being allowed to go to the forest area. They are threatened with dire consequences if they pay levies to the forest movement.

To strike at the forest movement, first they nationalised the beedi leaves. Now they have nationalised all forest crops. Thus the government aims to stop the contractors from paying levies to the movement. They are keeping close watch on all shops in the Forest area and the nearby towns to prevent any material reaching the squads.

From last January, the government has further intensified its repression. The police raids have increased. In Narasampet, Bayyaram and Pasara areas, all the tribal village elders in all villages are arrested at the same time, taken to the police camps, kept there for 4 to 8 days without food and torturing them till they promise to help the police. Thus they are terrorising the people.

On the other hand they are extensively propagating about the 20-point programme. The District Collectors and other concerned officers are directly going to the forest villages and are passing orders on the spot for the construction of tanks, roads, canals and sanctioning loans etc. Thus they are trying to turn away the people from the squads and creating illusions in them about the government.

They are trying to form separate girijan associations to create a feeling of separatism among the people and create splits among the oppressed people. It is utilising the upper sections of the girijans and the educated youth among them for this by offering certain concessions to them.

Thus the government has started a three pronged attack on the forest movement. In particular it is using all these methods in Khammam-Warangal area. It is clear from the above description what steps the government is taking to suppress the movement.

It does not mean that all the above methods are being employed throughout area with the same intensity. These are being employed, keeping in view the strength of the movement, the organised strength of the people and the importance of particular areas.

We must struggle to preserve the gains of the move- ment, preserve the squads and the peoples' movement, overcome our weaknesses, fight back this repression in cooperation with the people

and thus prepare the people for Armed Agrarian Revolution. For this, we must evolve a programme suitable to meet this situation.

6. Present Party tasks

While formulating the present task for the Forest Movement, we must keep in mind the following factors relating to it.

- Today the government's military strength and its police strength is far superior to that of the organised strength of the revolutionary forces. The CRP concentration is hundreds of times bigger than our squad strength. Since there are no armed peasant struggles in other states, it can further increase its concentration in Andhra. If necessary, it will resort to military intervention.

Our squad strength is very small. They are not even regular guerilla squads. While defending themselves from the police attacks, the whole work of the squads is concentrated in propagating revolutionary politics among the people and mobilising them for struggles against the government and other exploiters on their immediate issues.

- The government is trying to create illusions among the people about its deceptive reforms and thus turn them away from armed struggle and it is trying to create split among the people by creating separatism among the people But the reforms of the government do not have a big effect among the majority of the girijan people deep inside the forest area.

- Because of the policies of exploitation and repression pursued by the government majority of the girijans are very much dissatisfied with the government. The government is isolated from the people. The officials of forest revenue and cooperative departments have sympathies for the policies of the government. They have begun to live in good rapport with the people. They are not cooperating with government repression. The policy of the party towards these people has helped in this fraternisation.

Last year, the police officers caught hold of forest guard and tortured him for information about the squads. All the forest officials in the area struck their work, till they were given the guarantee that they would not be harassed again. This shows how much the government is isolated from its own officials.

Inspite of all forms of repression, the people are refusing to

politically submit to the police. They are supporting the squads in all possible forms. They are participating in strike struggles on their immediate issues. They are helping in forming secret village committees and consolidate the movement at the village level. Village militants are participating in the secret propaganda work. On certain occasions, the people are collectively resisting the police. Thus the political consciousness and the fighting capacity of the people is gradually growing.

Inspite of this, in certain areas, particularly in Khammam, Warangal areas, because of intensified repression, deceptive reforms- and the disruption of the Congress supported separate girijan associations, vacillation has begun to appear in the village tribal elders. Because of this the people are hesitant to support the squads. Village CIDS are raising their heads, here and there.

The people have not yet come to the stage of directly participating in the Armed Agrarian Revolution. In addition, in the plain areas, though there are anti-landlord struggles taking place in certain areas, they have not reached the stage of the armed struggle. The struggles have yet to reach that stage. .

Thus we see that in both plain and forest areas, we must still pursue the programme that will mobilise the people for armed agrarian revolution.

This means, that we must defend the present forest movement without armed strength and follow a programme that could mobilise the people for Armed Agrarian Revolution. We must also keep in mind that in today's conditions of fascist repression, it will take a long time for the people to reach that stage. But if there is a sudden change in the national and the international situation, a new situation may develop when the people may reach that stage in a short period. But that is a different thing. But at present, taking the strength of the enemy and ourselves into consideration and the consciousness of the people at present, we must continue to struggle to defend the present movement through our armed struggle and persistently carry the mass line to build the peoples movement till the people come to the stage of participating in the Armed Agrarian Revolution.

In evolving the programme for the forest movement, the 7-point programme drawn up by the Party should be the basis. Keeping these

factors in view, our forest committees must patiently work to implement the following tasks.

(a) Propagation of Revolutionary Politics :

- We must intensify the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle among the people.

- We must explain to the people the present inter- national and national situation.

- We must intensify the political campaign against the policies of the fascist dictatorship of Indira Gandhi and its deceptive reforms.

- We must explain to the people how Soviet Social imperialism has become the main and immediate imperialist enemy to our country.

- We must explain to the people the role of betrayal being pursued by the revisionists and the neo-revisionists.

- Explain to the people the differences between our Party and the other revolutionary groups, and our work to unify all genuine revolutionaries.

- We must intensify the political classes to the villagers whenever and whereever an opportunity is available.

- We must be giving regular reports to the people about the peoples' struggles both in the plains, forest and other provinces and thus create self confidence among the people.

To carry this political campaign, we must use all available means of propaganda.

(b) Conduct Peoples' struggles based on the mass line :

Along with the propagation of revolutionary politics, we must mobilise the people on their immediate issues for struggles and thus build a peoples' movement. This mobilisation of the people must be intensified and extended.

In formulating the demands for agitation, in depending on the agitational forms, in running the agitation and conducting the strikes and seeing the agreements implemented, we must see that the people play the main role. The squads should support the peoples' struggles. Peoples' initiative and role should be the main thing, while the squads should support the people.

In conducting the peoples' struggles, we should adopt such

methods that would help us in creating the initiatives, the fighting capacity, the class consciousness of the people step by step. We are still failing in adopting such steps in certain areas on certain occasions. We must overcome these weaknesses.

(c) Consolidate the movements at the village level :

Today, in the forest area, our movement has a wide voice among the peoples and peoples support. We have got militants at village level. After 1973 Party Conference, we worked to consolidate the movement at the village level by forming secret village committees and peoples' organisations. In all the zones, this work was seriously taken up and it is still continuing.

Still where our squads are functioning, village committees are not yet formed in the majority of the villages. Even those which are formed, are merely committees supporting the squads in various forms and not political committees. They are not political committees which are taking the leadership in conducting the peoples' struggles.

Our aim should be to develop these committees into political committees. At present, in taking up the peoples' issues, in formulating the peoples' demands, in conducting the stike struggles, in conducting the political propoganda, it is the squads that are playing the main role, and the village committees are supporting the squads. This pattern must totally change. In political propaganda among the people, in taking the peoples' issues, in evolving the agitational demands, in mobilising the people for struggles on those demands, in conducting the strike struggles, in the formation of strike committees to conduct these struggles, in organising the village militants and bring them for propaganda in the surrounding villages, organising the night schools, keeping watch on the police movements, in keeping the village CIDS under control and taking necessary action against them when necessary, in running the village peoples' mass organisation, in opposing the opportunism and corruption of the village elders, in solving quarrels among the people, in preparing the people to resist police violence and taking leadership of resistance, in supplying the necessary material to the squads etc., in all these tasks, the village committees should play the main role and the squads help the village committees in discharging these tasks. Only then these village committees will constitute the political leadership of the village. Then only can we say

that we have consolidated the movement at the village level. To achieve this aim, we should implement the following organisational tasks at the village level.

(1) We should organise such village committees, developing into a political committee and developing as the political leadership of the village. Necessary political training must be given to the village committees to acquire this political capacity.

(2) We must organise the village militants, both boys and girls into volunteer organisations. We must patiently help them to overcome all wrong tendencies, send them to nearby villages to carry agitation on peoples' issues.

(3) We must organise peasant worker association or the youth league in svillages. They must be the fighting organisations fighting for the peoples' issues.

(4) Organise night schools in every village.

(5) We must create secret organisers who remain among the people, who guide the village committees of his/her area. They must have initiative to take peoples' issues, certain political level, recognition among the people, minimum descipline. Where necessary, we must economically support them. This work has already started in certain areas. It should be extended only to Area Committee members working in the zone and should have direct contact with these secret organisers and give them guidance. We should see that no contradictions develop between the squad, the village committee and the secret organiser.

Of course, it may not be possible to implement all these organisational tasks immediately in each village. We must start with the village committees and slowly take up other tasks.

Not only that, in small villages, all these organisational forms may not be possible. In such a situation, we must carry on the work with village committees and night schools.

(d) Expose the disruptive role of the Congress supported girijan associations

The Congress government is trying to create illusions among the people about its deceptive reforms. Through the upper sections of the girijans and educated youth among them, by giving some concessions

to them the government is encouraging the formation of separate girijan associations. Its aim is to split the people and turn them away from armed struggle. Our squads and the Party Committees should adopt the following attitude towards them.

- We must expose the disruptive aims of the government in organising these separate girijan associations. We must expose the deceptive reforms of the government. We must expose how it is exploiting the girijans who work to produce wood, mineral sources and electricity in the forest area, which are being taken for the benefit of the upper classes. We must explain how it is keeping the girijans in utter misery. We must explain how its deceptive reforms are useful only to the upper sections of the girijans and the corrupt officials and that they are not beneficial to the people.

- We must advise the people, where we are functioning, that they should not join these associations.

- Where they are formed inspite of our advice, we must take a differentiated approach to different sections in these associations.

In these associations there are three kinds of people viz., opponents, neutrals and sympathisers. We must expose the disruptive role of the opponents. We must advise our sympathisers, to get these associations to condemn police repression on the people, support the peoples' demand, and work among the people on those demands. In this work, the neutrals should be won to our cause.

- Where the opponents work as police agents, we must take necessary actions in cooperation with the people.

At present these separate girijan associations are not at the same level throughout the forest area where the party is functioning. Now it is concentrating to form these associations in Khammam, Warangal areas to destroy our movements. This is a point to be noted. They are not yet formed in other areas. They may come up in future.

Where these associations are not yet formed, or even if formed, they are only nominal, the disruptive aims of these associations should be exposed and organise secret girijan Sangham and carry out the tasks at the village level.

But, in certain villages in Khammam, Warangal areas, these associations have already taken a definite shape. The local people,

though temporarily have got some illusions about the associations, our sympathisers also have joined them.

In such places, by merely opposing these associations we may not get good results on the other hand, we may get harmful results. In such places, we should adopt the following tactics.

- We must expose the disruptive aims of the government in encouraging these associations.

- We should not immediately and frontally attack the leaders forming these associations. We must expose the fact that these leaders believe that all the peoples' problems will be solved by the government reforms. We should propagate that only an armed struggle based on peoples' support will get complete liberation of the people. If any of these leaders are known to be corrupt, such incidents should be exposed to the people.

- Our sympathisers can join these associations as a cover. But this should be done only as a cover and not with the belief that they can be used as instruments for our struggle.

(e) Cutdown all extravagant expenditure and mainly depend on the people for food

Last year in July, the Khammam area committee reviewed its expenditure. Now that the forest coups have been nationalised, our levies will certainly be reduced. Recognising this, the Khammam AC took certain decisions to reduce the expenditure and help the PC financially. Important decisions are :

- Our squads should depend on the people for food atleast once a day. From March to September for seven months there will not be sufficient food with the people. During this period, we should spend Rs. 50/- per month on each squad member. In the rest of the 5 months, we will easily get food from the people. During this period, we should spend Rs. 25/- per month on each squad member. We should spend separately for medicines and clothes.

- We can eat mutton only once a week.

- During the harvest season, we must collect grain from the people.

For the last 10 months, the squads in Khammam area are implementing these decisions. The Palvancha AC is also trying to implement those decisions. The East Godavari comrades have promised

to reduce their expenditure. Depending on the experience so far gained, is believed these decisions can be implemented.

By implementing these decisions, we will be able not only to reduce the expenditure in the forest areas, the fraternisation between the people and the squads will be strengthened. We hope that all the committees will implement these decisions. At the same time, our committees should take care that these decisions are not bureaucratically implemented, but implement them by raising the consciousness of the squad members.

(f) Take necessary actions against peoples' enemies with the support of the people

We have been implementing this principle from the very beginning. But we must stress one point here. Exposure of the enemies before the people and putting them under control through peoples' criticism should be the main task of the party. Only when all these efforts have failed, the ACs have to decide on the nature of the punishment. Such actions should be taken only when the people demand it. We should see that the people or the village militants participate in them in all possible forms.

(g) Recruitment of new members to the squads

In the Forest, armed struggle could be conducted mainly dependant on the local people. Our squad organisation also mainly depend on the militant youth, both boys and girls, recruited from the local people.

We must note the fact last year many have deserted the squads, that new recruits are deserting the squads after staying only for few months. Intensified repression is bringing hardships and losses to the movement. Therefore, last year we stopped new recruitment to the squads. Now we have attained some stability in the squads. Keeping this in mind, the PC is withdrawing the previous decision not to recruit new members to the squads. But while recruiting new members to the squads, the committees should follow these principles.

- Those, who are working now in the village committees or under its leadership, if due to police repression are not able to stay in the villages and want to join the squads, can be recruited. Such members can be encouraged to join the squads.

- We must examine those who want to join the squads, as to what type they belong, as to why they want to join the squads, their

conditions of life etc. Without such an examination we should not take them into the squads. First we must keep them under the village committees and work at the village level. We should first make them work among the people at the village level and give minimum political and organisational level discipline and then recruit them into the squads. This should be the general principle of new recruitment to the squads.

- If they persist in straight away joining the squads, we must find out their weaknesses and whether they can be corrected through work and then only recruit them to the squads. Our experience has shown that taking such persons who do not have minimum political knowledge, discipline, persistence and boldness, will not stay in the squads for long and desertions bring losses to the movement.

- In recruiting new members, zonal committees should discuss about it and only the zonal committees should take the decision about new recruits.

- When new recruits are taken, their stability should be gauged. We should make him work only in one squad, but not allow him in the name of necessity to change from squad to squad.

It will be better, till their stability is known, if these new recruits are kept away from the village people and the village couriers as far as possible.

- We must guard against the danger of government sending its agents in the squads. This is particularly dangerous in the border areas. We must see that these are not known to the squad or the village committee.

- The PC should try to send cadres from the plains to the forest areas to strengthen the forest movement. The PC should send such cadres who can give political training to the squad members.

(h) Strengthen discipline in the squads and the committees

We must see that each squad member observes the organisational principles of the squads, entry rules, and rules governing getting material from other sources and thus strengthen discipline in the squads and the committees.

Particularly, we should strengthen political training in the squads and the committees. This should be developed into a daily routine of the squad work. We must work hard to help the comrades either in the squads or the committees to overcome their personal weaknesses. For

this, criticism and self-criticism methods should be properly employed. Such methods should help the comrades to overcome their individual weaknesses.

Committees should take strong steps against all anarchic tendencies and if necessary they should take disciplinary action against them.

(i) Extend the movement to new areas

While consolidating the movement in those areas where our squads are already functioning, as the number of squads increase, we must extend the movement into those areas which we have previously abandoned and to new areas. We must patiently work for this.

Similarly, as the movement in the plains grows, the PC should try to build such movements in other forest areas. Here another point also should be noted.

The government is taking advantage of the fact that there are no strong anti-landlord struggles and armed struggles in other provinces and the plains in our own province to smash the armed struggle in the Godavari Valley and Srikakulam agency areas. The government is trying to concentrate in one area after another to smash our movement.

In such a situation, when the government is concentrating in one particular area to smash our movement when the people of that area are not yet ready to resist the government attack, if our squads persist to keeping to that area, it will bring unnecessary losses to the movement. In such a situation, while retaining some squads to carry on the work in that area, the rest should go to areas where there is less repression or to new areas and build the peoples' movement. If even a few of the squads could not stay in that particular area, we should not hesitate to withdraw completely from that area to new places and build the movement. In such a situation, we must evolve alternative methods of keeping contact with the people in that particular area.

Comrades,

The PC has explained in this document, the successes of the Forest Movement, its present weaknesses, the forms of government repression and the present programme to be adopted at present to preserve and advance the movement. The PC has full confidence that by implementing this programme, we can advance the movement as

the national and international situation is in our favour. We have got wide peoples' support for our movement both in the plains and the forest. The initiative, consciousness and fighting capacity of the people in the forest area is developing.

Depending on these facts, if we persist in implementing the political and tactical line of the Party given by our CC, we will certainly be able to advance the movement both in the plains and the forest areas.

The comrades, squad members and the committees of the forest movement, inspite of many hardships are bravely fighting to advance the movement. The PC sends its revolutionary greetings to all the comrades working there.



Mao's Hunan Report and its Lessons

The Indian Revolution can only advance in the form of People's War. Our Revolution is bound to have the characteristics of Chinese Revolution and its path in the main. This is the decision of our Party Special Congress.

The key task in People's War is building up revolutionary bases in the rural areas. For this, the most important thing is developing, defending and extending specific areas of sustained resistance. This is also the decision of the Party Special Congress. For this, in certain selected areas we must mobilise the exploited people for class struggles, anti-landlord struggles leading to resistance struggle.

Comrade Mao's Hunan Report-its message and lessons is the guide for us. The Hunan Report is based on the direct experience of the revolutionary struggle of the peasants. This reminds us of the necessity of determining the main enemies and main allies of the revolution in a particular phase. The Report tells us of the necessity of combining anti- feudal struggle with people's resistance struggle. It tells of the necessity of combining the economic struggle with the political struggle, the latter being the key struggle. It tells us to how and when the people's enemies are to be punished during the course of the revolutionary struggle. It tells us that we should take all the economic, political and social issues of the people - issues affecting their life in order to mobilise and prepare the people for revolutionary struggle. This struggle is to be based on mass line. This is why Hunan Report still remains our guide.

Hunan Report was prepared by comrade Mao in 1927. It was a report based on his investigation of the Hunan peasant struggle.

At that time the Chinese National Revolution was advancing under the leadership of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The Kuomingtang Party and the Communist Party of China were united in that National struggle at that time. The National Revolutionary Army was advancing against the warlords in the North and the imperialist powers supporting them.

At such a time there was a big peasant revolutionary upsurge in Hunan province. It shook the very foundations of landlordism. The reactionaries in the Kuomingtang and the rightists of the CPC represented by Chen Tu Shi opposed the Human peasant struggle. It was then that comrade Mao published this Hunan Report. He toured the peasant areas for a month. He analysed the movement from all angles. He drew correct lessons from that struggle. That was a report that laid the basis for the Chinese Revolution. It is a great Marxist-Leninist document. It gives us the most urgently needed lessons for our revolution.

Main enemies and allies

The Hunan struggle was a big peasant revolution. Its main targets of attack were imperialism, warlords, corrupt bureaucrats and the local evil and lawless gentry. In essence it was a struggle against imperialism and their puppets -warlords. Mao declared:

The main targets of attack by the peasants are the local tyrants, the evil gentry and the lawless landlords. As a result, the privileges which the feudal landlords enjoyed for thousands of years are being shattered to pieces. Every bit of the dignity and prestige built up by the landlords is being swept into the dust. (Vol. I p. 25)

Comrade Mao futher said:

The patriarchal feudal class of local tyrants, evil gentry, and lawless landlords has formed the basis of autocratic government for thousands of years and is the cornerstone of imperialism, warlordism and corrupt officialdom. (Vol. 1 -p. 27)

From the above, it is clear that the Hunan peasant revolution (1927) took place in the midst of the struggle aimed against imperialism and their puppets-feudal landlords. That means that this struggle took place when the principal contradiction was between imperialism, its puppets and the whole Chinese nation.

Naturally, during the Hunan peasant struggle the distribution of the lands of the feudal landlords was not yet the key issue. It fought against all other exploitations of the feudal landlords.

When we discuss the lessons of the Hunan Report, this fact should be kept in mind. Today ours is not a colonial country. With the transfer of power in 1947, our country has become a semi-colonial and semi-

feudal country. Today our country is in the stage of the Agrarian Revolution. Today, in our country, the contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and big-landlords on one side and the overwhelming majority of the people on the other is the principal contradiction.We should keep in mind this important difference between China of 1927 and India of today. In the present stage of our revolution, Agrarian Revolution is the key struggle. Distribution of the landlords property is the key struggle in this period.

An analysis of the 14 big achievements mentioned in the Hunan Report, brings out the fact that they are based on four kinds of people's problems.

- It was a struggle against the exploitation of the landlords, their illegal collections, land rent, land taxes, illegal transport of landlord's surplus grain, cancellation or postponement of landlord's debts, against landlord violence, corrupt officialdom etc.

- Along with this anti-feudal struggle, the question of organising co-operative societies, building roads, tanks and schools were also taken up by the revolutionary movement.

- The revolutionary peasant struggle also worked to abolish gambling, opium-smoking, banditry etc.

- It also fought against clan authority and religious authority- as symbols of feudalism, against feudal traditions and for the democratic rights of women.

So, along with anti-landlord and other class struggles, the struggle for certain economic and social reforms, in short, it was also the struggle for anti- landlord and anti-imperialist culture.

Struggle for Political Authority

Now we have seen on what problems the Hunan peasant struggle was conducted. Comrade Mao declared that the economic struggle should be linked with the political struggle. He gave more importance to the political struggle. He called upon the exploited people to fight for political power. He hailed the Hunan peasant struggle, because it was advancing on that path.

Comrade Mao declared:

Once the peasants have their organisation, the first thing they do is smash the political prestige and power of the landlord

class and especially of the local tyrants and evil gentry. That is, to pull down landlord authority and build up peasant authority in rural society. This is a most serious and vital struggle. It is the pivotal struggle in the second period, the period of revolutionary action. Without victory in this struggle, no victory is possible in the economic struggle to reduce rent and interest, to secure land and other means of production and so on. (Vol. 1 p. 35).

How finely comrade Mao explained the link between the economic struggle and the political struggle in the rural areas. How clearly he has said that the people cannot achieve victory in the economic struggle without destroying the political authority of the landlords in the villages and establishing the political authority of the peasants.

That is why comrade Mao repeatedly declared in the Hunan Report that "the fact is that the great peasant masses have risen to fulfil their historic mission and that the forces of rural democracy have risen to overthrow the forces of rural feudalism", that "the privileges which the feudal landlords enjoyed for thousands of years are being shattered to pieces".

In short, comrade Mao declared that the peasant associations are the instruments of power for the people. He explained how, during the course of Hunan peasant struggle, magistrates and other local officials were forced to take orders from the peasants.

Forms of Struggle

The Hunan Report also explained the forms of struggle against the political authority of the landlords To force the landlords to pay back all that he had forcibly taken from individuals, to impose and collect fines for their crimes in the village, to collect funds from the landlords for the people's organisations, protest demonstrations for small wrong-doings by the landlords, big demonstrations against serious crimes of the landlords, parading the landlords in the streets with caps on their heads for more serious crimes, putting them in the county jail if necessary, even if temporarily, driving them away from the villages-these are some of the forms of struggle to be employed against the political authority of the landlords in the villages.

Com. Mao even declared that some among the cruel gentry have to be executed. He declared:

The execution of one such big landlord reverberates through a whole county and is very effective in eradicating the remaining evils of feudalism. Every county has these major tyrants, some as many as several dozens and others at least a few and the only effective way of suppressing the reactionaries is to execute at least a few in each county who are guilty of the most heinous crimes. (Vol. 1, p. 38).

Misinterpreting this teaching of comrade Mao, we have seen how some 'left' adventurists adopted "annihilation of class enemies". We have also seen how they said that this annihilation of individual landlords is the beginning stage of the guerilla struggle. Even now some say that they want to link mass line with annihilation of class enemies.It is absurd to say that individual killings of these elements has anything to do with the lessons of the Hunan Report. What these elements are doing is nothing but individual terrorism. It is against the principles of Marxism-Leninism. That is why it brought such immense losses for the whole revolutionary movement in the country.

Comrade Mao's lessons are entirely different. He never said that it is a tactic of struggle. As a matter of fact, the whole Marxist-Leninist literature has nowhere recognised annihilation of class enemies as a form of revolutionary struggle.

When the revolutionary peasant movement advances to a higher level, some landlords have been killed by the peasants. As a matter of fact comrade Mao is bringing this fact to our notice. Landlords are killed at the hands of the peasants. This happens in all the phases of the peasant struggle-lower and higher.

In the Hunan Report he had also declared that people should participate in such executions. He said:

Execution. This is confined to the worst local tyrants and evil gentry and is carried out by the peasants jointly with other sections of the people (Vol. 1, p. 38).

Killing landlords individually is not the aim of Marxism-Leninism. Its struggle is against the system of exploitation. This basic teaching of comrade Mao, referred to many times in his writing, should not be forgotton.

Leadership of the Peasant Organisations -Role of the Various Classes

In the Hunan Peasant struggle, Comrade Mao analysed the role of the different classes. Imperialism, and its puppets-warlords, bureaucracy and evil gentry were the main enemies of the Chinese Revolution.

Along with the other people in the rural areas, rich peasants and the middle peasants had to be won over for the struggle. At the same time comrade Mao exposed the anti-people character of the rich peasants at certain times and the vacillating role of the middle peasants.

The peasant associations and the peasant movement developed through two different stages.

Beginning: In the absence of any Civil Liberties for the people, the peasant organisations developed secretly. (1926 January to September)

Even here, from 1926 January to June the peasant associations worked completely secretly. Between 1926 June-July the National Revolutionaries were advancing against the Northern warlords through the Hunan Province. At this time, the peasant associations worked openly, and had a membership of about 3-4 lakhs. Their influence also covered upto 10 lakh people. Peasant associations were actively helping the National Revolutionary Army advancing towards the North.

Direct struggle: From 1926 October to 1927 January was the period of direct revolutionary action. The revolutionary peasants were directly storming the foundations of landlordism. They were directly attacking the houses of landlords. They were destroying the political authority of the landlords in the villages and establishing the political authority of the peasants. Landlords, depending on their economic strength, were fleeing their villages and taking shelter in their Provincial, District or county towns. The remaining landlords in the villages were obeying the orders of the peasants.

During this period of revolutionary action, the movement of the peasant associations had grown by leaps and bounds. Their membership reached 20 lakhs and their influence to one crore people.

The attitude of the rich peasants and the middle peasants was different in both the periods.

Rich Peasants

In the beginning of the formation of the peasants associations, the rich peasants did not care for the peasant associations. They not only refused to join but opposed them too.But after the peasants took to active struggle against the landlords, when the people were parading the landlords in the streets for their crimes, that is, in the second period, the rich peasants were forced to change their attitude towards peasant associations. Only then they began to join the peasant associations. They paid more to get admissions in the peasant associations. They had to get the recommendations of others to join the peasant organisations.

Even then we have to see their anti-people character on certain issues. They were registering their names in the organisations in the name of the elders in the family. They were following this tactic to show that they have not joined them when the reactionaries return. We should also remember that some reactionaries among the rich peasants did not join the peasant associations. Even after their joining the associations, they did not do anything for them. Comrade Mao explained how the rich peasants did not do anything positive for the peasant associations during the whole period of revolutionary action.

Middle Peasants

Comrade Mao explained the vacillating role of the middle peasants in this struggle. In the beginning of the formation of the peasant associations, the middle peasants too did not come forward to join them. They took a 'wait and see' attitude.

But in the second period, when the peasant authority has been established, majority of the middle peasants joined these associations. In the organisation they played a more favourable role when compared with the rich peasants. But comrade Mao said that even then the middle peasants were not yet fully active in the struggle of the peasant associations. He said that one has to intensify the agitation among the peasants to the utmost to get the middle peasants to join the peasant associations.

Agricultural Labourers and Poor Peasants

Comrade Mao has explained that in the Hunan Peasant Struggle, the leadership was firmly in the hands of the poor peasants. He divided the poor peasants into two-the utterly destitute and the less destitute. That means the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants led the Hunan Peasant Struggle.

Comrade Mao said that in the Changsha county, 70% poor peasants, 20% middle peasants 10% landlords, and rich peasants-constituted the population in the villages..

It was the poor peasants-70% of the population-who were the backbone of the peasant struggle in both the periods. They were in the fore front of the struggle to overthrow the political authority of the landlords. The agricultural labourers and the poor peasants were the most revolutionary force in the villages. So they could lead the peasant associations. During both the periods, at the lower levels of the peasant associations, the poor peasants were a majority among the Presidents and committee members of the peasant associations. Mao said: ***"Leadership by the poor peasants is absolutely necessary. Without the poor peasants there would be no revolution".*** (Vol. 1, p.33)

Armed People

The Hunan Peasant Struggle destroyed the age-old landlordism. It established the political authority of the peasants in the villages. It was not a struggle confined to only certain economic problems. It was not a legal agitation.

It was a struggle for change of political authority. China was a country without any civil liberties from the very beginning. From the beginning the peasants had to wage a struggle against government violence and that of the bureaucratic landlords in the villages. In China, at that time the warlords were having their private armies. So from the very beginning, the peasant struggle had to resist the violence and cruelty of the feudal landlords. That is why the peasants were armed from the very beginning and worked for it.

In the Hunan Peasant Struggle, the peasant associations procured arms from two sources.

First : At that time, in China, there were warlords, each one having a private army of his own. Seeing the great strength of the peasant struggle. a part of this army with the warlords joined the peasant struggle with their arms. A section of it remained neutral. In a few centres, these armies of the warlords resisted the peasant struggle. The peasants defeated these armies in these struggle and seized their arms.

According to comrade Mao, during the Hunan Peasant Struggle, each county had about 600 rifles. 75 counties possessed about 45,000 rifles. Out of these armies that joined the peasant struggle, village volunteer squads were built up to defend the villages.

Second : Lakhs of people were armed with the locally available weapons. These armed peasants fought as volunteer force under the leadership of the peasant associations. Arming of the people was the most important factor in the Hunan Peasant Struggle. That is why they could defeat the warlords, overthrow their political authority in the villages and establish the political authority of the peasants.

It is significant to note that in the Hunan Peasant Struggle, the three struggles -economic, political and resistance struggle- were combined. That is why it is a guide to us.

These are basic lessons of the Hunan Peasant Struggle for us. But here we should also remember certain differences between China of 1927 and India of today. As in China of 1927, today we do not have warlords with private armies. So our peasants in their struggle against the cruelties of the landlords and their government they have to depend entirely on their own strength. They have to depend on the locally available weapons.

China had no parliamentary institutions from the beginning. In our country, whatever be the limits, there are parliamentary institutions. Majority of our people still have illusions about these parliamentary institutions. Our Special Congress has decided to utilise these institutions to extensively propagate revolutionary politics among the people, to extend the people's movement. We should keep this difference in our mind.

To build the Agrarian Revolutionary movement in the villages is to build the resistance movement in the villages-this is the key task decided by the Special Congress of our Party.

To achieve this objective, the following are the tasks for the villages given by the Party Congress :

The main direction of the Party work should be consciously oriented towards building revolutionary peasant movement. Selection of strategic areas, concentration of cadres, formulation of fighting and agitational slogans after extensive discussions with the people of the areas, mobilising the peasants for struggle on

those issues, building the peasant organisations, arming the people with the locally available weapons in the anti-feudal struggles from the very beginning, organising of the village volunteer organisations, people's resistance to landlord-goonda-police violence and repression and thus, create develop and defend areas of sustained resistance, and thus advance to establish the base areas in the countryside.

The Party Congress has given the following tasks for the towns :

In building the trade union movement, our main direction should be to build the revolutionary trade union movement, politicisation of the workers, ideological and political struggle against legalism and economism, worker-peasant unity, volunteer organisations to resist police-management goondaism and repression, and building of the secret party among workers. Only thus we can unite the workers and make it the conscious leader of the New Democratic Revolution, The main concentration should be in strategic areas and on strategic industries.

These are the most important decisions taken by the Party to build the resistance struggle among the peasants and the workers. The Party Congress has decided the tasks for the students and women and other middle classes in line with this tactical struggle.

The main aim of the Political Line is to build the resistance struggle.

Our decision to build the Agrarian Revolutionary movement and to build the resistance struggle and the decisions of the Party Congress are based on the basic lessons of the Hunan Report. Today our comrades are implementing these tasks in various parts of the country. They are getting positive results in this struggle and the people's movement is advancing.

Today we are mobilising the people for various class struggles. Hunan Report should act as a guide for us in this task. Comrades should deeply study the Hunan Report based on Marxism-Leninism. Comrades should apply the lessons and the experiences of Hunan to advancing the revolutionary struggle,

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Resolution Submitted by Coms. T. Nagireddy & C. Pullareddy to the Andhra Plenum

The C.C. Draft for the ideological discussions has come as a great turning point in the struggle of the International communist movement against World imperialism headed by the U.S.imperialists and against Modern Revisionism represented and practised by the revisionist leadership of the CPSU.

At the time of the Seventh Congress of our party, when the Party programme was being adopted,we did not discuss the various fundamental issues involved in the great international ideological debate. Even when certain aspects of this international debate having a direct bearing on certain issues of our programme were discussed, at least these and the conflicting views about these issues, were not separately formulated and discussed thoroughly to enable us to come to proper conclusions.

Beginning with the victory of the Great Chinese Peoples Revolution, a new epoch of all round peoples struggles against decaying imperialism has been unfolding throughout the World, heralding a new epoch of rapid decay and disintegration of the imperialist systyem, heralding the eve of the complete victory of World Socialist Revolution.

But World imperialism headed by American imperialism has been conducting ferocious last-ditch battles to drown the revolutionary struggles in blood and save imperialism from its inevitable doom.

Just at the time when imperialism is on the verge of complete collapse, when the world socialist forces are on the verge of complete success, when the forces of the international working class movement are conducting titanic class struggles against the dying forces of imperialism, Modern Revisionism, represented and practised by the present CPSU leadership, has raised its ugly head within the ranks of world Communist Movement, with a host of revisionist theories and practices, to demoralise, disrupt and sabotage the international working class movement, to liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the

oppressed people and nations and thus save the imperialist system from its inevitable doom.

Beginning with the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Modern Revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership has passed through various phases of development - emergence, formation, growth and systematisation.

Now, Modern Revisionism, represented by the CPSU leadership, has been revealed as open betrayal of the revolutionary struggle, as open collaboration with U.S. imperialism for the world domination.

Now, it is as clear as daylight, that, the programme of the CPSU, leadership is a programme which opposes revolutions of the peoples still under the imperialist and the capitalist system, which opposes the carrying of revolution through to completion on the part of the people already on the Socialist Road. It is a revisionist programme for the preservation and restoration of capitalism.

Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, especially the glorious CPC, had to conduct a merciless ideological battle against Modern Revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership. The forces of Marxist-Leninists regrouped themselves, both nationally and internationally, fought valiantly against this treachery and betrayal perpetrated by the CPSU leadership in the international working class movement and the revolutionary struggles.

The Revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations, the revolutionary forces of the international working class movement, based on Marxism-Leninsm had to withstand the repressive forces of imperialism and counter- revolution and, the deception and disruption practised by Modern Revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership, and inspite of certain defeats, made significant advances throughout the world.

In these struggles, Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary forces of the world are getting consolidated, taking the initiative into their own hands, and are advancing in the struggle against imperialism and Modern Revionism represented by the CPSU leadership.

Faced with the prospect of growing isolation from the ranks of the world revolutionary forces, from the ranks of the National Liberation forces, from the ranks of the Marxist- Leninsts the revisionist leadership of the CPSU,has been parading a facade of "unity" slogans,

to work itself back into the ranks of the Marxist-Leninists, into the anti-imperialist front, for further disrupting this front, and thus to better serve the imperialists.

It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists to ruthlessly expose the deceptive new slogans of the CPSU leadership, to rebuff their efforts, to work themselves back into the ranks of the revolutionary struggles in order to achieve victory in their struggle against imperialism and Modern Revisionism.

The Consolidation and the further rapid advance of the World Communist Movement to accomplish the tasks of the new epoch is inconceivable without waging a principled and determined fight against this menace of Modern Revisionism, against the deceptive new slogans of "unity" given by the CPSU leadership.

It is at this stage of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership, that our party is discussing the various issues involved in the great international ideological debate.

We strongly feel that the C.C. Draft and the outlook expounded from time to time in various documents, particularly 'the new situation and the Party"s tasks', will not and cannot serve as an instrument in the hands of the party to fight against Modern Revisionism and reorient itself to the rising struggle in the country in the present international revolutionary situation.

I. The depth of the treachery and betrayal of Modern Revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership towards the international working class movement :

At this stage of the struggle of the international working class movement against the imperialists and the deceptive and disruptive tactics adopted by Modern Revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership, the duty of every Marxist-Leninst party is not merely to oppose the revisionist theories and propositions of the CPSU leadership, but also to ruthlessly expose the devastating results of this policy in practice, the depth of the treachery and betrayal of the CPSU leadership towards the international working class movement, the class nature of Soviet Revisionism and the class roots of Soviet Revisionism.

This Plenum meeting strongly feels that the C.C. Draft has completely failed in discharging this task.

(a) The policies of the CPSU leadership on peace, peaceful Co-existence,peaceful Economic Competition and peaceful Transition-which have resulted in a line of compromise, conciliation and collaboration with U.S. imperialism for world domination, have been based on its description of the new epoch as an epoch of peaceful transition.

This anti-Marxist-Leninist description of the New epoch made by the CPSU leadership, in practice, was merely a mask to cover up the aggresive nature of U.S. imperialism, to cretate illusions in the revolutionary forces about achieving peaceful transition to Socialism without gigantic battles, without heavy sacrifices, illusions about achieving victories without a fight. Thus, it was an attempt on the part of the CPSU leadership to sap the figthing will of the fighting forces and facilitate the aggressive plans of U.S.imperialism.

It is a deceptive cover through which the CPSU leadership carries its betrayal of national liberation struggles, the betrayal of world revolutionary struggles.

Instead of ruthlessly exposing this deception of the CPSU leadership, the C.C. Draft explains away as though the CPSU leadership's estimation of the new epoch is due to an "erroneous definition", "over-simplified formulas subjectively drawn,presenting utopian and false perseptives", as though it is living in a "dream world in which imperia- lism has ceased to be the monster which has to be annihiliated."

For the C.C. Draft to say that the CPSU leadership wrongly evaluated the New epoch as an epoch of peaceful transition to Socialism because it underestimated the strength of imperialism still to resist the advance of the popular forces, is not exposing the deception of the CPSU leadership, but only inventing an explanation for this deception.

Not only that. In this New epoch of final collapse of imperialism and the final triumph of world-wide victory of socialism, the national liberation struggles have become the decisive forces for the final destruction of imperialism. It is the imperative duty of the international working class movement to give all its support to NLM. It is the sacred duty of the socialist countries to give every kind of support- ideological, political, economic and military to help NLM to achieve complete

success. The C.C. Draft has failed to locate the NLM as playing the decisive role for the final destruction of imperialism.

Instead of this, the C.C.Draft has said that revolutionary combination of "socialist diplomacy" and the "armed might of the socialist Camp" as essential factors for the complete victory of National Liberation struggles.

This is akin of suslov who said that 'the duty of the socialist countries to give to these countries political and diplomatic support and when necessary, to curb the imperialist aggressors by using the whole might of the Socialist system". (Suslov Report English, Page 38)

(b) The CPSU leadership has been dogmatically assert- ing that the basic contradiction between socialism and Imperialism is almost the only contradiction which determines the course of world revolution, while the contradictions play a minor role in the development of world history.

This so-called understanding of the CPSU leadership on the question of contradictions was only a means for its advocacy of peaceful solutions for all the fundamental contradictions of the present epoch.

It was only a means to cover up the growing contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, to negate the decisive role of the NLM in deciding the success of the world revolution which practically served the interests of imperialism, the U.S.imperialism in particular.

Instead of unmasking these pernicious effects of the theory of the CPSU leadership on contradiction, the C.C. Draft describes the theory of the CPSU leadership on con- tradictions as merely "wrong in theory and harmful in practice" and that this wrong theory merely led to "serious opportunist mistakes".

Not only that. The C.C. Draft finds an explanation for this "wrong theory" of the CPSU leadership and declares that this is due to a "totally errorneous and undialectical understanding, study and assessment of the contradictions".

In the recent period, that even growing forces of NLM are seriously undermining the rear of the imperialist system, the U.S.imperialism with its 3,000 millitary bases throughout the world is concentrating its main military strength in the continents of Asia, Africa

and Latin America to drown NLM in blood. Thus Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the main theatre of war between the world revolutionary forces and imperialism. The struggle between these two forces is of decisive importance for the cause of world socialist Revolution.

To say that the CPSU leadership does not see this reality, that is merely underestimates the role of NLM, is merely a refusal to see the treachery of the CPSU leadership.

(c) Pactice has revealed that the sole aim of the peace policies of the CPSU leadership has been to come to an agreement with the greatest enemy of the peoples of the whole world-U.S. Imperialism.

To achieve this purpose, it distrupted the socialist camp, betrayed the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples, distrupted the anti-imperialist front, disrupted the unity of the international working class movement, the only key weapons in the hands of the world peoples to defeat the war plans of the U.S. aggressors and preserve world peace.

Its nuclear agreements with the U.S. imperialist were merely intended to isolate China, to preserve the monopoly of USA and USSR over nuclear weapons. Friendship with America-enmity with Socialist China this in essence has become the peace policy of the Soviet Union.

Instead of exposing these pernicious manifestations of the policies of the revisionist leadership of the CPSU, the C.C. Draft explains that "the attitude of the Soviet leadership on the entire issues based on the unwarranted premise that their collaboration with the Anglo-American imperialists is a greater guarantee for the preservation of peace."

So, the betrayal of one revolutionary post after another by the CPSU leadership, to purchase peace with America, is the result of a more "unwarranted premise".

(d) The essence of the policy of peaceful co-existence practised by the Revisionist leadership has been allround peace with the exploiting classes throughout the world-peace between the oppressed peoples and oppressor nations, peace between the proletariat and the capitalists, peace between the socialist Camp and the Imperialist Camp even at the cost of revolution.

Thus, the policy of peaceful co-existence of the CPSU leadership

is a negation of all revolutions throughout the world,and an allround cooperation and collaboration with the class enemy. Its practice fully demonstrated that friendship with America is the heart and soul of the policy of peaceful co- existence of the CPSU leadership.

This great betrayal of all revolutionary struggles, and its global collaboration with U.S.imperialism is being painted by the C.C. Draft as though the CPSU leadership merely "tends to shield the aggressor", "seeks to conceal the constant imperialist aggression, to appease the aggressor."

Not only that. The C.C. says the "peaceful co-existence is of course an essential part of the Leninist foreign policy obligatory to every socialist state".

We think that this is not in consonance with Lenin, who said: "Alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed peoples against any or all the imperialists-such is the external policy of the Russian Revolution."

To say that peaceful co-existence policy of a socialist state is the "essential part of the Leninst foreign policy" is adding grist to the policies of the CPSU leadership on peaceful co-existence.

Instead of trying to analyse the class roots of the revisionist leadership of the CPSU, to understand its treachery and betrayal of the revolutionary struggles, to understand its collaborationist policy, the C.C. Document tries to issue good conduct certificate to the CPSU leadership by saying that its "wrong" theories with "harmful effects" are merely due to "totally erroneous and undialectical understanding, study and assessment" of the new epoch and contradictions of the new epoch. This amounts to saying that the collaborationist policy of the CPSU leadership is not due to its betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, to its treachery and betrayal of the revolutionary struggles but merely to an undialectical understanding of the new epoch, as an epoch of peaceful transition.

But what is the reality? The Revisionist leadership of the CPSU, exploiting the peace sentiments of the peoples of the world and the peace sentiments of the peoples of the S.U in particular, introduces its treacherous policy of peace and peaceful co-existence to betray the revolutionary struggles and to serve the interests of the U.S. imperialists.

Lenin never tried to explain 'peace' policy of the revisionist leaders of the Second International as resulting form their wrong understanding of the situation.

He said: "The Theory reduces itself to this and only to this, that Kautsky utilises the hope of new peaceful era of capitalism to justify the opportunists and the official social democratic parties who joined the bourgeoisie and repudiated the revolutionary, i.e. proletarian tactics during the present turbulent era notwithstanding the solemn declarations of the Basle Resolution." (Lenin: Collapse of the Second International.)

He declared : ..... the very thought of peacefully subordinating the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of the peaceful, reformist transition to socialism is not only extreme philistine stupidity, but also downright deception of the workers, the embellishment of the capitalist wage slavery, concealment of the truth."

II. National Liberation Movements

(a) The growing National Liberation struggles are breaking the base of the imperialist system. Imperialist rule has been overthrown in many colonial and dependent countries, and in others it has suffered heavy blows and is tottering. This inevitably weakens and shakes the rule of imperialism in the metropolitan countries themselves.

Thus the National Liberation Struggles have become a powerful force in thwarting the war plans of U.S. imperialism for world domination and in preserving world peace. Thus, in the present era, the NLMs have got overall and the decisive importance in deciding the course of the world socialist revolution.

Instead of seeing this, the C.C. Draft merely says that the intensification of the contradiction between the NLMs and imperialism "influencess the course of all other contradictions." We feel this characterisation does not fully bring out the decisive role of NLM in advancing the course of the world socialist Revolution. We have to bring this fact here, because, the C.C. in "New situation and party's Tasks" has expounded certain wrong notions on this question.

(b) The C.C.Resolution says: "The popular victories scored in a series of countries in Asia and the Middle East against the imperialists have become a cause of panic for the U.S.imperialists who began raising the pernicious slogan of 'power vaccum'." (Page 15.)

What is it that the C.C.wants to convey by this? According to the C.C. Resolution, the NLMs in Asia, Africa and Latin America threaten the imperialist system in Asia and U.S. imperialism shifted its centre of attack against the NLM to dominate the East with its "amended global strategy and tactics" "for its aggressive and expansionist aims in Asia." (Page 16).

So, according to the C.C.Resolution, the NLM threatens the imperialist system in the East and the U.S. imperialists are attacking the NLM to achieve their domination in the East. Is not this outlook similar to that of the CPSU leadership, who have been propagating the view that the NLM in Asia, Africa and Latin America have got only a geographical and regional significance?

But we firmly believe that what is at stake today in Asia, Africa and Latin America is not only the imperialist system in these parts but the very existence of the world capitalist system as a whole. The destruction or the preservation of the world capitalist system is today dependent upon the success or failure of the liberation struggles in these areas.

The U.S. imperialism rightly sees in NLM a threat to the whole world capitalist system, the biggest impediment to their plans of world domination, and are fighting their last ditch-battles against NLM in connivance with the revisionist leadership of the CPSU to preserve the fast crumbling world capitalist system, and to achieve their world domination.

Further the C.C. Resolution says that the military strength of the Soviet Union under the present CPSU leadership and the Warsaw Pact are an effective force in resisting the war plans of U.S.imperialism to dominate Europe. The C.C. Resolution says:

"In Europe, the Soviet Union has rebuilt its war-ravaged economy rapidly, broken the U.S. nuclear monopoly, out- stripped the U.S. in the scientific and technological fields, manufactured atomic and hydrogen weapons including the ICBM and the antimissile-missiles, and proved itself to be more than a match to the U.S. in the defence and military sphere. The East European peoples' Democracies had succeeded in consolidating their revolutionary victories and had put their states firmly on the road to socialism and communism. U.S. imperialism also found that its

aggressive NATO millitary alliance was effectively countered by the Warsaw Pact under the Soviet leadership. At the same time it was being faced with the mounting tide of the NLM forces that was threatening to further undermine the imperialist system in Asia."

What an amazing statement! Leaving aside the question as to whether the East European Democracies have been placed firmly on the road to socialism and communism for further discussion, the C.C. Resolution wants the party members to believe that the "U.S. imperialists then shifted their main centre of aggressive activities and sphere of expansion from Europe to Asia", because its plans for the domination of Europe were thwarted by the military strength of the Soviet Union and the East European Democracies.

To say the least,this is completely a travesty of truth. The advocacy of peaceful transition to socialism by the CPSU leadership and Modern Revisionists of the European continent which sapped the will of the fighting sections of the proletariat. The active opposition of the revisionist leadership of the CPSU to all revolutionary struggles, the constant efforts of the CPSU ledership to come to an agreement with U.S. imperialism on all key issues of the day, even at the cost of revolution, its nuclear agreements with U.S. imperialism, its constant secret negotiations with U.S. imperialists in the corridors of UNO, gave confidence to the U.S. imperialists about the readiness to collaborate with U.S. imperialism in suppressing NLM, and it was this that enabled the U.S. imperialists to shift their military cocentration from Europe to that of Asia, Africa and Latin America to successfully carry its agressive wars against the oppressed nations.

Instead of showing up this treachery of the CPSU leadership towards the NLM, the C.C. Resolution merely tries to show it up as an effective force in rebuffing the U.S. efforts to dominate Europe.

(c) The C.C. Resolution has further tried to reduce the significance of the PRC, as against the aggressive war plans of the U.S. imperialists, to one of geographical importance. The C.C.Resolution says: "What, according to the U.S. strategists, stands as the biggest stumbling block to their Asian expansionism and domination? They now treat PRC as the chief force standing against their expansionist aims in Asia".

So according to this, the U.S. imperialists are fighting for expansionism in Asia, and PRC as an Asian power is fighting the expansionist aims in Asia. But the truth of the matter is, the U.S. imperialists are fighting for world domination while the PRC carrying through the behests of Lenin and Stalin is doing its utmost to help NLM to success heroically championing the cause the world socialism and valiantly fighting the aggressive war plans of the U.S. imperialists for world domination. Such is the world liberating mission that PRC is gloriously carrying on its shoulders.

Only prejudices can blind one not to see the world liberating mission of the PRC, that PRC, with its consistent struggle against U.S. imperialist plans for world domination, with its irreconcilable ideological battle against modern revisionism, with its self-less support to the revolutionary struggles throughout the world, is actually acting as the base of the world revolution.

(d) Soviet Economic Aid: The C.C. Draft describes Soviet economic aid to the backward countries in the name of non-capitalist path, as aid to capitalists, to build capitalism in their respective countiries.

This description is misleading, giving the impression as though Soviet Economic Aid to the backward countries plays an anti-imperialist role to resist imperialist pressure on those countries. Practice has shown that Soviet Economic Aid has been used to build a so-called public-sector, subservient to the growth of monopoly capitalism, subservient to the penetration of American capitalism.

More and more Soviet Economic aid is acquiring the character of aid to buttress reactionary governments as in Indonesia, Bolivia and India, as aid to create its own sphere of influence in the backward countries, as aid to gang up reactionary governments against PRC.

When this is becoming the growing character of Soviet Aid, to say that Soviet Aid is aid to build capitalism, is not to thoroughly expose the real features of CPSU leadership.

(e) Peoples War: Recent history has amply proved that NLMs faced with the armed intervention of the U.S. imperialists, faced with armed counter-revolution, are taking more and more to the path of people's war inspired by the experience of the Chinese Revolution.

When this is becoming the main form of struggle, such expressions as, "the foremost thinkers, founders and leaders of Marxism-Leninsm were always eager to find out ways and means to restrict, minimise and, if possible to avoid the bourgeois violence in the way of effecting the Socialist revolution, since peaceful transition is advantageous to the proletariat", or "Marx, Engels, Lenin and the foremost leaders of the world proletariat did strive to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means whereever and whenever such an opportunity did open before them without allowing it to be missed", would only emphasise the possibilities of peaceful transition and create illusions among the fighting ranks about peaceful transition, as has been done in "New situation and Party's Tasks."

(f) Intermediate Zone: The C.C.Draft has not discussed the significance of the intermediate Zone. It is not for nothing. In between U.S. imperialism and the socialist camp, the intermediate Zone and the Inter-imperialists contradictions in this area have got a particular significance in isolating U.S. imperialism. In this context alone, we can understand PRC's relations with France or Pakistan, which have yielded good results in isolating U.S. imperialism.

The revisionist leadership of the CPSU which opposed this line in the beginning, had to swallow its own words and try to develop its relations with France and Pakistan with its own ulterior motives. The C.C. could not appreciate the attitude of PRC to Pakistan as it fails to understand the approach of PRC towards the intermediate Zone.

Attitude towards the NLM has become an important line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninsts and modern revisionists represented by the CPSU leadership. And, it is on this question the revisionist leadership of CPSU has exhibited the worst features of betrayal of all revolutionary struggles. True, sometimes the CPSU leadership pretends to be supporting the NLM and does give some limited help to them to justify themselves as communists in the eyes of the world public.

But, the essence of the policy of the CPSU leadership is total betrayal of the national liberation struggles one by one. Congo, Rhodesia, Dominican Republic, the Middle East- are all standing

monuments to the great betrayal of the national liberation struggles by the CPSU leadership.

The C.C.Draft, instead of bringing out this thorough betrayal of the National liberation struggles by the CPSU leadership, has dismissed its whole attitude on this question as one of neglect or underestimation of the national liberation struggles.

It is pertinent to remember that some of our C.C. leaders even as late as 1964 have been singing praises to "disinterested, technical, industrial and economic aid liberally given by the Soviet Union... to the underdeveloped and newly liberated countries."

III. CPSU leadership's collaboration with U.S. imperialism for world domination

The C.C. Draft aggrees that "the bankrupt revisionist line of the Soviet leadership" is being glaringly seen and understood by "every intelligent student of politics in the world, let alone the Marxist-Leninists, as more and more a line of conciliation, compromise and collaboration between the two great powers the USSR and the USA, a line which objectively preserves and perpetuates the international status quo and as a line which summarily abandons the revolutionary class struggles of the proletariat."

But the C.C.Draft has rushed to add that this collaboration is not for "sharing world hegemony with American imperialism and for the division of the sphere of influence in the world".

Then, why is this collaboration for? According to the C.C. Draft, this collaboration is due to the CPSU leadership's "facile notion of maintaining world peace in collaboration with the most aggressive U.S. imperialism."

U.S. imperialists are conducting ferocious wars of aggression against oppressed nations throughout the world. It is arming itself to the teeth with deadly weapons to achieve world domination. It has created a huge war machine.

To think that the CPSU leadership really believes that it could preserve world peace in collaboration with such a power, is nothing but blindness to see the depth of the treachery of the CPSU leadership. The Global strategy of U.S.imperialism has been to grab and dominate the intermediate Zone lying between the U.S. and the socialist camp,

put down revolutions of the oppressed peoples and nations, proceed to destroy the socialist countries and thus to dominate the whole world.

Is not the CPSU leadership collaborating with U.S. imperialism in the accomplishment of these aims? The CPSU leadership with its theory that 'local wars lead to world conflagration has been trying to demoralise, disrupt and sabotage the NLM thus facilitating the wars of aggression of U.S. imperialism against struggling nations.

It has been helping the U.S. imperialism to use UNO as an instrument of suppression of peoples struggles. With its teachings of peaceful transition, it is trying to sap the fighting will of the proletariat and thus help U.S. imperialism in preserving the capitalist system and the capitalist world.

The CPSU leadership is trying for peaceful restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union which has been the dream of imperialism. Both USA and USSR have come to an agreement to maintain their monopoly of nuclear weapons to blackmail the weaker nations. The CPSU leadership has disrupted the socialist camp and International Communist Movement which is the fond hope of U.S. imperialism.

The CPSU leadership is ganging up with all reactionary powers to malign and isolate China, to build the so-called containment wall against China, which is in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. plans for world domination.

If these acts of the CPSU leadership are not acts of collaboration with U.S.imperialism for world domination, what else is it? But imperialism and the CPSU leaders are shouting about their collaboration for world domination.

Willy Brandt of West Germany recently declared: "We are by now doubly assured by the Soviet collaboration with U.S. started in Cuban crisis, followed by the Middle East now. It is proved beyond any doubt that Soviet leadership will not dare clash with U.S. and the rest of the West. Now is the time to redivide the sphere of influence between U.S. and USSR in both Western Europe as well as in Asia."

Gromyko declared in 1962: ".....If there is agreement between N.S. Khrushchev, the head of the Soviet Government and John Kennedy, the President of the United States, there will be a solution of international problems on which mankind's destinies depend".

The revisionist leadership of the CPSU uses deceptive peace slogans to deceive the peoples of the world, the Soviet people in particular, to cover up its dirty collaboration with U.S. imperialism for world domination.

The CPSU leadership resorts to all "these subterfuges, sophistries and fraudulent falsifications" only in order to disassociate themselves from revolutionary struggles, to "conceal their desertion to the liberal policy i.e. to the bourgeoisie" to cover up their dirty deals with U.S. imperialism for world domination.

We are sorry to note that the C.C. Draft has fallen a prey to the deception of the CPSU leadership. To sustain its wrong arguments, the C.C.Draft declares that to speak of the CPSU leaders' collaboration with U.S. imperialism for world domination is "tantamount to nothing short of placing the Soviet Union outside the socialist camp".

Who is trying to place the Soviet Union outside the Socialist camp? It is the CPSU leadership, by its efforts to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, by its efforts to transform P.D. (Proletarian Dictatorship) into a bourgeois state, by its efforts to transform CPSU from a party of the working class into a bourgeois party, by its class collaborationist policy,that is actually trying to take the Soviet Union out of the Socialist Camp.

A timely ruthless exposure of its betrayal alone will rouse the consciousness of the Soviet people and Soviet Communists and help their resistance to this betrayal of the CPSU leadership. The international communist movement owes this responsibility towards the Soviet people.

Any shielding of the betrayal of the CPSU leadership or any soft pedalling in the exposure of the betrayal of the CPSU leadership will be a violation of international duty of the world communist movement and the interests of the Soviet people.

The C.C.Draft by negating the naked fact that the CPSU leadership is collaborating with U.S. imperialism for world domination and by asserting that such a characterisation amounts to placing the Soviet Union outside the socialist camp, is only trying to negate all the criticism it has made about the policies of the CPSU leadership in the previous chapters, to bestow some good intentions on the CPSU

leadership for its collaboration with U.S. imperialism and lay the basis for a united front with the CPSU leadership.

IV. Building communism in the Soviet Union- Transformation of P.D. (into the so-called Peoples state and the Transformation of CPSU from a working class party into a party of the whole people.

The C.C. draft has characterised the decision of the present leadership of the CPSU to transform P.D. into a state of the whole people and the transformation of the CPSU into Party of the Whole people as negation of Marxism-Leninism on the question of P.D. and the proletarian character of the Communist Party.

The C.C. Draft has also admitted that "the resort to capitalist incentives and ideas of personal profit, in the final analysis, paves the way for the restoration of a new type of capitalism and harms the cause of socialism and communism".

But the C.C. Draft concedes the claim of the CPSU leadership that it is building communism when it says that "this danger is all the more so when the concept of material incentives is unduly emphasised in a socialist society at a stage which they claim to be full-scale construction of communism. So the C.C. draft's complaint is that the CPSU leadership is unduly emphasising the concept of material incentives at the stage of full-scale construction of communism.

But, what is the reality? As long as differences between town and country, between worker and peasant, between mental and physical labour remain, as long as a new man imbued with the spirit of selfless service to society is not created, as long as encirclement of the socialist state by the capitalist state remain, to think of building communism is an utopia. So the claim of the CPSU leadership that it is building communism in the Soviet Union is a hoax. The C.C. Draft fails to expose this hoax that the CPSU leadership is playing on the Soviet and world people.

Not only that. The practice of the socialist states teaches us that the socialist society covers a very long historical period. Throughout this historical period, the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat continues and the question of 'who will win' the capitalist road or the socialist road remains. Thus till society enters the period of communism, the danger of restoration of capitalism persists.

But the present revisionist leadership of the CPSU, which has abandoned the pricniple of class struggle, both nationally and internationally, in the name of building communism is actually taking steps for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Their disbandenment of machine and tractor stations and selling that property to the collective farms, their introduction of free market, their decentralisation of certain industries and particular sectors of industry, their investment of greater power to the local managers of industries, their introduction of material incentives, profit motive and bonus system, their introduction of competition, are all against the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on transition from socialism to communism. They are steps that will lead not to the building of communism, but will definitely lead to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

And recently a very dangerous phenomenon has appeared in the East European States. Many of them are building joint industries with foreign western collaboration. Even the Soviet Union is negotiating with the Japanese capitalists for the joint exploitation of Siberian mineral wealth.

It is pertinent to remember that all these measures of decentralisaltion, competition, profit motive, free market were measures that Lenin and Stalin adopted to use them to revive capitalist relations to a certain extent under the vigorous control of PD., before going to the full scale construction of socialism. But today these steps are being introduced by a revisionist leadership which has adopted bourgeois ideology and which is following a policy of collaboration on a global plane, and these steps have given rise to new type of capitalistic elements both in town and countryside.

It is pertinent to remember that the revisionist Tito clique in Yugoslavia adopted the very same measures long before the revisionist leadership of CPSU adopted them. The new bourgeois elements, who have usurped the leadership of the Party and the State step by step, have formed a privileged stratum in Soviet society.

This privileged stratum is the principal component of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union today, and the present revisionist leaders are the political representatives of the new bourgeois elements, particularly of the privileged stratum.

Thus we see that while shouting that it is building communism in the Soviet Union the CPSU leadership is actually taking steps to restore capitalism. That is the reason why the bourgeois world, istead of being afraid of the construction of communism in the Soviet Union are showering praises on the CPSU leadership for its new measure. This should open the eyes of all the Marxist-Leninists as to the nature of communism being built in the Soviet Union.

The CC Draft, instead of exposing the ugly fact that the CPSU leadership, under the guise of fake communism, is actually taking steps for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, that new capitalist elements have already appeared in the Soviet society, says that material incentives "in the final analysis pave the way for the restoration of a new type of capitalism", as though the danger is only in the distant future and not in the present.

State of the Whole People and the Party of the Whole People

Keeping in line with its policy of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the revisionist leadership of the CPSU is taking steps to transform PD into a bourgeois state in the name of state of the whole people.

State can always only be a representative of a partiuclar class and there cannot be a super class state. It is only the bourgeoisie who camouflage their state with the name 'People's State', to cover up their class rule. Engels said ***"free peoples state was a programme demand and a catchword current among the German Social Democrats in the seventies. This catch word is devoid of all political content except that it describes the concept of democracy in a pompous philistine fashion."***

Exactly the present CPSU leadership is using the people's state to cover up the bourgeois state it is trying to build. Similarly, the deceptive term 'Party of the whole people' is a mask to cover up the efforts of the CPSU leadership to change the proletarian character of the CPSU into a bourgeois party. The CC Draft while opposing the decisions of the CPSU leadership to change the proletarian character of PD and CPSU, it does not expose the CPSU leadership, in the guise of 'State of the whole people' and 'Party of the whole people' is actually trying to convert the Soviet State into a bourgeois state and the Communist Party into a bourgeois Party. Because the present CPSU

leadership is the privileged bourgeois stratum representing the new capitalist elements in the Soviet Union, it doggedly pursues its line of collaboration with US imperialism for world domiantion.

The CC Draft refuses to see this ugly development. Ofcourse, this does not mean that the cycle of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union is already complete, or the efforts of the CPSU leadership in this direction are going to succeed. The privileged bourgeois stratum in the Soviet Union, represented by the present revisionist clique, represents only the new capitalistic elements, constituting a small percentage of the Soviet population. It is disametrically opposed to the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people, to the great majority of the Soviet cadre and the communists.

The contradiction between the Soviet people and this privileged bourgeois stratum is now the principal contradiction inside the Soviet Union and it is an irreconcilable and antagonistic class contradiction.

It is our firm conviction that the great Soviet people, the great Soviet Communists, who have long traditions of revolutionary struggles, will, before long see through the vile attempts of the revisionist leadership of the CPSU at restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, resist their attempts, discard their revisionist theories and practices and preserve socialism in the Soviet Union.

But confidence in the strength of the Soviet people to preserve socialism should not blind us to the ugly fact that the present revisionist leadershp of the Party, which has temporarily usurped the leadership of the Party and the State, is attempting to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union. It is the duty of the International Communist Movement towards the Soviet people to mercilessly expose this treachery of the present CPSU leadership.

The CC Draft, by refusing to take up this sacred task and by asserting that the CPSU leadership is not trying to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union, is only helping the present revisonist leadership of the CPSU to further deceive the Soviet people and the peoples of the world and successfully carry through their restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

V. The class roots of Revisionism in the CPSU Leadership

Lenin always taught us that "the inevitability of revisionism is determined by its class roots in modern society." Now the CC Draft has admitted that the CPSU leadership is following a revisionist line.

Then, what are the class roots of revisionism in the CPSU leadership?

As noted above, the old and new bourgeois elements, the old and new rich peasants and the degenerate elements of all sorts constitute the social basis for revisionism in the CPSU leadership. The existence of bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism and collaboration with the imperialism is its external source.

But the CC Draft refuses to analyse the class roots of revisionism of the CPSU leadership. Then the legitimate question arises as to how the CC leadership, has come to the conclusion that the leadership of the CPSU is revisionist without going into its class roots. In the same breath they say that they do not accept the view that new capitalistic elements have grown up in the Soviet Union and that the present CPSU leadership represents these new capitalist elements.

Lenin said: ***"Everybody agrees that opportunism is not an accidental thing, not a sin, not a slip, not the treachery of individual persons, but the social product of a whole historical epoch."***

Revisionism either of the Soviet brand or of Yugoslavia brand or of the brand of the capitalist countries or revisionism of the revisionist leaders of the Second International - all of them are a prop of bourgeois ideology.

One cannot draw a distinction between the Tito clique and the present CPSU leadership. The only difference is that while the Tito clique is working for these aims from outside the socialist camp, the Soviet revisionist clique is working for the same aims from inside the socialist camp. Their class roots and class nature are one and the same.

The CPSU leaders have been shouting from their house- tops that they and the Tito clique are 'not only class brothers' but brothers tied together by the singleness of the aims confronting us that they are a reliable and faithful ally of the Tito clique, that they and the Tito clique belong to one and the same idea and are guided by the same theory.

The CPSU leaders are vociferously shouting about their identity with the Tito clique. It is really curious on the part of the CC leaders to draw a distinction between the Tito clique and the CPSU leadership.

Characterising the opportunism of the revisionist leaders of the Second International, Lenin said: ***"Advocacy of class collaboration,***

abandonment of the idea of socialist revolution and revolutionary methods of struggle, adaptation to bourgeois nationalism, losing sight of the fact that the borders of nationality and country are historically transient, making a fetish of bourgeois legality, renunciation of the class viewpoint and the class struggle for fear of repelling the broad masses of population (meaning the petty bourgeoisie) - such doubtlessly, are the ideological foundations of opportunism." **(Lenin Collected Works, Vol. 21, Page 35).**

Does not this description fully fit in with the opportunism and revisionism of the CPSU leadership? Are the theories and practices of the CPSU leadership on War and Peace, Peaceful Co-existence, National Liberation struggles and on peaceful transition to socialism any way different from those of Kautsky and Co.?

Characterising the theories and practices of Kautsky, Lenin said: ***"Kautsky takes from Marxism what is acceptable to the liberals, to the bourgeoisie and discards, passes in silence, glosses over all that in Marxism which is un- acceptable to the bourgeoisie (the revolutionary violence against the bourgeoisie for the latter's destruction). That is why Kautsky, by virtue of his objective position and irrespec- tive of what his subjective convictions may be, inevitably proves to be a lackey of the bourgeoisie."*** **(Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky).**

Does not Lenin's description of Kautsky have similarity with Soviet revisionist leadership with their class collaboration theories with their opposition to revolutionary struggles, with their efforts to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union sold themselves, body and soul to bourgeois ideology and are acting as the lackeys of bourgeoisie? The CC leaders argue that the revisionist leadership of the CPSU should not be treated as an ally and agent of imperialism, because according to the CC, the revisionist leadership of the CPSU is part and parcel of the socialist system, a part and parcel of the Soviet people.

With its policies of class collaboration, with its policies of undermining socialism, how are we to equate the CPSU leadership with the Soviet people who are genuinely interested in the preservation of socialism and destruction of imperialism?

Lenin said ***"Actually the fact that the opportunists formally belong to workers' parties, does not by any means remove the fact that, objectively, they are a political detachment of the bourgeoisie,***

channels of its influence, its agents in the labour movements." **(Lenin, Against Revisionism, page 263).**

Does not this description apply to the CPSU leadership? Are not the CPSU leaders, with their line of class compromise, conciliation and collaboration on a global plane acting as the agents of the world bourgeoisie, as the agents of American imperialism in the socialist camp and the international working class movement?

Lenin said: ***"the crisis that was created by the Great War has torn off the coverings, has swept away the conventions, has exposed the abscess, that has long been ripe, has revealed opportunism in its role of ally of the bourgoisie."*** **(Lenin, Against Revisionism, page 273).**

The growing crisis of world capitalism, the raging national liberation struggles throughout the world, the gigantic class battles against imperialism, have all 'torn off the coverings'of the CPSU leaders, have torn off the mask of 'communism' which they have been donning so far and showed them up as nothing but allies of the bourgeoisie within the socialist camp. Our love for the Soviet people, our solicitude for the Soviet people,should not hide the fact that Modern Revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership is today acting as the enemy of the socialist camp, as a counter-revolutionary force inside the international working class movement.

It is the duty of all Marxist-Leninists to carry on an irreconcilable fight against the menace of this Modern Revisionism. It is only such a fight that will help the Soviet people to see through the treachery and betrayal of the CPSU leadership.

Modern Revisionism is occurring in the background of ever deepening crisis of world capitalism and growing class struggles. In the face of these class struggles, Modern Revisionism cannot deceive the Soviet people for long.

The great ideological fight of the Marxist-Leninists against Modern Revisionism has already started yielding good results. The fall of khrushchov is the first great victory against Modern Revisionism. It is the beginning of the end of it.

The Continuation of this irreconcilable fight against Modern Revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership and its class

collaborationist policies, alone will unite the socialist camp and international communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

We are sorry to note that the C.C. Draft, instead of helping in this irreconcilable ideological fight against the revionsim of the CPSU leadership is laying the basis for a united front with the CPSU leadership in the name of the unity of socialist camp.

IV. Irreconcilable battle against revisionism of the CPSU leadership, or united front with the CPSU leadership - Unity of action in Vietnam.

We believe the central theme of this document is that in spite of ideological differences between Marxist-Leninsts and the revisionist leadership of the CPSU, united front with the revisonist leadership of the CPSU, is the immediate task in order to achieve success in the struggle against imperialism. To carry through this idea, the document puts forth even more wrong ideas before the party.

The C.C. Draft says: "A look at the present world communist movement and the socialist camp would convince anybody that is sharply divided, and it is plunged into a serious crisis, a crisis that has virtually paralysed the initiative of the world communist forces in successfully resisting and rebuffing the offensive let loose by the world imperialists - chiefly the U.S."

So the C.C. Draft sees only crisis and paralysis in the socialist camp, and "unity in action against imperialism, socialist states whose state and party leaders have come to hold diametrically opposed views on a series of ideological-political issues of the day" becomes the immediate and imperative need. This is the guiding principle in this document. But 'crisis' and 'paralysis' in the camp of the international working class movement, in the camp of socialism - Is it true? The International communist Movement tried to correct the revisionist errors of the CPSU leadership through the 1957 and 1960 conferences.

The CPSU leadership, including Khrushchev, taking advantage of every concession given, seriously tried to create confusion in the ranks of the world communists and came out against all revolutionary principles of the militant revolutionary programme of the world conferences of 1957 and 1960. They openly came out against all revolutionary struggles and ganged up with U.S. imperialists and all the reactionaries of the world against the great PRC, the base of the

NLM, to isolate it from the fighting people and the socialist countries.

Marxist-Leninsts, who understood the betrayal of Marxism-Leninsm by the CPSU leadership, in spite of initial confusion, regrouped their ranks, both nationally and internationally and resolutely fought back the treachery, betrayal and splitting activities of the revisionist leadership of the CPSU.

Inspite of the betrayal of the CPSU leadership,its sabotage, its open collaboration with U.S. imperialism, the national liberation struggles against imperialism have continued to advance. It is in this period that liberation struggles have spread in the continent of Latin America and they are taking more and more to the path of armed struggle. The national liberation struggles have made significant advances in South East Asia. In particular, the people of Vietnam have scored spectacular successes in their national struggle, in bogging down the American imperialism in a bottomless pit.

Peoples Republic of China has scored great victories in Industrial and agricultural production, in its great proletarian Cultural Revolution, in achieving atomic weapons to match the American imperialists and these successes of PRC have gladdened the hearts of all freedom loving peoples.

The advancing national liberation struggles have sharpened the crisis of world capitalist system, have increased the crisis of American imperialism in particular. The American people themselves, especially the Negro people have begun to fight the policies of U.S. imperialism.

The advance of the national liberation struggles has not only thrown U.S. imperialism into a crisis, but also they have led to a crisis in revisionism of the CPSU leadership. In actual life, in the fields of battle, the line of the CPSU leadership was being more and more exposed as a line of class collaboration, as a line of collaboration with U.S. imperialism for world domination.

Faced with the prospect of complete isolation from the ranks of revolutionary forces, from the ranks of the liberation struggles, from the ranks of Marxist-Leninsists, the CPSU leadership had to throw out Khrushchov from power and a new set of leaders, the present leaders, had to be placed in power.

The present CPSU leadership following the same old Khrushchevist collaborationist policies had to invent new deceptive

and honeyed slogans like 'unity of the socilalist camp', 'common programme', 'common ideology', 'unity of action in Vietnam' 'unity against the common enemy' etc.

The C.C. Draft fails to see the general advances of the revolutionary struggles, in spite of certain defeats in certain sectors, the growing crisis in the camp of revisionism. It sees

only crisis and paralysis in the camp of socialism.

That is why the C.C. Draft readily catches the deceptive slogans of the CPSU leadership and puts forth the idea of united front with the CPSU leadership.

The Deceptive slogans of the CPSU leadership

As the forces of NLM and revolutionary forces advance, imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism has been carrying on a death bed struggle for its existence and it badly needs the services of Modern Revisionism in its vain attempt to save itself from its final doom.

In their vain attempt to deck themselves as different from Khrushchov to do better services to U.S. imperialism, the new CPSU leaders have been raising a facade of 'unity' slogans in order to conceal the essence of their continued pursuance of Khrushchov's revisionist line. All moribund forces take to such progressive slogans for their own reactionary purposes.

The CPSU leaders shout for 'united action' on the basis of the so-called 'common programme' and 'common ideology'. But it is the revisionist leadership of CPSU who have completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism, the common ideology of all Marxist-Leninists, and the revolutionary principles of the common programme of the Communist parties, unanimously agreed upon by the 1957 and 1960 conferences.

The CPSU leaders, disregarding the common programme of the world communist movement, have been telling time and again that the line of the class collaboration 'adopted at the 20th and 22nd Congress of the CPSU "was, is and will be the only immutable line in the entire home and foreign policies of the Communist Party and the Soviet state."

The common ideology of all Marxist-Leninists is Marxism-Leninsm, while the common ideology of Modern Revisionism is bourgeois ideology. The Common programme of the Marxist-Leninists

is revolutionary struggle for the final destruction of imperialism, for the success of the world socialist revolution, while the common programme of modern revisionism represented by the CPSU leaders is the preservation of the imperialist system and active opposition to world socialist revolution.

Therefore the antagonism between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership is a class antagonism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; it is the class antagonism between the socialist and the capitalist roads, between the line of opposing imperialism and the line of surrendering to it. It is an irreconcilable antagonism.

V. United action against 'The Common Enemy"

The new leaders of the CPSU incessantly cry for 'united action'against 'the common enemy' in spite of ideological and political differences. In the struggle against capitalism and imperailism and in the course of world socialist revolution, the international proletariat can defeat the enemy through uniting its own forces and uniting with all other forces that can be united.

In today's world situation, the U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the whole world. United front against U.S. imperialism has the unity of the international proletariat as its core and unity between the international proletariat and the oppressed nations as its foundation. It means uniting closely with the masses of the people who constitute over 90% of the world's population, uniting with all the political forces subject to U.S. aggression, control and interference or bullying, and making use of every possible contradiction, all for the purpose of isolating U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the people of the whole world to the maximum extent and dealing it the hardest possible blows. This is the way to mobilise all the positive factors conducive to world revolution for the achievement of victory in the peoples revolutionary struggles in every country.

In the contemporary world, opposition to or alliance with U.S. imperialism constitutes the hall-mark for deciding whether or not a political force can be included in the united front against the United States.

Can the CPSU leadership,judged by its actions, be included in the united front against U.S. imperialism? While they sometimes criticise U.S. imperialism as 'aggressor' and 'war monger' in the same

breath they praise the Johnson administration as 'sensible' and 'moderate', they declare that 'there are sufficiently broad areas for co-operation', and behind scenes they are stepping up their secret diplomacy and their deals with the United States. The programme of the CPSU leadership is alliance and collaboration with U.S. imperialism to dominate the world.

Sometimes they deceive the people with their verbal attacks on U.S.imperialism. These verbal attacks meet the needs of U.S. imperialists and the revisionists themselves. They have to give an appearance of opposing the U.S. imperialists to hoodwink the masses and sabotage revolution. Otherwise they could not play this deceptive role and that would not be to the advantage of U.S. imperialism. Minor attacks in words and major help in deeds-such is the way the new leaders of the CPSU serve U.S. imperialism.

Thus its call for unity of action is a clever camouflage for greater disunity, for greater disruption within the socialist camp and within the international working class movement.

Such being the case, can the CPSU revisionist leadership have a place in the united front against U.S. imperialism? Is U.S. imperialism the common enemy for both Marxist- Leninists and the Modern Revisionists represented by the CPSU leadership?

The CPC is absolutely right in refusing to fall into this trap of the CPSU, in refusing 'unity of action' on the basis of the so-called common programme. The CPC has rightly said, "there are things that divide us and nothing that unites us, things that are antagonistic and nothing that is common". It is wrong on the part of the C.C. Draft to find fault with the CPC's stand on this question.

VI. Unity of action on the Question of Vietnam

The very fact that the great CPC has repeatedly stated that they are ready to take united action with CPSU leaders, if they are really opposed to U.S. imperialism and did so by actual deeds, goes to show their urge for principled unity for anti-imperialist struggle.

The C.C. wrongly thinks that the slogan of 'unity of action'is given by the new CPSU leadership at a time when the socialist camp is seriously divided on several ideological- political issues, that this slogan was given in connection with U.S. aggression in Vietnam, and

that this slogan would bridge the gulf in the socialist camp, and to work out a joint plan of action with PRC against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

But, this is not in consonance with facts. When Khrushchov was in power, the revisionist leadership of the CPSU openly sided with U.S. imperialism and opposed and undermined the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people. With their declaration, that any local war would lead to a world conflagration, they tried to frighten and intimidate all peoples engaged in revolutionary armed struggle; they openly refused to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their anti-U.S. struggle. When the struggle became acute, their policy was one of 'disengagement'. In July 1964, they indicated the desire of the Soviet Government to resign from its post as one of the two Co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference. Soon afterwards, when the U.S. imperialism engineered the Bac Bo Gulf incident, Khrushchov went so far as to concoct the slander that the incident was provoked by China. The liberation struggle in Vietnam continued and grew in intensity in opposition to the policy of the CPSU leadership. World revolutionary forces magnificiently rallied to the cause of Vietnam.

The liberation war in Vietnam is victoriously progressing against U.S. imperialism in spite of the CPSU leadership's betrayal, with the full support of PRC and the world people. It has become a rallying point for all anti-imperialist forces and all Marxist-Leninsts who are genuinely interested in a decisive defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. It has become a turning point in the anti-imperialist struggles, after certain debacles as in Congo and Dominican Republic due to the betrayal of the CPSU leadership.

The CPSU leadership, which has so far done everything to disarm, to disrupt and sabotage the Vietnamese struggle, has now come forward with the slogan of 'united action', to cover up its own isolation from the struggling people and Marxist-Leninsts of the world, and to worm itself back into the anti-imperialist front for further disruption.

'Involvement' or 'non-involvement' of the Soviet Union- both serve the interests of the U.S. imperialists. The stand taken by the CPSU leadership on Vietnam, is inseparable from its general programme of collaboration with U.S. imperialism for world domination.

In 1965, the Soviet leaders directly transmitted to the North Vietnamese Government, the preposterous peace conditions of the U.S. imperialists demanding the North Vietnamese Government not to support the liberation struggle in the South and that the attacks on the cities in South Vietnam should be stopped.

At that time, they proposed to the CPSU to help the U.S. "to find a way out of Vietnam". In February 1965, it forwarded Johnson's proposal for unconditional negotiations, and carried on diplomatic negotiations with France. When the North Vietnamese Government refused to accept this proposal, they again proposed negotiations, if bombing of North Vietnam was stopped.

When these plots were failed, they began to collaborate with the Tito clique and Indian reactionaries, both brokers for U.S. imperialists' peace overtures. While pretending to be supporting the Vietnamese struggle, they have been continuously conducting secret negotiations with U.S. imperialism about the Vietnamese issue.

They have been cooperating and collaborating with U.S. imperialism and coming to an agreement with them on every issue of the day. They allowed the U.S. imperialists to use Moscow Radio to denounce socialist China as standing in the way of peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese issue. Its help to Vietnam is being used to malign socialist China and to carry the most slanderous campaign against the cultural revolution of China. The limited help that the CPSU leadership is peddling to Vietnam should not blind us as real aims of the CPSU leadership in Vietnam.

This limited help to Vietnam is not against the wishes and interests of the U.S. imperialists. They are openly declaring that "eventually an agreement might be contrived involving the Soviet troops in North Vietnam... while American troops remain in the South Vietnam" and that "one of the paradoxical advantages of more direct Soviet military involvement should be the establishment of a direct American- Soviet bargaining relationship in this area".

The actions of the Soviet leadership amply demonstrate that it is not interested in a decisive defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. As a matter of fact, the strategical aims of Vietnam liberation war are diametrically opposed to those of the CPSU leadership.

While the Vietnam war aims at a decisive defeat of U.S. imperialism, the sole aim of the CPSU leadership is to bring Vietnamese issue into the orbit of U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

Why these Deceptive Slogans?

The class collaboration policy of the CPSU has been fully exposed. To cover up their growing isolation, to cover up their collaboration with U.S. imperialism for world domination, it wants to worm back into the ranks of Marxist-Leninsts to confuse, decieve, corrupt and disrupt them, to work itself into the ranks of the national liberation struggles for further disruption, to stop the open polemics which are relentlessly exposing their real class character, to deceive the Soviet people for some more time to complete the process of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet union and lastly to bring the Vietnamese issue into the orbit of U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

Taking into consideration these diabolical aims of the CPSU leadership, the CPC has rightly rejected any united action in principle with the CPSU leadership on the Vietnamese question.

To abandon the principled stand and take united action with the revisionist CPSU leadership will only white wash its collaboration policy, and help it in deceiving the Soviet and world people. It will be nothing but taking chances and making experiments with the glorious Vietnamese struggle which has advanced in opposition to the treachery and betrayal of the CPSU leadership.

The global strategy of U.S. imperialists, the destruction of PRC and the socialist camp to be achieved after the suppression of the national liberation struggles, all for world domination. The CPSU leadership collaborated with U.S. imperialism in this global strategy for world domination. Only revisionism, representing the privileged bourgoeis stratum can pursue such an aim. The C.C. Draft fails to see the revisionist depth of the CPSU leadership, falls a prey to the deceptive slogans and proposals of the CPSU leadership.

The C.C. Draft, while noting that the line of the CPSU leadership in Vietnam "is disappointing and is not what is rightly expected of a leading and mighty Socialist state", that the CPSU leadership "takes hesitant, halting and compromising steps" and "makes repeated attempts at restoring some kind of peace in Vietnam in compliance with U.S. aggressors", that it has tried to isolate China and "pressurise it into

submission and a host of similar steps and actions deliberately by them to damn the Chinese Communists as War-mongers and traitors to the cause of Socialism" still supports to the call of the CPSU leadership for 'unity of action' in Vietnam'.

The C.C. Draft holds the view that CPC should not have rejected a united front action with the CPSU leadership on principle. The Draft says that this is against the concept of united action and united front.

What the C.C. Draft forgets is that these states and parties are not states and parties in general. They are Communist Parties and Socialist States, which have to serve as the Constituents of the core of anti-imperialist front. Ideological and political struggles and a kind of sorting between Marxist-Leninsts and the revisionsts is taking place in these parties and states. The Condition for the united front is, the struggle against imperialism. If the people and Communists are allowed to be deceived and dulled in their vigilance aginst the revisionist leaders, it will only help in the disruption of the anti-imperialist struggle. Such slogans of 'united action' which help the disruption of the anti- imperialist struggle, are diametrically opposed to the very aims and principles of united front tactics.

Joint discussions between the CPSU leaders and the revolutionary leaders of CPC and Vietnam will not strengthen the core of the anti-imerialist front against U.S. imperialism in the Vietnam and the failure of the meeting will be a handle in the hands of imperialists and revisionists to disrupt the Vietnam struggle itself.

To sustain their umprincipled support to the unity call of the CPSU leadership, the C.C. leaders are putting forth certain absurd arguments. The Draft argues that "North Vietnam is fighting alone against U.S. aggression" and as such united front with the CPSU leadership is an imperative duty.

The liberation struggles being waged against U.S. imperialism throughout the world, the American peoples' struggles against American intervention in Vietnam, the great solidarity campaign in support of the Vietnam struggles spreading throughout the world are powerful factors of support to the Vietnam liberation struggle.

The great PRC, short of direct intervention, has been giving every kind of help to the fighting forces in Vietnam. The CPC had declared

time and again that they would directly intervene whenever North Vietnam demands it.

Recently North Vietnam comrades have declared that they have been allowed to use Chinese mainland as the rear for the Vietnam struggle. It is true that the Vietnamese people are shouldering the main brunt of the struggle against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. But it is not true to say that they are fighting alone.

Another argument that the C.C. leaders put up is that the CPC stand in Vietnam is against the experience of anti- fascist front in 1935. Here the C.C. leaders forget three pertinent factors. At that time communist Parties had competely demarcated themselves ideologically, politcally and organisationally from the social Democratic Parties and as such united front between such parties could not confuse the masses about their aims and identity. But now such a demar- cation between Communists and Revisionists-ideologically, politcally and organisationally is taking place and it is yet to be completed.

Struggle against Fascism was the pre-condition for any force to be included in the front. But when CPSU leadership is an ally of U.S. imperialism it cannot have a place in the united front against U.S. imperialism. At that time the united front slogan had been given by the Communist Parties to build a genuine united front, and in the process of struggle to isolate the vacillators. But now the unity call is given by the CPSU leadership to deceive the Soviet people and world people to cover up its collaboration with U.S. imperialism for world domination.

Curiously enough, the C.C. leaders argue that judged by the experience of our united front tactics with regard to the Dangeite revisionists, the CPC stand on unity call is wrong. How far our tactics are correct, is a subject matter to be seriously discussed. But to transplant our experience to the question of Vietnam, where military strategy between great powers is involved, is absurd.

To sustain their support to united front with the CPSU leadership, the C.C. Draft even bestows certain anti-imperialist character to the CPSU leadership. The Draft says: ***"Thus, instead of an irreconcilable struggle economic, political, ideological and military as the main form and content of struggle between the two systems, a regular***

hunt for discovering areas of even wider cooperation and collaboration with the U.S. is on by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union. The fundamental aspect is to be relegated to subordinate the secondary position while the cooperation and collaboration aspect is thrust to the forefront"

So the complaint of the C.C. Draft against the CPSU leadership is not that it has become the agency of imperialism but merely that its anti-imperialist role is occupying only a secondary position. But how are we to reconcile this with Lenin's description of revisionism as "the lackey of the bourgeoisie", as "vehicle of bourgeoise influence", as "agency of imperialism"?

No amount of solicitude for the Soviet people, for the Vietnamese people' will hide the ugly fact that the C.C. Draft seeks united front with the revisionist leadership of the CPSU in the so-called common struggle against the most hated and immediate enemy.

The C.C. Draft thinks that differences on ideological and political issue should not come in the way of united action with the revisionists. But Lenin said that "the fight against imperialism is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism". What is standing betwen CPC and CPSU leadership, between Marxist-Leninsts and the Modern Revisionists represented by the CPSU leadership is neither a mess nor a facile notion (of maintaining world peace in collaboration with U.S. imperialism without China) held by the CPSU leadership. What is standing in between is, Modern Revisionism of the CPSU leadership and its policy of collaboration with U.S. imperialism for world domination.

Unity of the Socialist camp and unity of the international communist movement is the cherished goal of all Marxist- leninsts. It is the revisionist leadership of the CPSU that has disrupted the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the inernational working class movement.

The history of the international communist movement is one of struggle by Marxism against opportuism and revisionism, a history of struggle by Marxists to safeguard the international unity of the proletariat and to oppose attempts by opportunists and revisionists to divide it. Marxism-Leninsm teaches us that the international unity of the proletariat must be based on principle and its achievement demands

resolute and unequivocal struggle against revisionism and opportunism.

Lenin said: ***"Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is, the unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism".***

Unity of socialist camp, unity of the international Communist movement will be achieved in bitter struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership. Unity of the socialist camp and unity of the international communist movement "is moving and will move", "is proceeding and will proceed" against the modern revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership and it will be a victory over them.

VII. The Contribution and role of CPC

The Chinese Revolution is a great epoch making event, ranking next only to that of the Great October Revolution. This is the first peoples revolution that took place, breaking the shackles of colonial and semi-colonial system. It has heralded the era of final collapse of imperialism and the Victory of world socialist revolution.

The glorious CPC under the leadership of Comrade Mao, basing itself on the experience of the Great October Revolution creatively applied Marxism-Leninsm to the Chinese conditions, and following the correct tactics of united front and prolonged armed struggle, first liberating the country-side and finally the towns, liberated 70 crores of Chinese population from age long slavery, established peoples democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and now through its great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, and struggling for the completion of the Soviet revolution.

With this rich experience of revolutionary struggle, CPC tried to correct the revisionist mistakes of the CPSU leadership through friendly criticism. When the CPSU leadership spurned this friendly criticism, and openly took to a complete class collaboration line, the CPC began an open ideological fight against modern revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership to preserve the sacredness of Marxism-Leninism.

Its numerous articles exposing Modern Revisionism have greately contributed to the enrichment of Marxism- Leninism in the present era. Peoples Republic of China, adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is firmly fighting the aggressive expansionist war

plans of U.S. imperialism. PRC is in the forefront of the struggle against the global strategy of U.S. for world domination.

PRC, faithfully implementing the behests of Lenin, is helping the national liberation struggles, the revolutionary struggles with all the means at its command - ideological, political, economic and military.

The PRC is acting as the base of the world revolution. We are sorry to note that the C.C. Draft refuses to see these facts, facts of reality. The whole historic role of CPC in the present era, has been reduced into one single sentence that ***"CPC has rendered yeoman service to the world working class and communist movement in fighting against this menace of Modern Revisionism and in defence of Marxism".***

In the same breath, the C.C. Draft adds that "there have been certain dogmatic manifestations in individual parties and on individual propositions, precepts and actions", and that "there also exist certain dogmatic and left-sectarian trends in some parties on certain issues connected with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat" all this keeping in view CPC and other parties that agree with its line. But we firmly believe that CPC is acting as the beacon light of the world communist movement.

Peoples Democracy, Peoples War, completion of the Socialist revolution through the cutural revolution, an irreconcilable ideological battle against Modern Revisionism - this is the essence of the thought of Mao-Marxism-Leninsim of the present epoch, upheld by Marxist-Leninsts through- out the world. Marx and Engels developed their theories of scientific socialism in a period of growing industrial capitalism.

Lenin further developed Marxism-Leninism, while building socialism in a single country encircled by capitalist states and in his struggle for creating mass communist parties through-out the world. The thought of Mao is a further development of Marxism-Leninism applicable to the present era, when imperialism is fast disintegrating and the national liberation struggles have come to occupy a central place for the completion of the world socialist revolution.

Already, recent world history has amply proved that wherever the pelple have assimilated the experience of the Chinese revolution

and applied it to the concrete conditions of their countries, there the revolutionary movements have won complete victory, or have made significant advances. And, wherever the people have not assimilated the experience of Chinese revolution, there the revolutionary movements have failed to make any significant advance or even counter-revolutions have succeeded.

VIII. Consolidation of the international Communist movement

Consolidation of all Marxist-Leninsts throughout the world, is the urgent task facing the world communist movement to accomplish the tasks of the present epoch. There must be a common programme based on Marxism-Leninism for the general direction of the world communist movement in the present period. Such a Common programme alone will help in the consolidation of the international communist movement.

"A proposal concerning the general line of the International Communist Movement", proposed by the CPC lays the proper basis for such a common programme for the world communist movement. Fraternal relations based on proletarian internationalism must be restored between the various constituents of the world communist movement. These relations must be based on the principle of solidarity, principles of mutual support and mutual assistance, the principle of independence and equality and the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation.

It is the primary duty of the Communist party in each country to acquire an accurate knowledge of the trends of the different classes in its own country through serious . investigation and study and knowhow to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country, evolve its own programme and tactical line based on Marxism-Leninism, to achieve victory in its revolution.

When the political line of a particular party goes completely wrong, and when the party rejects the friendly criticism of brother parties, fraternal parties will have no other option, except open criticism. This has been the practice of past history.

Marxist-Leninists are evolving in struggle against Modern Revisionism. CPC, the leading detachment of the world Communist movement, with its rich experience of the revolutionary struggles, in

its discharge of international tasks, is offering criticism of the activities of certain parties to help them correct their mistakes.

It is highly regrettable that relations between our party and CPC have been greatly damaged recently. It is not true to say that the CPC first started publicy criticising our Party Programme and Political Line through its press and radio. We know that there were certain basic differences on our programme, between our Party and CPC, even at the time of our Calcutta Party Congress.

But it was unfortunate that these differences were not properly formulated and thoroughly discussed inside our party before the Party Programme was adopted at the Calcutta Congress. But CPC did not attack our Party till 1967, till "New situation and Party's Tasks" appeared. From 1964 to 1967, on many occasions, some of our leading comrades of the P.B. have been criticising CPC sometimes publicly, sometimes inside our Party, on many issues affecting us and the CPC.

The differences between our Party and CPC relating to the Indian situation should be patiently discussed, try to come to correct conclusions, and thus bridge the gulf between our Party and CPC. It is with this spirit, that we offer the following points for the consideration of the Party:

(1) Growing Comprador Nature of the Monopoly Capitalists in India: After 1958-59, the economic dependece of our country under the present Government is growing apace.

- Majority of our industries, both in the public and private sectors, especially the industries of the collaborating big bussiness are competely foreign oriented. They are dependent for their existence, on foreign imported machinery, spare parts, raw material, and technical know-how.

- Of late, establishment of joint industries, with foreign imperialist investments is becoming the predominant feature of our industries wherein the westren capitalists have come to dominate.

- Because of the growing economic crisis, the rapid decline of the purchasing capacity of the overwhelming majority of our population, we see a rapid shrinkage of internal market due to which the Indian big business is forced to try for external market in collaboration with foreign imperialists.

Because of the above reasons, the collaboratating big business, is acquiring a marked comprador nature depending more and more for maintaining its profits on imports and exports.

Instead of seeing this growing comprador nature of the big business, the C.C. Resolution and Differences with CPC, says that the comprador bourgeoisie occupies only a minor place in India, and that it is the "industrial bourgeoisie which, to-day has emerged as a powerful force holding the leading position in the new state and Government, and not the comprador element'.

While at the time of the Seventh Congress, our Party Programme spoke of 'contradictions and conflicts that do exist between the Indian bourgeoisie including the big bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism" and that these conflicts should be utilised for practical purposes, in "New situation and New Tasks" - the C.C. Resolution speaks of growing contradictions between big business and the imperialists.

It says "The economic and political crisis that is enveloping the country, no doubt sharpens the basic contradictions between the big bourgeois - landlord alliance and the rest of the democratic classes and masses. At the sametime the fissures, conflicts and contradictions between the big bourgeoisie and imperialists are not only not ruled out, but infact they do also grow and find expression." (Page 56)

We are not able to understand one point. When "the economic crisis deepens and the pressure of the imperialists increases the danger of greater and greater concessions to the imperialists by the big bourgeois-led government, allowing the foreign monopolists to make still bigger inroads into our economy and political life, becomes more serious" as the same resolution say, how do the conflicts and contradictions between the "collaborating big bourgeoisie and foreign imperialists" grow and find expression?

Experience has proved beyond any doubt that, however the Indian big business may try to utilise the inter-imperialist contradictions, however much try to counterpose Soviet aid to the Western aid, the Indian big business is rapidly going down on a inclined plane towards a more and more surrendering policy vis-a-vis the Western imperialists. Devaluation, liberalization of imports and exports policy in favour of the foreign imperialists, all go to show that the Indian Big business is acquiring more and more a comprador nature.

But the C.C. Resolutions are showing the industrial base to the Indian big bourgeoisie as a powerful factor in its resistance to imperialist pressure. What the C.C. forgets is that the big business in our country is big business of a colonial country. The big business in a colonial country, because of its close links with feudalism and its collaboration with foreign imperialists, cannot withstand foreign imperialist pressure unlike the industrial bourgeoisie of a developed capitalist country.

Forgetting this aspect, the C.C. in "New situation and Party's Tasks" says that "every concession and each step of surrender" should not be equated with "final surrender". But, do not continuous surrenders, after sometime, change the qualitative nature of surrenders ?

To sustain its wrong evaluation about the strength of the Indian big business to resist foreign imperialist pressures, the C.C. in "New situation and Party's Tasks" speaks of "big socialist investments, especially from the Soviet Union, the offer of still larger aid and the other trade and economic relations developed between the Soviet Union and the Indian big bourgeoisie" as "important factors to reckon with" and that " at least in the immediate future, may even acquire added vigour against increasing U.S pressures and "state of economic crisis".

We completely disagree with this evaluation of the role of Soviet aid in Indian economy. Experience has proved that Soviet aid is aid to a public sector, subservient to monopoly interests, subservient to foreign imperialist penetration. It is becoming an instrument to cover up the abject surrender of the collaborating Indian bourgeoisie. This is a departure from the understanding of the Programme.

The Programme says: ***Despite assistance of key importance from the socialist countries, despite the increase in trade with the Socialist countries, despite the fact that the Indian capital has grown in volume, the most glaring fact of our economic life is that the country's economy as a whole is in many respects precariously dependent on Western assistance and particularly U.S. assistance".*** (Page 26)

We feel that in the facts of the growing economic crisis of India, in the face of growing world capitalist crisis, in the face of the American pressures, the abject surrender of the collaborating big business is rapidly growing and the comprador nature of the collaborating big business is becoming the principal character.

(2) Formal Independence: The whole economic policy that the present congress Government has followed has resulted in the growing dependence of the Indian economy and the internal and external policies of the Indian Government on foreign imperialism especially U.S. imperialism.

Our Rupee is tied to the American dollar. Our imports and exports are dependent upon the wishes of the World Bank and the U.S. imperialists. Our Budget and Five-year plans are dependent upon loans from World Bank and U.S. imperialism. Our industries depend on foreign supplies of machinery,spare parts, raw materials and technical know-how. Our military hardware is dependent on foreign imperialist supplies. Our rationing is dependent upon food supplies from America. Because of this dependence and its dependence for more and more loans from U.S. imperialists, the surrender of the Indian Government is rapidly growing.

The same surrender we can see in the foreign policy of the Indian Government, as seen in its policy towards American aggression in Vietnam, in its opposition to national liberation struggles, in its stoppage of trade with Cuba and North Vietnam and in its pronounced anti-communist policies.

The so-called non-alignment policy of the Indian Government has become a big hoax and it is becoming a part of the global strategy of U.S. imperialism, an instrument to suppress national liberation struggles in the East and an instrument to build an anti-China axis in alliance with other reactionary powers subservient to U.S. imperialism.

In this connection we want to remind our C.C. that there was large opposition to characterising the foreign policy of the Indian Government "to be within the broad frame work of non-alignment and opposition to world War", in our programme adopted at the Seventh Congress.

Sometimes the Indian Government appears to take independent positions different from that of America. Such efforts are becoming more and more to cover up its surrender to U.S. imperialism, as in the Middle East Crisis to keep up its image of independence, to deceive the Indian and world people, and thus better serve the U.S. imperialists. Surrender to U.S. imperialism is becoming more and more real, while independence of the country is getting more and more formal.

The C.C. Resolutions issued from time to time say that the revolutionary movement is weak, that the rule of this government is not threatened and as such the Indian big business has no need to surrender to U.S. imperialism.

This is a very superficial view of things. The growing economic crisis, the crises of the ruling party, the growing discontent of the masses, the growing world capitalist crisis, the growing crisis of the U.S. imperialism in particular, and resultant U.S. pressures, are acting as real causes for the growing surrender of the Indian Government to U.S. imperialism.

(3) Breaking Monopoly of power of the Congress : Our Party Programme has given the tactical slogan of participating in provincial ministries,***"to bring into existence governments pledged to carry out a modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people".***

The party programme visualised such non-Congress Governments at the provincial level as governments ***"which give immediate relief to the people and thus strengthen the mass movement".***

Now in ***"New situation and Party's Tasks" the C.C. describes the coming into existence of a number of non- Congress Governments as "breaking of the Congress monopoly of power at the hands of several opposition parties."***

This is really a very astounding statement. Parliament, central cabinet, provincial assemblies and ministries, presidents and the Central nominated Governors, the administration, the military, police, jail and judiciary, are all part and parcel of the brougeois-landlord constitution pledged to the preservation of the bourgeois-landlord system of exploitation.

From our experience, we know that the provincial assemblies and the provincial ministries have no real power to effect any basic change effecting the life of our people. Every Act and Bill is to be assented by the President who is the nominee of the Congress. And today the bourgeois-landlord constitution is still administered by the Congress Central Cabinet.

While such is the case, how the non-congress provincial governments, with no real power to effect any basic change, which are directly under the thumb of Congress nominated Governors, which

are part and parcel of the bourgeois-landlord constitution under the Congress rule is beyond our comprehension. Is it not against the teachings of Lenin who said that bourgeois parliaments are mere talking shops,are brothel houses where fraternity, equality, and brother-hood are cheaply sold?

Nay, the formation of the non-congress Government is almost raised to the level of dual power in the country.

Look at the following evaluation in ***"New situation and Party's Tasks". "If it is a question of some sort of 'truce' that is being proposed between the central Government and the non-Congress governments, one can understand it and decide one's attitude to it. It is so because the ruling party in power at the centre has ceased to be that strong, powerful and holding monopoly sway as to frontally and immediately challenge the opposition parties and their non-Congress Governments in eight states the opposition parties, too, have not acquired the requisite strength and necessary mass sanctions to frontally and immediately challenge the authority of the Central Government. Both mark time, avoid head-on conflicts for the present, and move cautiously and with circumspection in formulating and practising the respective Governmental policies."*** (Page 65)

How many atrocious statements in one sentence? We are supposed to believe that the non-Congress Governments- the DMK in Madras, the Swatantra in Orissa, the Janasangh dominated Government in U.P., the landlord Government in Haryana or the Kerala and Bengal Governments where we are supposed to be playing the key role are acquiring the 'requisite strength' to 'frontally challenge the central authority.

It appears that the two warring camps the Congress Central Government and the opposition non-Congress Governments at provincial level, are marking time and are in a period of truce.

Does not this mean that half of the country is under a form of dual power one at the Centre and another at the provincial level?

(4) Centre-State Relations: After the general elections, with the establishment of the Congress Government at the Centre and the formation of non-Congress Governments in a number of states, it is true that the conflicts between the centre and the states on various

issues have increased. We have to utilise these conflicts in the development of the democratic movement. But in "New situation and Party's Tasks" the C.C. tries to exaggerate these conflicts between the centre and the states.

"New situation and Party's Tasks" says: "The struggle these non-Congress Governments will have to carry on in defence of states' autonomy and the right of the people belonging to different nationalities is essentially democratic and progressive in content and will go a long way in influencing and strenghening the wider democratic movement with its ultimate object of replacing the big bourgeois-landlord set up by a Peoples's Democratic order. It would be a grievous mistake to underrate it". (Page 40)

It further says: ***"The second important manifestation of the developing political crisis, which has come to the front with the election results, is what is now-a-days frequently and commonly talked of as centre-state relations".*** (Page 47).

If further says "In other words, the crisis that has gripped the capitalist path of development in India has now projected itself into the political super-structure, namely the Federal structure of the Indian Union. A stage is reached when the struggle from the economic sphere has passed into the political sphere". (Page 49).

The meaning of these statements is too clear. It tries to portray that the whole present political crisis is being reflected in the Centre-state relations. Such an over-emphasis of the Centre-state conflicts will only divert us from developing the struggles of the basic masses basing ourselves on the economic and political crisis.

(5) The role of Kerala and Bengal United Front Governments in the Present Day Situation: We joined these united front governments when the people voted down the Congress and voted for anti-Congress coalition. Judged by the results, we have to make a painful reappraisal of the correctness of joining such Governments in coalition with parties with a definetly reactionary class character, in spite of the popular verdict of the masses against the Congress.

Even if we joined such Governments we should have no illusions of affecting any real basic change in the prsent structure. As Communists, our work in the ministrties while trying to give some immediate relief to the extent possible, should help the masses to see

through the complete ineffectiveness of those Assemblies and Ministries, raise their consciousness and thus prepare them for an irreconcilable battle for the over-throw of the bourgeois-landlord system.

Have these two Governments been 'instruments' of struggle to mobilise the people on an All-India scale for an assault on the bourgeois-landlord government on the basis of an alternative programme? To say the least, the experience of the past 10 months has proved that the achievements, their work, and their programme have not been able to make any appreciable impact on the All-India situation to mobilise the people on the basis of an alternative programme, even to the extent we could make with the Kerala Government in 1957. Even in the concerned provinces, we have so far failed to place an alternative programme on the floor of the Assemblies, differentiating our Party from all other parties.

Any attempt on our part to bring forth basic alternative programme on any basic issue would have really shown the reactionary nature of our coalition partners, but we are afraid to bring forth any such programme because the hodge-podge coalitions would have broken to pieces considering the reactionary elements with whom we are sailing today.

Not only that. We have so far failed to unleash any big mass struggle on any basic issue. Our whole work in these ministries is overwhelmed by agitation on food. And even on the food issue, while there has been some attempt at internal procurement from the richer sections, our struggle against rising prices, and black market has been at a very low ebb.

On the other hand, the whole campaign of the party has been not to mobilise the people agianst the food policies of the Central Government, against hoarding and black market, but to convince the people that we are not responsible for the existing distress of the masses, but the central Congress Government.

Instead of rousing the masses for struggle against the food policies of the Central Government, the hoarder and black-marketeers, we give some calls, just stop them the moment a petty vague promise of a few bags of rice from the centre is made. The pity is we ourselves have begun to participate in hunger strikes, even at the gates of Indira Gandhi-

which have only helped to divert the attention of the masses from the real struggle.

We cannot hide the fact that the distress of the masses is growing, the dissatisfaction of the masses is growing, and we see the repressive machinery of the Government and the police is being used against the struggling people in spite of our wishes and opposition.

Of course, our comrades in Bengal did try to make a demarcating line to some extent from the other parties and made some advances in the form of the gherao agitation of the workers, distribution of the banjar lands, taking over the management of the British Tramway Company unlike our admitted failure in Kerala.

But taking the growing crisis, the growing distress, and the possibilities into account, our achievements fall short of the expectations of and hopes raised with the formation of the ministries.

Not only that. In Andhra, in the wake of the Telengana struggle, even though we were in the opposition, we could then mobilise the masses on many political and economic issues issues like linguistic province, Nagarjunasagar project, banjar lands - could take them to the level of political struggle and force the government to bow before the will of the people.

But, because our Party had no clear cut perspective of the path of the struggle and failed to reorientate our work to reach that perspective, the invasion of revisionism in the subsequent period could destroy many of those achievements and we lost our bearings and we are still struggling to regain the lost initiative.

We only wish that this experience should not repeat itself again in Kerala and Bengal, which are our strongest bases today. Today the Party as a whole is lacking a clear-cut perspective of the path of our revolution towards which all our struggles must be directed.

We feel that, instead of our Governments being used to unleash big mass struggles, mass agitations are being subordinated to the existence and continuation of the ministries. We doubt the sagacity of our continuance in the ministry after the dastardly plan of October 2nd conspired by Ajoy Mukherjee and his open denouncement accusing us as welcoming Chinese invasion, and our own inability to force the ministries to take drastic steps and bring the much needed relief to the suffering masses.

In this connection we must remember the intensity of the peoples struggles, the continuity of the struggles, their spread from province to province, drawing every class affected by the policies of the government, leading to open confrontation with the Government forces, leading to bloody clashes, on the crest of which a verdict against the Congress could be obtained at the subsequent polls.

To-day, the crisis is deeper, the distress of the masses is deeper and wider, and the popular forces including our party are in more advantageous position both in the Assemblies, provincial ministries and Parliament. But the mass struggles that have unfolded in the post-election period are nothing in comparison with the pre-election battles.

Has the participation of the left forces in the so-called united front governments in partnership with known reactionary forces and the revisionists been a fillip to the mass struggles against the bourgeois-landlord government?

How true was Lenin when he said: ***"The experience of alliances, agreements and blocks with the social reform liberals in the West and liberal reformists(cadets) in the Russian Revolution, has convincingly shown that these agreements only blunt the consciousness of the masses, that they do not enhance but weaken the actual significance of their struggle by linking fighters with elements who are least capable of fighting and most vacillating and treacherous. Millarandism in France-the biggest experiment in applying revisionist politics has provided a tactics on a wide, really national scale practical appraisal of revisionism that will never be forgotten by the proletariat all over the world".*** **(Lenin - Against Revisionism, Page 116).**

We feel, the Party has to seriously think whether our work in the united front ministries together with bourgeois sections and revisionists has not resulted in blunting the edge of the peoples' struggles agianst the policies of the bourgeois- landlord government.

(6) Path of our Revolution: We are not only failing to unleash mass struggles on an extensive scale in the present period, we feel also, that the party is working without a clear- cut perspective of the path of the Indian revolution.

We feel that the rich experience of the Chinese revolution and the recent experience of the liberation struggles in the backward

countries have shown that peoples war, prolonged agrarian armed revolution is the only path left open to all the backward countries for social emancipation. We feel that the path of peoples war, taking our own particular objective conditions in our country into consideration, is the only path of our revolution.

The terraian of our country, the geographical conditions of our country, the areas suited to such forms of struggle, should be properly studied and selected, the whole party should be educated and reoriented to such forms of struggles.

The mass struggles of the basic agrarian classes should be conducted in various parts of the country, which will finally lead to the path of peoples war. But we feel at present, our Party has not paid any thought to this question.

Various C.C. documents and recent B.T.R's articles on Naxalbari reveal a quite different perspective of the path of our revolution. These documents and articles are counter- posing, winning the majority of the people, building strong mass organisations, building a strong, well-organised revolutionary party to the tactics of armed struggles in those areas, where the course of struggle and the repression let loose by the reactionary forces being it on the agenda for the further advance of the struggle.

The question is often posed in our press and resolutions, as between those of armed-struggle-wallas, the ultra-revolutionaries, and those who want to mobilise the majority of the people behind the party before thinking of any armed struggle.

We categorically say, that in all backward countries, winning the majority of the people, buildigng mass organisations and party building is closely linked with the armed struggle. Of course, we do not mean to say that such a struggle could be started tomorrow. The whole point is, the party has no perspective of this and no conscious preparation towards this direction political, organisational, ideological- is being under-taken.

Now, due to Naxalbari and Chinese criticism, the C.C. says that it stands by the 1951 tactical line. Having sat tight over that line for the last 15 years, without any thorough discussion on the point at any level of our party till this time, the C.C.'s statement on this question merely surprises us.

So far, we have no perspective of peoples war. The whole perspective expounded in the hitherto C.C. documents is long legal and illegal work, parliamentary work coupled with mass agitation and mass struggles to a limited extent, and endlessly remain waiting for an insurrection taking place in our industrial centres, which will thence lead to the socio- political emancipation of the country. Repeated assertions about winning the people, building the mass organisations, building in party unrelated to armed resistance - gives us this impression and nothing else.

Is such a perspective possible in a backward country like India,even with its marked industrial growth compared with other backward countries? Certainly not. On the other hand if we wait for such a development to take place, we will only be faced suddenly, with the fate of the Indonesian Communist party.

As we have said earlier, the C.C. does not have the perspective of a prolonged armed struggle as the strategic weapon of the Indian revolution. On the other hand, the C.C. is holding out that the fate of our Party and the course of the struggle will decisively depend on our work in the Kerala and Bengal united front governments.

"New situation and Party's Tasks" says: "Hence it is imperative that our party realises that its immediate future, in no small way depends on how it plays its worthy part in running the two state Governments of Kerala and West Bengal". (Page 67)

It further says: ***"Since the fortunes of the entire party, at the present stage of development, are closely linked with the successful running of these ministries and the role our Party plays in them, the whole Party throughout the country will have to be mobilised to back the agreed programmes of these two non-Congress ministries and see that they are earnestly implemented".*** (Page 67.)

And what is the aim of this successful running of these ministries? **"It is this struggle of the democratic parties and groups in different legislatures and among the people, in parliament and in states with non-Congress democratic governments that alone can pave the way for consolidating and widening the unity achieved by the democratic forces and open the prospects, of realising the slogan of a non-Congress democratic government at the centre".** (Page 79)

All the above preachings give one meaning and only one i.e., not the mass struggles of the basic agrarian masses, a prolonged armed struggle leading for a change of government at the centre, but Parliamentary struggles, especially, successful work of the non-Congress governments, is the key to the establishment of a non-Congress democratic government at the centre.

What a wishful thinking! U.F. governments of Bengal and Kerala leading to the establishment of a non-Congress democratic governments at the centre! What will the Indian army in the hands of the Central Government, in the hands of the bourgeois-landlord government be doing? Sitting with folded hands, silently looking at this melodrama of basic change of government at the centre?

Successful running of the Bengal and Kerala U.F. governments have come to occupy such a central place in the programme of the whole party, that the C.C. resolutions describes these two as instruments of struggle in the hands of the people. Nay, recently Com. E.M.S. as reported in the press has said "that they are instruments of future revolution"!

Lenin gave the general strike as a strategic weapon of the proletariat to achieve its socialist revolution in the industrially developed countries. Mao gave peoples war as a strategic weapon of the peoples of the backward countries, to achieve their social and political emancipation. Our C.C. is offering its creative contribution - the U.F. governments of Kerala and Bengal as strategic weapons for the social and political emancipation of the Indian masses!

Look at the following sentences in ***"New situation and Party's Tasks" "In clear class terms, our party's participation in such governments is one specific form of struggle to win more and more people and more and more allies for the proletariat and its allies in the struggle for the cause of Peoples Democracy and at a later stage for socialism".*** (Page 70).

U.F. governments of Bengal and Kerala leading to Peoples Democracy and Socialism - could anything beat this?

(7) Self-Determination : Our Party has not yet found time to decide its attitude to self-determination for the various nationalities inhabiting this country. At the party congress in 1964, the Party leadership promised to study this problem and soon take decision on the matter.

Meanwhile, Kashmir, Mizo, Naga, Sikkim, Bhutan- language issue and various border conflicts between states, all cry for immediate solution. The party has no definite line on these questions, basing on self-determination. Events are passing over our heads without our effective intervention. But it appears that the C.C. is yet to "take immédiate steps to see that our Party studies the problem, formulates the question, takes intiative in the matter" in the situation effectively.

Three years are not sufficient for the C.C. to decide its attitude on this question! But in the meantime, due to the compulsions of the international situation, CPC decides in favour of self-determination for Kashmir, a state lying on its next door, and we find fault with it for the same. We don't decide our own attitude, and we don't want others also to take a definite stand!

(8) United front with the Revisionists: We broke from the Dange revisionists clique when we found them acting as lackeys of the Indian bourgeoisie within the Indian Communist Movement. The Seventh Congress of our party at Calcutta was the beginning of the break with revisionism of Dange and Co. But we are alarmed at the developments that are taking place in the post-election period. There is no use now to compare our Calcutta programme, or our practice of the pre-election period with the Bombay programme or the pre-election practice of the revisionists. The Bombay Programme of the revisionists is dead and gone, and none could resurrect it.

During the election period itself, and after the elections. the Dange revisionists have completely changed their programmatic slogans and their practical line of action. From their press, it is quite clear now, that the revisionists characterise this government as a government dominated by big business-landlords that this is an independent government, increasingly subject to American pressures, the independence being threatened by U.S. imperialism that the non-Congress governments are democratic and are instruments of struggle for national democracy.

On all these points, on Naxalbari and on the question of unity of action in Vietnam our line is almost in line with and are united with that of the revisionists, and governments of Kerala and Bengal.

Thus we see the demarcating line between us and the revisionists getting blurred. Are not these tactics of united front with the revisionists

helping them to reinstate themselves in the eyes of the public? Any how we feel that the battle against the revisionist theories and practices and unity with them in class organisations or on agitational issues are policies which are to be carefully selected and implemented.

Before the elections, the revisionists were rapidly getting isolated from the masses and were being more and more exposed as agents of the ruling Congress Party. But unity with the revisionists in the ministries is harming the cause of exposing them as the agents of the bourgeoisie among the working class and helping the revisionists to get out of their isolation. We must make a distinction between the issue on which we have to give an irreconcilable battle against the revisionists and the issues on which we could unite with them to our own advantage. This is all the more necessary when the revisionists are not yet completely exposed among the people as the agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement and when the demarcation between the revisionists and our Party is not yet complete before the public eye.

Instead of this, "New Situation and Party's Tasks" makes the sweeping statement, "our party, while ready to have unity. of action with the right communist party on all issues affecting our people, in all mass and class organisations, in the functioning of the non-Congress democratic state Governments, and in its work in the different Legislatures and Parliament, will have to conduct a principled and uncompromising struggle against revisionism and all its manifestations in our country."

Shorn of all verbiage, this is nothing but paper struggle against revisionism and united front with them in practice, which works only to the advantage of the revisionists.

It is not correct to say that "there is not one single basic question connected with the Indian revolution on which we and the revisionists do not diametrically oppose each other as the C.C. Draft claims. This is not the truth. On the other hand we have begun to move closer to them

We think that the CPC is essentially correct on all these points and it has discharged its international duty in pointing out how the Party is slipping into wrong channels. We should not be carried away by the strong language used. We must take the essence of the criticism

and self-criticially examine our Programme and the present political line of the Party.

Of course, while fighting against revisionism, we should guard ourselves against left mistakes. But the C.C. Draft has almost posed it as the immediate danger threatening the whole party. Not only that. Comrades who differ from this document are being looked with suspicion and a tendency is growing inside the Party to pounce on such comrades even for trivial matters, with disciplinary actions.

We must face the naked fact, that there was no complete ideological and political unity inside the Party when our Party was formed. There were sharp differences even at that period. They were being expressed on various occasions in the subsequent period also. Now they have taken a serious turn. The C. C. must conduct a patient and dispassionate discussion on all the fundamental issues concerning our programme and tactical line and present policy. This is the only course to unite the Party politically and ideologically- and take the movement forward.

Instead of adopting such a course, our C.C. assuming that there is already 'bed-rock ideological-political unity' inside the party, is trying to settle political unity', differences inside the party through organisational methods without patient discussions at various levels to achieve maximum unity.

We must recognise the fact that the issue of differences inside our Party, the depth of the betrayal of the CPSU leadership, the class roots of revisionism inside the Soviet Union, the class nature of Soviet revisionism, acting as the agency of imperialism inside the socialist camp and the International Communist Movement, the dire necessity of an irreconcilable battle against Modern Revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership, the leading role of CPSU in the International Communist Movement at the present time, the thought of Mao as Marxism-Leninism of the present epoch, the method of peoples war as the only weapon in the hands of the people of the backward countries to achieve their emancipation- are issues that are being debated internationally and that this debate is going to continue for a long time to come.

When such is the position, for the C.C. to settle these issues through organisational methods, will only fan up discontent in the ranks

and will only lead to further disruption of our Party. Such methods have already resulted in disruption in Naxalbari and U.P., which have only gladdened the hearts of the revisionists.

The Indian Government is going more and more into the grip of American imperialism and the revisionist leadership of CPSU. It is the CPC and PRC that are in the fore- front of the struggle against U.S. imperialism and Modern Revisionism represented by the CPSU leadership.

Our party must be an active partner in this powerful current against U.S. imperialism and Modern Revisionism. We feel that the C.C. Draft, instead of helping this current, will only take away our Party from the powerful current of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Modern Revisionism and lead the party eventually to united front with Modern Revisionism represented by the CPSU ledership, thus doing irreparable damage to our own cause and the cause of the International Communist Movement.

It is pertinent to remember at this time, that some of our C.C. leaders have been propagating the view that it was a ***"welcome attempt and a great contribution by the leaders of the CPSU at its 20th Congress to reassess the mighty forces for peace and against War"*** (A contribution to Ideological Debate-Page 33) and that" while not for a moment forgetting the responsibility in this regard of other communist parties, particularly parties like that of China, **WE RIGHTLY EXPECT THE LEAD FROM THE GREAT CPSU, WHICH ALONE CAN PLAY A DECISIVE ROLE IN THE REUNIFICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT** to discharge its tasks". (Page 9, Ibid)

We are sorry to note that the C.C. Draft has not yet completely broken from this understanding. We feel the ways and the forms that the C.C. has adopted to conduct the discussions on the international ideological issues are entirely wrong.

Having given a draft to the Party members for discussion the C.C. has released the Draft to the press. Before the Party members could discuss and give the final shape to the Draft, the C.C. has declared that the Draft would be the official line of the party even during the period of discussion.

Calcutta party Congress had enjoined the C.C. to conduct dispassionate discussions on the international ideological issues. We feel the C.C. has taken these decisions contrary to the mandate of the Party Congress.

To add to this, our Provincial Committe, by a majority vote, has asked the right to place an alternative document to the C.C. Draft for the discussions of the Party members. But the C.C. has refused this request. The C.C. has refused to place the alternative documents sent to the C.C. with the specious argument that there is no requisite strength for the alternative document inside the C.C. to allow for such a procedure.

Even the request of our P.C. to allow comrades with dual membership to explain their view in both the Committees has been refused by the C.C. With such decisions, we feel the C.C. has tried to restrict the freedom of the Party comrades to freely discuss the Draft and we feel that all these decisions are entirely wrong.

Taking all these developments into consideration, the issues concerning the international debate, Party programme, our tactical line, the differences between our party and CPC, should be thoroughly discussed at all levels inside the Party; alternative documents of the different comrades should be placed before the party members for discussion. Our plenum wants the C.C. plenum to take steps to call the Party Congress as soon as possible to take final decisions on all the above issues.

This plenum strongly feels that only by such broad-based discussion dispassionately conducted and the calling of the Party Congress to take final decisions, full unity of the Party ideological, political, organisational could be restored inside the Party and thus take the movement forward.

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Chinese Communist Party's Struggle against Left and Right Deviations - Mao's Lessons - Relevance to India

Under the leadership of com. Mao, Communist Party of China fought against the left & right deviations which raised their heads in the Party. This relentless struggle was conducted based on Marxism-Leninism. Only by conducting struggle against these trends could the Communist Party of China make success the Chinese revolution and build socialist society.

In China, during the 1927 bourgeois revolution, the rightist Chen Tu Shi leadership came forward with the arguments that the bourgeois democratic revolution was already completed in China, that the bourgeoisie achieved administrative stability and capitalism has attained prominent role in Chinese social set-up and is on the path of peaceful development, and therefore, all struggles for socialist revolution should be postponed. They argued that legal agitational programme should be taken up for convening of the National Congress. They depicted the Red Army movement as a rebellion of roving bands.

With the formation of anti-Japanese united front in 1937, the right trend again cropped up. The Communist Party of China and the Kuomingtang Party formed an anti-Japanese united front, the rightists did not recognise the need to fight against the vacillations of the bourgeoise while safe-gaurding the united front and implementing the programme of anti-Japanese united front.

The defeat of the 1927 bourgeois revolution gave rise to left deviation in the Communist Party of China. This left deviation stemmed from the frustration with the line pursued by the rightists and the state repression. In the latter half of 1929, left deviation raised its head once again. This trend is the Li Li San line. For the third time, left deviation cropped up between 1931 and 1935. Led by comrade Mao, the Communist Party of China could defeat the right and left deviations.

Com. Mao has deeply analysed the right and left deviations in the Communist Party of China in his pamphlet "The present situation-

our study" with special reference to the left deviation in the Communist Party of China. He analysed the mistakes committed in the military, political and ideological aspect due to this left deviation. He analysed the social circumstances which gave rise to this left deviation and formulated tactics to combat it.

We, the Communist Revolutionaries fought against revisionsm and neo revisionism, separated ourselves from them and embarked upon the path of armed struggle. We took to people's war path based on Marxism- Leninism, Mao Zedong thought. At that time, the Charu group's adventurist politics caused immense damage to the path of people's war in India. The Communist Revolutionaries have to wage a serious ideological and political struggle against Charu Marumdar group's adventurist political line. The social base of their left adventurism has to be analysed and correct organisational methods to combat this should be adopted. In this respect, com. Mao's analysis of the left deviation in the Communist Party of China will be immensely useful for us.

Therefore, we are reproducing here briefly, the analysis of Mao on the left deviation in his pamphlet "Our study and observation".

The left deviation which raised its head in the Communist Party made severe mistakes in the political, military, and ideological aspects. Let us study them one by one.

1. Mistakes in Political aspects

Mao had made the following formulations in main, on the then political situation in China. China is a vast semi colonial, semi feudal country. The Chinese Revolution was taking place at a time when the socialist revolution in Russia, under the leadership of working class had been successful in the post-First World War period and when the Chinese working class have become politically conscious and have come into the battle field. Therefore, this revolution will be an anti feudal, anti imperialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. That is, the Chinese revolution will be a New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the working class.

In China, different imperialist countries have joined hands with the local big bourgeois, big landlord classes to create their areas of influence and exploit. Therefore the development of China, economically and politically, will be uneven and so, the New

Democratic Revolution in China will develop unevenly, necessitating a protracted struggle to achieve New Democracy.

The contradictions between different imperialist countries were reflected as the contradictions between different groups of China's ruling classes. Utilising these contradictions among the ruling classes, armed revolutionary bases can be built in the China's rural areas.

These correct formulations of comrade Mao were rejected by both the right and left deviationists. Especially the left deviationists opposed these correct formulations of comrade Mao

Comrade Mao made these principal formulations regarding Chinese Revolution. China's New Democratic Revolution is an anti imperialist, anti feudal revolution. The main content of this revolution is the struggle for land.

So the Chinese New Democratic Revolution is the Agrarian Revolution led by the working class. Only after clinching the New Democratic Revolution can China achieve socialist revolution.

After the failure of the revolution in urban areas, the importance of the Armed Agrarian Revolution in the rural areas increased. But without the leadership of the working class, this Armed Agrarian Revolution is bound to fail. Inspite of the treachery of the big bourgeoisie to revolution, we should differentiate the liberal bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie. Some sections of the bourgeoisie will have anti imperialist character and non-partisan groups which do not join hands with any imperialist should be won-over as an ally of the revolution, or be made neutral. Likewise, efforts should be made to win over the middle and rich peasants in the rural areas to the revolution.

But the left adventurists have rejected these correct formulations of Mao on Chinese Revolution. They have committed mistakes on several counts. On the political plane, the left deviationists made three mistakes.

Mistakes about the tasks of New Democratic Revolution and the Socialist revolution

The leftists have correctly pointed out some tasks of democratic nature but failed to distinguish between the tasks of the New Democratic Revolution and the socialist revolution. They set out to take up some tasks to be fulfilled in the socialist revolution during the New

Democratic Revolution itself. They have under-estimated the decisive role of the anti feudal struggle of the peasantry in the New Democratic Revolution. They gave a call to fight against all sections of the bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the petty bougeoisie, in the stage of the New Democratic Revolution.

They equated the struggle against the bourgeoisie with the anti feudal, anti imperialist struggle. They refused to acknowledge the existence of a centrist group. They mainly over-stressed the need to fight against the rich peasantry.

They refused to see the major change that came in the class relations in the Chinese society owing to the Japanese imperialist aggression on China on September 18, 1931. Without making any attempts to strike friendship with the centrist group on the issue of resisting the Japanese aggression, they described this group as a very dangerous enemy.

At the same time the left adventurists have brought forward some tasks correctly. They said that Party should lead the peasant's struggle for land; that people's power should be established at different levels; that the Kuomingtang government's onslaught should be met with armed resistance. Inspite of identifying these correct tasks, due to their left deviation, they failed to see the Red Army movement and a peasant movement under the leadership of the working class.

They wrongly named the movement of the Red Army as 'Peasant capitalism, and 'the path of the rich peasants' and flayed it. They set out to achieve the tasks beyond the stage of New Democratic Revolution. They set out to remove the rich peasants completely from the national economy and to dislodge all sorts of exploiters from positions of political power. They adopted a parochial attitude towards the intellectuals. They said that only regular soliders from the enemy's army should be inducted into Red Army but not their officers. They were rash and hasty in eradicating the counter revolutionaries. Due to this line pursued by the left adventurists, the revolutionary forces were distanced from the people and the Red Army movement suffered severe setbacks. Due to the left line, the people's movements led by Party in the areas under Kuomingtang government's control also suffered setbacks. The programme to bring all the anti-imperialist big bourgeois, big landlord, middle classes and centrist groups into an anti-Japanese front has met with failure.

2. On Guerilla warfare & revolutionary bases

The left adventurists rejected the Agrarian Revolutionary war and the building of revolutionary bases. But Mao's analysis of the Chinese society is as follows;

China is a semi feudal, semi colonial country. It is a vast country and a country with uneven economic and political development. It is divided into various areas of influence of different imperialist countries. and the contradictions between different imperialists have created divisions among the Chinese ruling classes. This resulted in the frequent wars The country's economy is modelled on the economic self sufficiency of the villages. China is an agricultural country. There isn't even nominal democracy in the country.

In a country with such characteristics, armed struggle will be the main form of struggle. The main organisational form of this struggle will be the Red army comsisting of the peasantry.

The revolutionary bases established in the rural areas by utilising contradictions among the ruling classes and the economic self sufficiency of villages, will serve as inspiring models for nationwide revolution.

The revolutionary bases will be established by first liberating the rural areas. Ultimately urban areas will be liberated. In the areas of Kuomingtang rule, by utilising the legal opportunities, the Party should penetrate into the masses through underground activities. Movements should be built up on all issues and the programme of mobilising our forces in Kuomingtang controlled towns also should be taken up.

Till the time the revolutionary forces are strong enough to launch an attack on the towns from the rural areas, people in towns should be mobilised and organised through underground activities. Till then we should be in a defensive stage in the towns. Till the time the revolutionary forces are strong enough to launch attack on the towns, we should pay more attention to rural areas.

These correct formulations of Mao were rejected by the left adventurists. They under-estimated the role of peasant guerillas. They did not recognise the need to build revolutionary bases. They called it 'Peasant's bigoted theory' and rejected it. They said that the working class should seize power in one or more states mainly through urban armed insurrection of workers, and then go on to complete the revolution nation-wide.

Consequently, the movement led by the Party in the urban areas as well as rural areas suffered severe setbacks due to this left adventurist line.

As result of the setbacks in urban areas, they shifted their bases to the rural areas. Inspite of the failure of their line, they did not rectify their adventurist programme. They rejected the principles of guerilla struggle utilised by the Red Army and the principles of mobile warfare and implemented the principles of regular warfare in their place. By then, the Red Army has gained some practice in guerilla warfare and tactics.

The left adventurists opposed guerilla warfare and stressed more on the methods of positional warfare. Without taking into consideration the strength of the enemy and that of the revolutionary forces, and without taking care of conservation of the human and material resources of Red Army into consideration, they went for a head-on confrontation and decisive battles. As a result the Red Army suffered severe losses in rural areas.

3. On tactics of offense and defence

Com. Mao made the following correct formulations on the issues of offence and defence.

The question of offence or defence should be decided based on proper assessment of national situation. On the national level, the revolutionary forces are weak. After the failure of the revolution in 1927, the advance of the revolutionary forces lost momentum. In such a situation, adventurist tactics will further harm the movement. On the national level, the ememy's forces are strong and the revolutionary forces weak. Therefore revolutionary bases should be created in the rural areas and the revolutionary movement throughout the country should be advanced.

Basing himself on these assessments, Com. Mao formulated the following tactics of offence and defence.

When the contradictions between the ruling classes become acute and situation becomes unstable, we should advance. We should adopt tactics for the offensive on the enemy. When the ruling classes achieve stability we have to adopt defensive tactics to withstand the enemy's assault. Taking into consideration the impact of revolution on different sections of enemy classes, we have to pursue different tactics towards

different sections of enemy camp. We have to utilise the contradictions among the enemy classes, reduce the enemy camp as far as possible, divide the enemy, and strike. The majority should be won over to our side. In the areas of Kuomingtang rule, especially in cities, we have to keep in consideration the enemy's strength and adopt defensive tactics.

In the areas of Kuomingtang rule, people should be mobilised through legal activities. Our forces should be concentrated through building the undergound party organisation. No adventurist struggles or decisive battles should be launched till the situation throughout the country is favourable to the revolutionary forces. The people's movement should be carried forward by taking up the problems in each area and giving slogans and struggle forms relevant to the level of people's consciousness in that particular area. If the people of a particular area come forward into struggle on an issue, we have to decide, taking into consideration the consciousness of the people in that area, and the national situation, whether to take the struggle to a higher level or keep it in low-key.

The left adventurists have failed to assess the post-1927 Revolutionary political situation correctly. They failed to assess the strength of the enemy and that of the revolutionary forces. They failed to see the contradictions among the ruling classes. They over-estimated the strength of the revolutionary forces and under-estimated that of the enemy forces and resorted to attacks on the enemy.

They took recourse to offensive when the situation necesstiated defence, and defensive tactics when offensive was required. They went to the extent of assessing the whole situation basing on only one aspect of the whole.

They failed to see the difference between various regions and the uneven development throughout the country and consequently called for uniform tactics throughout the country. They utilised same tactics for both border and central areas of the revoulutionary bases without making a distinction between them. Likewise, they failed to distinguish the rural areas from the towns and took to adventurist activities in towns. They failed to make a distinction between Liberated Areas and Kuomingtang areas and adopted similar tactics in both the areas.

Especially in the towns where the enemy was strong, instead of adopting defensive tactics they gave calls for struggle at inopportune

times when victory was impossible They started to build mass organisations not based on the people. It had been common to give calls for struggles-political strikes, general strikes, students' strikes, traders' strikes, police strikes, processions and even for armed struggle in which people would not participate. Such wrong tactics led to setbacks to the movement in urban as well as rural areas.

2. Mistakes in Military Aspects

Comrade Mao said that the political struggle in China takes the form of armed combat. He formulated a military line which was in consonance with the political line of the party. This military line is based on two principles.

The Red Army should be guided by proletarian ideology. It should contribute to the growth of people's movement and establishment of the revolutionary bases.

Depending upon the people, taking into consideration the enemy's strength and the weaknesses of the revolutionary movement and utilising the divisions in the enemies, the Red Army should protect itself from the enemy's onslaughts and develop.

To implement the first principle, the Red Army should implement the Party's programme. It should reject the pure military attitude and also the roving rebel bands theory.

The Red Army has to fulfill three main tasks-waging military war, continuing people's programmes, and collection of funds for War.

The Red Army should work as an agitator among the people on behalf of the party. It shoud strive to establish people's political power. It should assist the people's struggle for land. It should assist in the efforts to mobilise people's armed strength, to establish political power and to establish party organisations. It should respect organs of people's political power and mass organisations and raise their stature. It should maintain strict discipline and implement democracy to certain extent in the Red Army. Proper relationship should be maintained between the officers and the soldiers. Continuous efforts should be made to win over the enemy armies our side.

To implement the second aspect principles of protracted war should be adopted. The main forms of struggle should be guerilla and

mobile warfare. The main contingents for the Red Army should fight jointly with the local armed units. The local armed units should join with the people and fight.

Small skirmishes which continue for a long time or major battles with decisive results should not be the Red Army's principle. On the contrary,Red Army should wage small battles which yield quick results and the protracted struggles for decisive struggles. The military tactic of splitting a part of enemy's army and concentrating large numbers of Red Army and annihilating it should be followed.

Red Army should follow the following guerilla tactics.

- While attacking the enemy our forces should be centralised; while propagating among people our forces should be decentralised.
- When the enemy advances, Red Army should retreat,
- When the enemy rests, Red Army should harass,
- When the enemy is tired, Red Army should attack, -When the enemy retreats, Red Army should pursue.

But the left adventurists rejected these principles. In the first two stages when left adventurism raised its head, they did not have a clear cut military strategy. For the third time they formulated clearly some military tactics.

They confined the Red Army to the task of fighting only. They failed to establish proper relations between the soldiers and officers, the government and the Army, Army and the people.

They opposed the guerilla character of the Red Army and introduced the positional warfare methods more than needed: they opposed the guerilla mobile tactics and introduced positional warfare tactics. Without taking into consideration the weakness of the revolutionary forces and the strength of the enemy forces, they resorted to combats which yielded quick results and said that enemy should be attacked from all sides simultaneously. They opposed the tactic that when the Red Army is attacking superior enemy force, it should wait till the enemy forces enter the region favourable to us, and then strike. They proposed the positional warfare and dig-in-and-fight tactics for Red Army. The left adventurists implemented centralised military command principles. In sum, the left adventurists opposed the principles of Protracted People's War.

By adopting the positional warfare tactics during the Koumingtang government's Fifth encirclement and suppression Campaign, they caused severe losses to Red Army.

3. Mistakes in Organisational Aspects

Comrade Mao formulated that "From the people, to the people" is the correct political line.

To put it into practice, close ties should be established not only with the people outside Party but also with the people within the Party-fold. This means higher committees forging closer ties with primary members of the party and with the cadres. Mao has developed the Party building into a concrete principle comprising of ideological and political aspects. He strove to establish the leadership of the proletarian ideology as opposed to pure military outlook, subjective individualism, egalitarianism which raise their heads in the Party.

He made efforts to inculcate democratic centralism in the Party. He fought against unnecessary restrictions on democracy in the Party and on centralism in the Party.

He implemented the principle that a part should be subordinate to the whole. He made efforts to establish proper relationship between old and new cadres, local and non-local cadres, between cadres working in the Army and the people and between the cadres working in different fronts.

He developed the principle that the truth is, at all times paramount and should be implemented. He implemented the principles that every member, every organisation should be subordinate to the party discipline,

He introduced proper organisational norms to achieve internal unity and carry on the inner party struggle as wrong political line leads to wrong organisational line. The left adventurists opposed Mao's correct political line and the correct organisational line formulated by him.

The left adventurists introduced sectarian organisational methods. This resulted in not only party being distanced from people but also in leadership organs being distanced from party members and cadres. They branded as "rightists" all those opposed to their erroneous political line and set out to take disciplinary action against them. They treated all these almost as criminals and enemies.

They utilised all the inner party struggles to boost the influence and image of left adventurists and to usurp the responsible committees.

They defied principles of democratic centralism and set aside the principles (democratic) of criticism, self-criticism. They encouraged the trend of blind followers.

They took narrow sectarian attitude towards the cadres. They implemented in a vulgar manner the principle that cadres from working class should be in leading positions, without taking into consideration other aspects. When the senior comrades who have been working in the party since a long time and who have made many sacrifices opposed their wrong line, the left adventurists attempted to remove all of them from the leadership positions and fill the committees with their new blind followers.

In the name of cleaning of the enemy agents, many loyal comrades were expelled from the party on false allegations.

Owing to such wrong organisational line, the Party has become splintered and factions have come into existence, and the Party has become isolated from the people.

4. Ideological mistakes

The political, organisational and the military line formulated by comrade Mao was based on Marxism and Leninism. The universal truth of Marxism and Leninism was applied to the concrete conditions of the Chinese revolution.

But the left ideologues depended on theory without practice and practice without theory. These left ideologues, preaching theory without practice never cared to study in depth, the concrete conditions of China and apply Marxist-Leninist principles to the concrete conditions in China. They banked on their superficial bookish knowledge and not on the concrete Chinese conditions.

They lifted a principle from here and a principle from there from the books but never cared to find out whether they are applicable to Chinese conditions or not. So their theories became theories divoriced from reality. As a result, their line has become isolated from the people and caused immense damage to people's movement and the Party.

The ideologues without practice joined hands with ideologues without theory (empiricists). The empiricists are also dependent on subjective thinking. They did not recognise the importance of theory and depended only on the practice-that too only on their own practice, without taking other's practice into consideration.

They were indifferent to other's criticism and yet never cared to undergo self-criticism. They gave prominence to day to day functioning, and to activities which did not require serious thinking. Thus the ideologues without practice and the empiricists could unite. Both of them did not depend on the concrete Chinese conditions.

Both failed to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Chinese Revolution.

Both took a path opposed to dialectics and historical materialism. Both regarded the relative, partial truth as universal and comprehensive truth.

The theories of both were divorced from Chinese reality. Consequently, due to their left adventurism, many hard won victories of people and Party members in both Kuomingtang areas as well as Liberated Areas were nullified.

Social base of left Sectarianism

The Social conditions in a society give rise to both left and right deviations in the Party.

The Capitalist society influences the rise of right deviation in the Party while the petty bourgeois social conditions give rise to left deviations.

In general, there is a danger of right deviation cropping up when the working class forms a united front with the bourgeoisie and of the left deviation when the working class goes into struggle against the bourgeoisie,

Both these wrong trends damage the Party. The correct line formulated by com. Mao is based on proletarian ideology. The line formulated by the left deviationists is based on petty bourgeois concept of democracy.

China, a vast semi-feudal, semi-colonial country, has large number of petty bourgeois population. As a result the Communist Party of China had to function amidst petty bourgeois social conditions. More

over, a large number of the members of the Communist Party hail from the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie.

The first ever triumph of the proletarian revolution in Russia signalled the victory of Marxism-Leninism over all other theories the world over all. As a result of this victory and due to political and social conditions in China, especially due to the growth of Communist Party of China and the Kuomingtang Party, there was no chance for a petty bourgeois political party to develop. So, not only due to economic conditions but also due to social conditions there is a danger of the working class being influenced by petty bourgeois theories.

So it is not surpirsing that various petty bourgeois theories and trends have raised their heads in the Communist Party of China.

Apart from peasantry, China has a large number of petty bourgeois population in cities and towns. All of them are being exploited in many forms. All of them are yearning for emancipation from exploitation and for economic and political democracy.

The petty bourgeoisie is a class which is constantly changing. This class has two characteristics.

The majority of this petty bourgeoisie are of revolutionary temperament and can be influenced by the proletarian ideology and can join hands with the working class in the fight for democratic revolution.

On the other hand, they have some weaknesses which set them apart from working class. There is a risk of them going under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie or the big bourgeoisie in the absence of proper proletarian leadership.

Therefore the working class should adopt proper attitude towards petty bourgeoisie. The working class should work with perseverance and vigilance to form a united front with the petty bourgeoisie in the fight against the exploiting classes. On the other hand, it should resolutely oppose the petty bourgeois trends exhibited by some members who joined the Commuuist Party. An ideological struggle should be carried out and we should work with perseverance to mould them into real communists committed to Marxism-Leninism.

If the Party does not carry out a resolute inner-Party ideological struggle against the petty bourgeois trends, there is a chance of the whole Party going into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeois thinking is reflected in three aspects.

1. Subjectivism

The petty bourgeois intellectuals base themselves on subjective thoughts which differ from reality. When they study an issue, they do not analyse it from all angles but basing on the aspect they desire, come to a conclusion and decide the whole programme. They base mainly not on the actual conditions and the strength of different classes in reality, but on their desires and subjective thinking. They do not have practice and experience but only bookish knowledge. They are the theoreticians who have neither practice nor direct connection with production.

2. Vacillation

Due to the nature of living conditions of the petty bourgeoisie, they vacillate between the leftists and rightists. Most of the petty bourgeois democrats yearn to conclude the revolution as quickly as possible to better their living conditions. Thereby, they are attracted by the revolutionary 'left' slogans. They do not have patience to carry out the protracted revolutionary struggle and frequently succumb to adventurist ideas and practice. When such ideas and trends are reflected in the Party, there is a danger of left deviation rising its ugly head in the Party.

While they themselves resort to adventurist actions, when the movement suffers severe setbacks and the revolutionary forces should make a planned retreat, they get frustrated and run away. In such situations they are even willing to become an appendage of the bourgeoisie.

3. Anti-organisational methods

The petty bourgeois intellectuals, due to their thinking and background, exhibit individualsim in the organisational issues. As a result they get isolated from people and exhibit wrong traits such as bossism, abuse of disciplining powers, individual heroism, anarchism, liberalism and ultra-democracy. They are responsible for factionalism and disruption of the Party.

Ideologically, the petty bourgeois left adventurists exhibit subjectivism. Politically they swing between the left and the right. Organisationally they exhibit a tendency to form factions.

The Party has to wage a fierce ideological struggle against all such wrong trends. But while waging this inner-party struggle, attention should be paid to the following aspects.

1) More attention should be paid to the political and economic conditions which gave rise to wrong trends in the Party and to formulate appropriate forms to combat these alien trends but the role of the individuals who lead these tendencies should not be stressed much.

2) The inner-party struggle should be able to give clarity to the party members on the issues facing the Party, to draw lessons from the previous experiences and not repeat such mistakes in the future and unite the Party rank and file to achieve the aim of the collective struggle.

3) The Party should be prepared to encourage all the comrades who recognised their mistakes and are attempting to rectify them and unite with them and work. Even those who have not fully recognised their mistakes, and have not made serious attempts to rectify them, should unite with others who have not made such mistakes and work.

When fighting a wrong trend, while differenciating between the wrong line and correct line, we should see the agreeable point between those who are following a wrong line and the correct line.

4) Party unity can be developed only by intensifying the internal ideological struggle based on Marxism-Leninism and combating the right and left deviations which raise their ugly heads in the Party. At the same time, the Party should make serious attempts to clear the traits which hinder Party unity and also those which crop up between Party comrades and can cause misunderstandings.

5) Occasionally, the understanding and mutual respect between comrades in different fronts breaks down, giving rise to difference of opinion between part members. The root of this lies in the fact that the comrades work in different regions and that the nature of programme varies. The Party should strive to remove these difference of opinions by proper political education.

Sometimes difference of opinion of another kind crops up between comrades.

Some comrades feel dejected when they make mistakes. Some others feel proud of the successes they achieved in their programme. Those who have little experience in struggle try to evade things while comrades who have long experience pose as if they know everything. Comrades from peasant and working class background feel proud of their class nature and look down on intellectuals. On the other hand, the intellectuals are proud of their smartness and look down on peasant and working class comrades. The comrades who gain expertise in a particular work look down on others. The youth look down on the older comrades and the older comrades feel superior due to their experience and look down at the new, inexperienced comrades.

By launching a critical struggle against such wrong trends alone, by giving proper political education alone can such wrong trends be eradicated in the Party members and full unity of the Party achieved.

Charu Mazumdar group's adventurism

In the above article, comrade Mao has made a deep analysis of the left mistakes in the Communist Party of China.

In India, the Communist Party was subjected, time and again, to left and right deviations. Mainly in the last 20 years, it was subjected to the mistakes of revisionism and neo-revisionism. It is only in the recent times that the Communist Revolutionaries have broken off from revisionism and neo-revisionism, based themselves on Marxism-Leninism. They started to organise the people for armed struggle through the People's War path. In some states the armed peasant struggles at different levels, are being conducted under the leadership of the Communist Revolutionaries. The frustration with revisionism in Party for many years, the frustration with the exploitation and repression of the big bourgeois big landlord Congress government were the root cause of the Charu Mazumdar group taking to left adventurist policies in applying the People's War path in India. This caused severe damage to the people's movements in some areas. Charu Mazumdar group adopted left adventurism in political, organisational issues and in struggle tactics. We have to deeply analyse Charu group's left adventurist line and draw appropriate lessons. Similarly, some left errors were committed in the armed peasant struggle also. We have to analyse them. We have mentioned clearly about the left errors

committed in our movement in the document "Two Years of Armed Struggle-Our experiences".

We are of the opinion that the Charu Mazumdar group made the following mistakes in tactics of struggle and in organisational and political issues.

Political line

India is a semi-colonial country serving as a base for neocolonial exploitation mainly of U.S. imperialism and Russian Social imperialism. At the same time the British imperialists are still continuing their neo colonial exploitation. In addition to these, the investments of Japan and Germany are increasing. The Charu Mazumdar group are noticing only the prominent neo colonial exploiters-U.S. & U.S.S.R., and not the British, Japanese, German imperialists and thus are not recognising the reality. That is they are failing to observe the growing contradictions among the imperialists on the question of exploiting India.

Though they stated in their documents that India is, at present, in the stage of People's Democratic Revolution, they are putting forth, in practice, at this stage only, some tasks which ought to be taken up in the stage of Socialist Revolution. They are pursuing adventurist, sectarian line towards the national bourgeoisie, minor landlords and the rich peasantry who should be united in our fight against the imperialism, big bourgeoisie and the big landlords. They are taking an uncompromising struggle line with these sections in the present stage itself. This group's criticism of this aspect in our immediate programme amply proves this.

Revolutionary bases

In words the Charu Mazumdar group has adopted the path of Protracted People's War, of establishing Liberated Areas in the rural areas through Armed Agrarian Revolutionary struggle, and gradully liberating rural areas first and finally liberating the towns. But in practice they made wrong formulations regarding the importance of establishing revolutionary bases in rural areas.

Taking into consideration the level of the struggles in our country, the primary importance should be given to hilly terrains, forests and

mountains which have natural protection, a weak administrative machinary and where the worst form of feudal exploitation is perpetuated. But they rejected this and came to a conclusion that from now itself Liberated Areas can be established anywhere in the plain areas. They ridiculed the correct perspective being put into practice by the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communists as 'jungle theory'.

They abandoned the principle that only by mobilising the people for Armed Agrarian Revolution and by building a strong Red Army can the Liberated Areas be built in the rural areas. In practice, they have pursued the wrong policy that Liberated Area can be formed in a region by some militant youths forming armed squads and killing some landlords as individuals.

As the people's movements in rural areas suffered severe losses due to their adventurist actions, they left rural areas and took to open attacks in a metropolitan city like Calcutta. The programme of attacks in Calcutta city was nothing but the culmination of their adventurist actions.

The above points make clear how faulty their understanding of People's War path and Liberated Areas is.

Tactics of Struggle

India is world's second largest populated country. It is a vast semi feudal, semi colonial country. Due to the exploitative policies of big bourgeoisie and the imperialists, its development economically and politically, is uneven. Owing to this, the people's movements struggles in different areas are developing unevenly.

Though the people are discontented with the exploitative policies of the big bourgeois, big landlord governments in the country, though a revolutionary situation exists in the country, the people's movements, people's struggles, people's consciousness have not developed to such level where the people from different regions will today itself directly participate in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the Congress government. In some regions the people's movements are highly developed and assumed the form of armed struggle. In some other regions, there are no people's movements. People from the majority areas in our country are still divided under the influence of bourgeois, petty bourgeois parties, the revisionists and neo revisionists. Taking into consideration these facts, the Communist Revolutionaries should

adopt different tactics of struggle to mobilise people from different areas into Armed Agrarian Revolution.

But the Charu Mazumdar group did not take into consideration these realities. They refused to recognise the fact that the people's consciousness, movement and struggles are developing unevenly. They are unable to grasp the reality that we have to work with patience for people from different areas to directly participate in the armed struggle and for this end we have to apply different tactics of struggle for different areas. They are estimating as if all the areas in the country are prepared to respond to the call for an armed struggle. They are estimating as if the people are no longer under the influence of bourgeois, petty bourgeois and the two revisionist parties and as if these parties are already isolated from the people. Therefore, they are applying the same principle-attacks on individuals belonging to expioiting classes by squads consisting of of militant youth in the name of annihilation of class enemies of the people from all areas, towns as well as rural areas. As a consequence, the movements under their leadership in different areas have suffered severe losses.

Undoubtedly in India, the main form of struggle will be armed struggle and the main form of organisation will be Red Army organisation. At the same time, all mass agitational forms and mass organisations which contribute to the armed struggle should be linked up by the Communist Revolutionaries.

But Charu Mazumdar group rejected this basic principle. They formulated the attacks on the enemies by some individuals forming armed squads as the main form of struggle. They rejected people's agitations on immediate issues and formation of mass organisations.

They are labelling all those who advocate linking of armed struggle with political agitations as well as people's agitations on people's issues and building up of mass organisation as revisionists and economists. They are wrongly claiming that in the prevailing conditions in India, there is no need for people's agitations on their issues and for mass organisations and that armed squad's actions on individuals will achieve everything.

People's War means the direct particiation of people in the struggle. Only then will it be people's war in the real sense of the word. Armed Agrarian Revolution is the crux of our People's War. In the present stage, keeping in view the consciousness of the people, by

propagating politics of armed struggle extensively among the people and by organising people into anti feudal class struggles alone, through their own concrete practice, can people be mobilised into the Armed Agrarian Revolution. The Charu group, refusing to see this reality, are obstinaterly contending that propogation of politics of armed revolution and the programme of annihilation of class enemies alone will mobilise people into the struggle.

Similarly they are refusing to see that the working class and the middle classes in the towns can be mobilised into path of People's War by mobilising them into class struggles against the exploitation of the big bourgeoisie along with propogation of politics of armed struggle. In the present phase of the struggle, the key task of the Communist Revolutionaries is to organise for Armed Agrarian Revolution, thereby make efforts to build revolutionary bases in the rural areas. By liberating the rural areas first and mobilising adequate strength, the towns should be liberated finally. Till the situation matures, the Communist Revolutionaries in towns should carry out the task of building an underground Party apparatus, mobilise the people from all walks of life into different class struggles, join the propogation of politics of armed struggle with these, make efforts to bring people towards armed struggle with great perseverence and determination. Till the Communist Revolutionaries gain strength to launch assault on the urban areas from rural areas, we have to work with perseverence, preserve ourselves and carry on underground activities. Till we gain such strength we should develop our skills to evade a head-on confrontation or do-or-die battles with the enemy.

But Charu Mazumdar group is rejecting this basic principle. Not only are they rejecting the task of mobilising urban masses into class struggles but also are giving more stress on attacks on the enemies. As a result they are suffering severe losses.

We have to correctly assess our strength and the enemy's strength always and adopt the correct tactics of 'offensive and defensive'. Only then can the Communist Revolutionaries become a mighty force from a small force. But the Charu Mazumdar group, rejecting this basic principle, are under-estimating the enemy's strength, over-estimating their strength and without any regard for 'defensive' tactics are obstinately implementing only the 'offensive' tactics in towns as well as in rural areas. Thus they have only taken to the path of "left"

adventurism. As a result, the people's movement under their leadership, cannot but suffer severe losses.

All the above mentioned facts make it clear the path pursued by the Charu Mazumdar group is not the path of People's War but of individual terrorism.

Organisational Mistakes

As the line pursued by Charu Mazumdar group is politically, tactically wrong, the same is reflected in the organisational line.

In different states the Communist Revolutionary groups broke off from neo revisionism and are functioning based on Marxism - Leninism- Mao Thought. As the movements in different states are developing unevenly, and as the programme of applying People's War path to different areas is new, it is but natural for difference of opinions to crop up between Communist Revolutionary groups. So the Communist Revolutionary groups should patiently discuss their experiences, remove the differences, formulate the path of People's War as applicable to the whole of India. The unity between Communist Revolutionary groups should be forged through such discussions and practice oriented programmes. Only then can a communist party based on Marxism - Leninism - Mao Thought be built up. This is one of the key tasks of Communist Revolutionaries in the present stage.

But Charu Mazumdar group behaved in an irresponsible way towards this key task. They attempted to impose, without any discussions, their left adventurist line on other groups. They branded as revisionists and rightists all those opposed to their erroneous, left line. They attempted to expel from the party all, except those who blindly follow their wrong policies. The leadership of this group, from the beginning, abandoned the principles of democratic centralism and has been exhibiting factionalism. Consequently it failed to achieve unity of different groups in the country. The subsequent events show that finally, as a result of the bossism and lack of democratic discussions, the Charu Mazumdar group broke into splinter groups.

Based on Mao's formulations on left deviation, we have to analyse the adventurist policies of Charu Mazumdar group, draw appropriate lessons and check the recurrence of these mistakes in the revolutionary movement.

The risk of left adventurism raising its ugly head time and again exists due to the petty bourgeois social conditions in India and due to the fact that many of the petty bourgeois individuals who joined Communist Revolutionaries are in leading positions. All party members should recognise that by properly educating the party members on Marxism- Leninism and Mao Thought and by giving deeper understanding of the path of People's War, and adopting proper organisational methods of democratic centralism and methods of criticism and self criticism alone can the left adventurist trends be defeated.

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Attitude Towards Opposition Bourgeois Parties & Bourgeois Election Alliances

Lessons from past history of the international communist movement

The attitude of the communist revolutionaries towards opposition section of the ruling classes, towards bourgeois parliamentary institutions and towards bourgeois election alliances have become important and continuous issues affecting their unity.

Let us study this question deeply from the experiences of past history of the international communist movement and their lessons for the present. For this, we must study the lessons from four historical periods.

(1) Lenin's teachings particularly between 1905 and 1912, the Duma period of Tsarist Russia.

(2) Dimitrov's Report to the 7th Congress of the Third Communist International in 1935 and its implementation in Western Europe.

(3) Experience of the West European Communist Parties in the post second world war period.

(4) The effect of the theory of peaceful transition to socialism peddled by the modern revisionists headed by the CPSU from 1956 onwards.

Before we go into Lenin's teachings, let us recollect the main events of the Duma period of Russia.

The Russian Revolution of 1905 bourgeois democratic revolution was a product of the defeat of Tsarist Russia in its war against Japan..

Commenting on the surrender of Port Arthur to Japan, Lenin said: ***"Port Arthur has surrendered the moral power of the mighty empire***

is crumbling sentence has been passed upon the entire political system..... advancing progressive air has dealt backward and reactionary Europe an irreparable blow it signifies the collapse of our political system " (Lenin, Vol. 8).

In the background of these events the Russian Revolution started with the events of January 9, 1905. Subsequently the workers and other sections of the people took to political strikes; peasant struggles broke out against the feudal landlords. It led to revolts in the Army and Navy, showing the readiness of the people for an uprising.

It was during this period that the Tsar announced the Bulygin Duma. The Bolsheviks boycotted it. Bulygin Duma never came into existence. It was swept away by the advance of the revolutionary tide.

Again, on October 17, 1905, the Tsar was forced to announce another Duma, promising to extend the voting rights to broader sections of the people, to divert the people from the path of Revolution. But the Bolsheviks again called for the boycott of the elections and to continue the revolutionary struggle.

In the background of the defeat of the December uprising in Moscow in 1905, the first Duma was convened. But finding that the First Duma was not sufficiently submissive to the Tsar, and being afraid of the growing discontent of the people, the Tsar abolished the First Duma in the summer of 1906, and decided to call the Second Duma. The Bolsheviks did participate officially in the Second Duma in 1906, the Third Duma in 1907 and the fourth Duma in 1912.

This shows that the Bolsheviks boycotted the Duma in 1905 and part of 1906. They participated in Duma from the Second Duma onwards.

Lenin's teachings of this period 1905-1912 the Duma period, when the revolutionary forces the workers, peasants and the army were advancing towards an armed uprising. At that time Lenin correctly called for the boycott of the Bulygin Duma.

Lenin said that Bulygin Duma ***"is in fact tsarism's deal with the landlords and the big bourgeoisie" that the Constitutional Democratic Party is ready to run away from the revolution and make a deal with the Tsar to 'preserve the monarchy'.*** He further said :

The only question is when and how this deal will take place.

The task confronting the party of the proletariat is to delay conclusion of this deal for as long as possible to split up the bourgeoisie as much as possible, to derive from the bourgeoisie's temporary appeals to the people the greatest advantage for the revolution, and meanwhile to prepare the forces of the revolutionary people (the proletariat and the peasantry) for the forcible overthrow of the autocracy and for the alienation, the neutralisation of the treacherous bourgeoisie". **(p. 180, vol.9 Emphasis ours).**

About the character of the Bulygin Duma, Lenin said: *"A* ***consultative assembly of representatives of the landlords and the*** *big bourgeoisie, elected under the supervision and with the assistance of autocratic government's servants on the basis of an electoral system so indirect, so blatantly based on property and social estate qualifications, that it is sheer mockery of the idea of popular representation."* **(Vol. 9, p. 179)**

Lenin called for an active boycott, but not for a passive one. He declared

"We must exert every effort to make the real use of boycott in extending and intensifying agitation, so that it shall not be reduced to mere passive abstention from voting. If we are not mistaken, this idea is already fairly widespread among the comrades working in Russia, who express it in the words: active boycott. As distinct from passive abstention, active boycott should imply increasing agitation ten-fold, organising meetings everywhere, taking advantage of election meetings, even if we have to force our way into them, holding demonstrations, political strikes and so on and so forth. It goes without saying that to further agitation and struggle in this connection, temporary agreements with various groups of revolutionary bourgeois democrats, generally permitted by a number of our Party resolutions, are especially expedient. But here we must, on the one hand, steadfastly preserve the class individuality of the Party of the proletariat, and must not for a single moment, abandon our Social-Democratic criticism of our bourgeois allies ; on the other hand, we should be failing in our duty as the party of the advanced class if in our agitation we failed to produce an advanced revolutionary slogan at the present stage of the democratic revolution." **(Vol. 9, p. 182)**

What were the alternative slogans that Lenin gave along with the boycott of the Bulygin Duma?

An "armed uprising", setting up the provisional revolutionary government to call for a genuine Constituent Assembly based on universal franchise.

Lenin said:

"1. convocation of a popular constituent assembly. 2. arming of the People 3. political freedom - immediate repeal of all laws that contradict it 4. complete cultural and political freedom for all oppressed and disfranchised nationalities 5. an eight hour working day 6. the establishment of peasant committees for the support and implementation of all democratic reforms, among them agrarian reforms upto, including the confiscation of the landlords' land." **(Vol 9, p. 183)**

What is the mood, consciousness and preparedness required for the success of the slogan of boycott of elections?

Lenin declared:

"Boycott is a declaration of open war against the old regime, a direct attack upon it, Unless there is a broad revolutionary upswing, unless there is mast unrest which overflows, as it were, the bounds of the old legality, there can be no question of boycott succeeding". **(Vol. 13, p. 25)**

He explained that the boycott of 1905 succeeded because there was *"a sweeping, powerful and rapid upswing of the revolution".* **(Vol 13, p 24)**

With such a conception the Bolsheviks of Russia stubbornly worked to advance the revolutionary struggle and as a result of their struggled there were many workers political strikes, peasant uprisings, revolts in the army and navy, finally leading to armed uprising in December 1905.

But the Revolution of 1905 did not succeed and the revolutionary upswing began to recede after the summer of 1906.

After the defeat of December Uprising in 1905, the First Duma met. At first the Bolsheviks called for the boycott of this Duma also. But because of the weakness of the revolutionary movement, this boycott was not successful and as per the decision of the Union Congress

of the Social Democratic Labour Party (the then Communist Party), the Party formed a workers, group in the First Duma.

On this, Lenin says:

"In the State Duma there is a workers' group of fifteen. How did these deputies get into the Duma? They were not nominated by the workers, organisations. The Party did not authorise them to represent its interests in the Duma. Not a single local organisation of R. S D. L. P. adopted a resolution (although in might have done) to nominate its members for the State Duma".

"The worker deputies got into the Duma through non-party channels. Nearly all, or even all, got in by direct or indirect, tacit or avowed agreements with the Cadets. Many of them got into the Duma in such a way that it is difficult to tell whether they were elected as Constitutional Democrats or as Social Democrats. This is a fact, and a fact of enormous political importance. To hush it up, as many Social Democrats are doing today, is unpardonable and useless. Unpardonable, because it meant keeping in the dark the electorate generally and the workers party in particular. Useless because the act is bound to come out in the course of events".

"In declaring that the formation of a social democratic parliamentary group was desirable, the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. made a mistake by not taking this fact into account". **(Vol. 10, p 402)**

Principles guiding the participation in the Duma elections

In the Second Duma, the Bolsheviks did participate with definite political aims as laid down by Lenin:

The principal objects of the Social-Democratic elections and Duma campaigns are: firstly, to explain to the people the uselessness of the Duma as a means of satisfying the demands of the proletariat and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry. Secondly, to explain to the people impossibility of achieving political liberty by parliamentary methods as long as the real power remains in the hands of the Tsar's government, and to explain the necessity of an armed uprising, of a provisional govt and of a constituent assembly elected by universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballet. Thirdly, to criticise the First Duma and reveal the bankruptcy of Russian liberalism, and especially to show how dangerous and fatal it would be for the cause of the revolution if the liberal-

monarchist Cadet Party were to play the predominant and leading role in the liberation movement." **(Vol 11, p. 300) (Emphasis ours)**

"As the class party of the proletariat, the Social Democratic Party must remain absolutely independent throughout the election and Duma campaigns, and here too, must under no circumstances, merge its slogans or tactics with those of any other opposition or revolutionary party.

Therefore, at the first stage of the election campaign, i.e., before the masses, it must, as a general rule, come out absolutely independently and put forward only its own Party candidates.

Exceptions to this rule are permissible only in cases of extreme necessity end only in relation io parties that fully accept the main slogans of our immediate political struggle, i.e., those which recognise the necessity of an armed uprising and are fighting for a democratic republic. Such agreements, however, may only extend to the nomination of a joint list of candidates, without in any way restricting the independence of the political agitation carried on by the Social-Democrats.

In the workers' curia, the Social Democratic Party must come out absolutely and refrain from entering into agreements nlth any other party". **(Vol 11, p. 300)**

These were the guiding principles concerning the participation of the Bolsheviks in all the subsequent Dumas.

Lenin further said:

"The attitude of the workers' Party towards the masses is exactly the reverse. The important thing for us is not to get seats in the Duma by means of compromises; on the contrary, those seats are important only because and in so far as they can serve to develop the political consciousness of the masses, to raise them to a higher political level, to organise them, not for the sake of philistine happiness, not for the sake of 'tranquility', or 'order' and 'peaceful (bourgeois) bliss', but for the struggle, the struggle for the complete emancipation of labour from all exploitation and all oppression. Only for this purpose, and only to the extent that they help as to achieve it are seats in the Duma and the whole election campaign important for us. **(Vol 11, p. 416)**

According to Lenin, boycott or participation in elections, the aim is the same: to develop the political and revolutionary consciousness of the exploited masses and advance the revolutionary struggle depending on the consciousness of the people.

Describing the repressive conditions io which the Duma elections were being held in Russia at that time, Lenin said:

"The Duma election results demonstrate the physiognomy and strength of the various classes."

"The Franchise in Russia is neither direct not equal. In the first place, the peasants elect one delegate for ten households, elect a peasant delegate from among their number; the delegates so elected then elect a peasant elector, and the latter together with electors from other social estates, elect the deputies to the Duma. The system is the same for the land owner, urban and worker curias being fixed by law in the interests and the advantage of the upper classes, the landowners and the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, not only the revolutionary parties, but the opposition parties as well are subjected to the most barbarous, the most illegal police repression; then there is the complete absence of freedom of the Press and assembly, arbitrary arrests and banishment, as well as the military courts operating in the greater part of Russia and the state of emergency connected with them. **(Vol 12, p. 196)**

Class approach towards political parties in the Duma

One of the striking features of the teachings of Lenin during this ***period is the class approach towards political parties in the Duma".*** Lenin says: ***"No gentlemen, the principle of class struggle is the very foundation of all Social-Democratic teachings and of all Social-Democratic policy. The proletarians, the peasants and the towns people are not such babes in arms that the ideas of representation can be dimmed in their minds by bitter disputes, or by the acute struggle between the classes. Our job is not to be sugary to them, but on the contrary to teach them, from the Duma platform, to distinguish clearly between the parties and understand their class roots which the sly bourgeoisie keep buried deep underground.".*** **(P. 167, Vol 12, Emphasis ours).**

With this approach, Lenin analysed the class character of the various political parties working in the Duma at that period. He divided all other parties in three sections

"Octoberists, the Cadets and the revolutionary or peasant democrats".

"We cannot of course expect the full and final consolidation of the parties of each type: the open entry of the various classes in Russian society into anything like a free political arena is too recent for that". **(Vol 10, P. 455).**

About the character of the Octoberists, Lenin said: *"The Octoberists are real class organisation of the landlords and the big capitalists. The counter-revolutionary (anti- revolutionary) character of this section of the bourgeoisie is perfectly obvious. It stands on the side of the government, although still haggling with it over the division of power. The Haydens and Co sometimes even merge with the Cadets in opposition to the old authorities, but this does not make even the most credulous people, who are taken in by all sorts of 'opposition' forget the real nature of the Octoberist Party".* **(Vol. 10, P. 455).**

About the character of the Cadets, Lenin said: *"The Cadets are the chief party of the second type. This party is not exclusively connected with any particular class in bourgeois society, but it is thoroughly bourgeois, none the less. Its ideal is a well-ordered bourgeois society, purged of feudal survivals and protected from the encroachments of the proletariat by institutions such as an Upper Chamber, a standing army, non- elected bureaucracy, draconian press laws, etc. The Cadets are a semi-landlord party. They want to ransom themselves from revolution. They long for a deal with the old authorities. They are afraid of independent revolutionary activity by the people. The more this party. develops its public political activities, particularly in the Duma, the more marked become the inconsistency and instability. That is why the voices of short- sighted people, who are dazzled by momentary successes, in favour of supporting the Cadets, will never find wide support among the working class".* **(P. 455-456, Vol. 10).**

About the character of the Trudoviks, Lenin said: *"The third type of bourgeois party is the Trudoviks, i.e., the peasant deputies to the Duma, who issued their programme the other day. Revolutionary Social- Democrats have long been watching the rise of this type of political party in Russia. The Peasant Union was a nucleus of such a party. The radical unions of propertyless*

intellectuals gravitated towards it to some extent. The Socialist Revolutionaries developed in the same direction, growing out of the narrow shell that encased them as a group of intellectuals. The variety of types and shades of this trend fully corresponds to the variety of types and vast numbers of the 'toiling' petty bourgeoisie in Russa. The main bulwark of this trend, of these parties, is the peasantry. Objective conditions compel the peasantry to wage a determined struggle against landlordism, against the power of the landlords and the whole of the old political system that is closely connected with it. These bourgeois democrats are compelled to become revolutionary, whereas the liberals, the Cadets and so forth, represent the bourgeoisie, whose conditions of existence compel it to seek a deal with the old authorities. It is natural also that the peasantry should clothe its aspirations in the mantel of utopias, i.e., unrealisable hopes, such as equalised land tenure under capitalism". **(P. 456, Vol. 10).**

Lenin further explained: *"Next come the 'Trudoviks'. The parties of this type, namely the petty-bourgeois and predominantly peasant parties, are divided into the non-party 'Trudovik group' (which held a congress recently), the popular socialists and the socialist revolutionaries (the Polish Socia- list Party etc., correspond more or less to the Socialist Revolutionaries). The only more or less consistent and deter- mined revolutionaries and republicans among them are the S.R.'s. The Popular Socialsits are much worse opportunists than our Mensheviks; strictly speaking, they are semi-cadets. The non-party 'Trudovik group' has, perhaps, more influence among the peasantry than the others; but the strength of its democratic convictions is difficult to determine, although it is undoubtedly far more Left than the Cadets, and evidently belongs to the camp of revolutionary democracy".* **(P. 282, Vol. 11).**

He further said: *"It is clear that a real party agree- ment with the Trudoviks is impossible. It is clear*

that we must not under any circumstances help to unite the oppor- tunist Popular Socialists with the revolutionary S.R.'s; on the contrary, we must split them and counterpose one to the other. It is clear that the existence of a non-party Trudovik Group makes it more to our advantage in all respects to preserve complete

independence in order to exert a really revolutionary influence upon them, than to tie our hands and blur the distinctions between the monarchists and the republicans etc. It is absolutely impermissible for Social- Democrats to blur these distinctions; and for this reason alone, it is necessary to reject blocs altogether, once the present grouping of parties unites the non-party Trudoviks, the Popular Socialist and the Social ist Revolutionaries" **(Page 282, Vol. 11).** ...

Irreconcilable struggle against the Cadets, the liberal bourgeoisie:

Another significant feature of the activities of the Bolsheviks and teachings of Lenin concerning this period is the irreconcilable struggle against the Cadets, the representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie, as the compromising party of the bourgeoisie in the opposition. "the Party of the centre", as Lenin has characterised them.

Inspite of the Cadets working under 'opposition flag', Lenin denounced them as 'chafferers, stockjobbers', dashing from 'one belligerent to the other', turning 'to the right' while the popular masses turn to the left, 'pursuing' a counter- revolutionary path, deserting to the side of the landlords and Tsarism against the fighting peasants, committing unprecedented acts of flunkeyism in the Duma. He condemned the Cadets as 'a decaying corpse'. He further said:

"Therefore, our Duma deputies and all our Party organisations must bear in mind that we cannot make a single serious step forward in Social Democratic propaganda and agitation about the Balkan events without revealing, from the Duma rostrum, in leaflets and at meetings - the connection between the reactionary policy of autocracy and the hypocritical opposition of the Cadets. We shall never be able to explain to the people how harmful and reactionary the policy of tsarist government is, unless we explain the Cadet foreign policy is essentially the same. We cannot combat chauvinism and the Black Hundred spirit in foreign policy unless we combat the phrase-mongering, the posing, the mental reservations and dodges of the Cadets". (P. 224, Vol. 15, 1908).

These are enough to show the irreconcilable ideological and political battle that Lenin carries against the counter-revolutionary

nature of the Cadets, inspite of their being in the opposition. This only shows that Lenin took their being in the opposition as nothing but fake.

Exposure of the bourgeois deception:

Keeping in line with this irreconcilable struggle against the Cadet Party, the Bolsheviks and Comrade Lenin sharply exposed the deception of the bourgeois liberals from the platforms of the Duma, during this whole period.

When the first Duma was set up with the Cadets having the majority, they raised the slogan of 'responsible cabinet' representing the majority in the Duma. Lenin stoutly opposed it. He said:

"Such a cabinet will be a Cadet Cabinet and on the very morrow of its appointment it will have to draw up penalties for abuses of freedom. At the present time, such a cabinet when the Star Chamber* *(*The "Star Chamber" was the name given to the special high court in England for political and religious matters which was abolished by the English Revolution of the 17th century. In the period 1905-1907 in Russia the name "Star Chamber" was applied to the Court clique of reactionary dignitaries representing the upper ranks of the feudal landlords and bureaucrats.)* ***is still in power in the land, such a cabinet can only serve as a liberal screen for old regime. At the present time such a cabinet will only serve as a cloak to conceal these pogrom-mongers for a time.... but we, the slightest responsibility for this attempt to dis- guise the old regime political***

situation, such a slogan will have to bear part of the responsibility for this disguise, for this deal between the bourgeoisie and the old regime. Such a slogan will indirectly imply approval of the Cadet bills." **(P. 22, Vol. 11) (Emphasis ours).**

Immediately after the dissolution of the First Duma, both the Mensheviks and the Cadets raised the slogan of "fight for the resumption of Duma sessions". Opposing this Lenin said:

"The absurdity of this slogan is too obvious. It is not even opportunism. It is sheer non-sense" **(Vol. 11, P. 16).**

The Central Committee of the Social Democratic Labour Party came forward with the slogan ***"fight against the government in defence of the Duma for the purpose of convening the Constituent Assembly"***. While welcoming it as a step forward, still Lenin said:

"In short, this formula gives rise to a number of incorrect and harmful 'retrograde' ideas. What is correct in it is wholly and entirely embodied in the reasons for our decision to fight, in the explanation of why the dissolution of the Duma is considered a sufficiently important ground for fighting". **(P. 116, Vol. 11).**

He further said: ***"No Duma is of any use if the people do not have power. But how to get power? By overthrowing the old regime and establishing a new one, popular, free and elected".*** **(P. 117, Vol. 11).**

\"As regards the content of the struggle, we have already shown that after two years of revolution it now centres on the overthrow of the old regime. The complete achievement of this aim is possible only by means of an armed uprising of the whole people". (P. 118, Vol. 11).

These were the alternative slogans given by Lenin in opposition to the demand of the Cadets and Mensheviks for the 'resumption of Duma sessions'.

Calling upon the representatives of the party in the Duma not to vote for the Bills of the Cadets, but to move their own Bills independently, Lenin said:

"Legislative work 'must inevitably be placed in the hands of the Constitutional Democrats. Nothing of the sort, the Cadets, as leaders of the liberal 'Centre' in the Duma, have a majority over the Black-Hundred group, without our support. We must therefore table our own Social-Democratic Bills, not liberal and not petty-bourgeois Bills that are written in revolutionary language, not in official jargon, and must put them to the vote. Let the Black Hundreds and the Cadets turn them down. We shall abstain from on the Cadet Bill as a whole, leaving the Cadets to defeat the Black Hundred thereby taking no responsibility on our- selves before the people for the poverty and worthlessness of Cadet pseudo-democracy". **(Vol. 12, P. 183).**

Lenin asked the Party representatives not to depend on the Cadets even to put up bills or interpellations but "to count only on the support

of the groups to the left of the Cadets". (P. 132, Vol. 13).

When the Cadets brought a bill for the extension of the "budgetary powers of the (Third) Duma", the Party representative in the Duma declared: ***"We support the proposal of the 40 because it tends towards an extension of the budgetary power of popular representative assembly".*** (Third Duma).

Opposing this attitude, Comrade Lenin declared: **"What was the object of this declaration of support for a proposal that was plainly lacking in principle, that was plainly inadequate, plainly signed by un- principled people who were incapable of showing the slightest firmness a proposal that was plainly and for all practical purposes worthless? This was not support for the militant bourgeoisie (a formula which many people like to use to justify their political spinelessness), but support for the wavering liberal-Octoberist bourgeoisie". (P. 436, Vol. 13).**

Lenin called upon Party representatives in the Duma to ***"protect the honour of the socialist workers Party: Do not allow yourselves to suffer failure by giving support to such liberalism".*** (P. 437, Vol. 13).

On the question of voting the budget, these were Lenin's instructions: ***"On the question of the Budget, the Conference considers that in principle it is wrong to vote for the Budget as a whole".*** It is also wrong to vote for items of the Budget of the class state which sanctions expenditure on instruments for the oppression of the masses (the armed forces, etc.).

In voting for the reforms or for items of expenditure for cultural purposes, point of departure should be the principle of our programme, that Social Democrats reject reforms involving tutelage of the police and the bureaucracy over the working class.

Therefore, the general rule should be to vote against the so-called reforms and items of expenditure for so- called cultural purposes introduced in the Duma.

In the special cases, where inspite of the general conditions, some improvement of the conditions of the working people is no more than probable, it is recommended that the deputies should abstain from voting and state their reasons for doing so.

Lastly, in exceptional cases, where there is no doubt that the workers will benefit, it is permissible to vote for a particular item,

but it is recommended that the deputies should consult representatives of the Central Committee and the Party and trade union bodies". (P. 326, Vol. 15).

Against agreements and blocs with the opposition section of the ruling classes, as a general principle:

Another very significant feature of the activities of the Bolsheviks and the teachings of Lenin in the whole period of Duma is refusal to have any agreements or blocs with any opposition section of the ruling classes for the sake of winning seats in the Duma. They followed a consistent stand of contesting the direct

elections either in cities or rural areas on the basis of their own strength.

Welcoming the report about the successes of Social-Democrats in Tiflis in 1906, comrade Lenin wrote: ***"We welcome the successes of our comrades in the Caucasus. After the decision of the Unity Congress of our Party, the participation in the elections became obligatory, on the condition, however, that the Workers' Party did not enter into any blocs, i.e., agreements with other parties".*** **(P. 424, Vol. 10, Emphasis ours).**

On various occasions Lenin says: ***"The Right wing Social Democrats directed all their efforts towards forming an alliance with the Cadets (support of the Duma as a whole, support of the demand for a Duma cabinet). The Revolutionary Social Democrats, on the contrary, directed their tactics towards winning over from the Cadets the revolutionary bourgeois democrats, towards liberating these elements from the yoke of the Cadets and uniting them with the proletariat for militant aims".*** **(P. 153, Vol. 11).**

Throughout the Duma period the Mensheviks advocated support of the Duma as a whole, support of the Cadets (under the guise of supporting the demand for the appointment of a Duma Cabinet). The Bolsheviks did their utmost to split the Trudoviks from the Cadets and supported the idea of forming "an Executive Committee of the Left groups in the Duma". **(P. 163, Vol. 11).**

"The Mensheviks supported a Cadet ministry and Cadet policy in the First Duma, while the Bolsheviks, parallel with propaganda in favour of an 'executive committee of the Left', resolutely exposed consti- tutional illusions and Cadet counter-revolutionarism". Further, the Bolsheviks worked for a left block

in the Second Duma elections, while the Mensheviks called for a bloc with the Cadets and so on and so forth". **(P. 111, Vol. 13).**

It is important to note that it was during this period Comrade Lenin wrote his famous and historical article on 'Marxism and Revisionism' where he categorically says:

"The experience of alliances, agreements and blocs with the social reform liberals in the West and with the liberal reformists (Cadets) in the Russian Revolution, has convincingly shown that these agreements only blunt the consciousness of the masses, that they do not enhance but weaken the actual significance of their struggle, by linking fighters with elements who are least capable of fighting and the most vacillating and treacherous. Milerandism in France the biggest experiment in applying revisionist political tactics is a wide, a really national scale has provided a practical appraisal of revisionism that will never be forgotten by the proletariat all over the world". **(P. 37, Vol. 15).**

"Opportunists throughout the world favour the policy of a bloc with the liberals, now openly and outrightly pro- claiming and implementing it, now advocating or justifying election agreements with the liberals, support of their slogans etc". **(P. 308, Vol. 16).**

Lenin says: ***"Remember this, gentlemen alliances and negotiations with the Cadets are the worst way of exercising pressure on them. In practice, it will mean blunting the independent struggle of the Social- Democrats, and not Social-Democratic pressure on the Cadets. It is those who relentlessly expose every false step of the Cadets that are helping to revolutionise the Duma and are 'exercising pressure' on the Cadets. Refusal to support these false steps exerts far more pressure on the Cadet Duma than any negotiations with the Cadets with a view to supporting them".*** **(P. 59, Vol. 11).**

"Therefore, class independence throughout the election and Duma campaigns is our most important general task". **(P. 279, Vol. 11).**

"Liebknecht teaches us that a Social Democrat must be able to expose the dangerous aspects of every ally in the bourgeois camp and not conceal them. Our Mensheviks, however, cry out that we

must fight not the Cadets but the Black Hundred danger! It would be useful for those people to ponder over the following words of Liebknecht: The stupid and cruël outrages perpetrated by the police, politicians, the encroachments of the Anti-Socialist Law, the draconian law, the law against parties that advocate revolution, may evoke feelings of contempt and pity; but the enemy who proffers us his hand for an electoral agreement and worms his way into our ranks as a friend and brother is the enemy, the only enemy we have to fear". **(P. 402, Vol. 11).**

"Bebel has time and again exposed the sheer falsity, the sheer mendacity of this policy, and we can say without exaggeration that every Social-Democrat should know and remember his words".

"If I, as a Social Democrat, enter into an alliance with bourgeois parties, it is a thousand to one that the bourgeois parties will gain by it, not the Social Democrats. We shall be the losers. It is a political law that wherever the rights and lefts enter an alliance, the lefts lose, the rights win"

"If I enter into a political alliance with a party whose principles are hostile to mine, I must of necessity

modify my tactics, i.e., my methods of struggle, in order not to break this alliance. I can no longer criticise ruthlessly. I cannot fight for principles, because this would give offence to my allies; I have to keep quiet, cover up a lot of things, make excuses for inexcusable, gloss over matters that cannot be glossed over".

Commenting on this statement of Bebel, comrade Lenin says: ***"Opportunism is opportunism for the very reason that it sacrifises the fundamental interests of the movement to momentary advantages or considerations based on the most short-sighted, superficial calculations".*** **(P. 308, 390, Vol. 16) (Emphasis ours).**

While conducting his attack on all the ruling class parties whether in power or in opposition, Lenin at the same time advocated the method of utilising the contradictions of the enemy classes. He says:

"Somewhat greater and better use, perhaps, could be made of possible conflicts between various ele- ments of the second majority between the Cadets, on the one hand, and the Octoberists and the government, on the other. But here, too, the position is that, owing to objective conditions no less than to subjective moods

and intentions these conflicts both superficial and transient, merely a means by which political hucksters will find it easier to make deals on term outwardly more decorous but in essence opposed to the interests of democracy. Consequently, while not refraining from utilising even such superficial and infrequent conflicts, Social Democracy must wage a stubborn struggle for democratic and revolutionary aims not only against the government, the Black Hundreds, and Octoberists, but also against the Cadets. **(P. 128, Vol. 13, Emphasis ours).**

On other occasion, Lenin says: ***"We revolutionary Social-Democrats favour joint actions by the party of the proletariat and the parties of the democratic petty bourgeoisie against the Black Hundreds and against the Cadets, as the party of treacherous liberalism. The Socialist Revolutionaries are so far from understanding this class foundation of the Russian Revolution that, on the one hand, they talk about co-ordination of socialist and extreme Left groups in general i.e., about concealing the contradictions between the prole- tariat and the small producer, and on the other hand, they talk about co-ordinated action by the revolutionary and socialist section of the Duma with the opposition, against the Black Hundreds.***

No, gentlemen, we shall not even discuss permanent agreements, or co-ordinated actions in general. You must first agree with us on the policy of fighting both the Black Hundreds and the Cadets-agree indeed. That is our ultimatum. You agree to oppose the Cadets? You have abandoned your Cadets? If that is

actually so, if that is not a mere paper declaration, but something you prove in action, then and only then, will the Social Democrats fight together with you in democratic action". **(PP. 166-167, Vol. 12).**

Distortion of Lenin :

Some people, in their anxiety to get support from Lenin for their policy of bourgeois election alliances, quote the following passage of Lenin where he says: *"Under a parliamentary system, it is often necessary, to support a more liberal party against the less liberal one. But during a revolutionary struggle for a parliamentary system, it is treachery to support liberal turncoats who are reconciling Trepov with the Revolution"* (P. 383, Vol. 9, Emphasis ours).

It is absurd to suggest that this sentence proposes united front with any section of the bourgeoisie. One should read all the passages of Lenin, against election alliances, agreements and blocs with the so-called liberal bourgeoisie.

This denotes Lenin's idea of utilising the contradictions of the enemy classes on certain issues. Nothing more. We must also remember that he has said this when Lenin was giving the call for the boycott of Duma elections in 1905, and 1906 and the Party was organising the masses for armed uprising, when the question of participating in the elections has not yet become a problem for the Russian Bolsheviks.

Another sentence of Lenin which is often mis quoted is: ***"At the higher stage of the election, i.e., at the assemblies of electors in the towns and of delegates and electors in the countryside partial agreements may be entered into exclusively for the purpose of distributing seats proportionately to the number of votes for the parties entering the agreement. In this connection, the Social Democratic Party distinguishes the following main types of bourgeois parties according to the consistency and determination of their democratic views: (a) the Socialist Revolutionaries, the Polish Socialist Party and similar republican parties (b) the Popu- lar Socialists and the Trudoviks of a similar type (c) the Cadets".*** **(P. 300, Vol. 11, Emphasis ours).**

As Lenin himself has clearly stated, this proposal is only for sharing of seats in the indirect elections. It was not unconditional political support to the Cadets. On the other hand, it was during this period that the main political struggle has been concentrated to expose the counter-revolutionary nature of the Cadets.

How often we hear from some of our critics that we should support the opposition section of the ruling classes and even the CPI-CPM combine in order to defeat Indira's autocracy or authoritarianism, forgetting the repressive role of this present opposition while they themselves were in power in the Centre, or the states administered by them. Refuting the fallacy of lesser or greater danger among the ruling classes, Lenin says:

"The Mensheviks' main argument is the Black-Hundred danger. The first and fundamental flaw in this argument is that the Black-Hundred danger cannot be combated by the Cadet tactics

and a Cadet policy. The essence of this policy lies in reconciliation with Tsarism that is, with the Black Hundred danger. The first Duma sufficiently demonstrated that the Cadets do not combat the Black Hundred danger but make incredibly despicable speeches about the innocence and blamelessness of the monarch, the known leader of the Black Hundreds. Therefore, by helping to elect Cadets to the Duma, the Mensheviks are not only failing to combat Black Danger, but are hoodwinking the people, are obscuring the real significance of the Black Hundred danger. Combating the Black danger by helping to elect the Cadets to the Duma is like combating programmes by means of the speech delivered by the lackey Rodichev It is presumption to hold the monarch responsible for the pogrom". **(P. 31, Vol. 11).**

Lenin further said: *"In the elections to the Third Duma (if it is convoked after the Second Duma) it will be even more difficult for you to dissolve the bloc with the Cadets, will be still more entangled in unnatural relations with the betrayers of the revolution. But the real Black Hundred danger, we repeat, lies not in the Black Hundreds obtaining seats in the Duma, but in pogroms and military courts; and you are making it more difficult for the people to fight this real danger by putting Cadet blinkers on their eyes".* **(P. 314, Vol. 11, Emphasis ours).**

Opposing the Menshevik conception of a national opposition, Lenin says: *"In his concluding remarks Lenin dealt chiefly with the principal mistake of Menshevism the idea of a 'national opposition'. The Russian bourgeoisie was never revolutionary in the proper sense of the word, and for a quite understandable reason; owing to the position which the working class occupies in Russia and owing to the role of the working class in the revolution".* **(P. 137, Vol. 13).**

Will our critics who have now become very vociferous in campaigning for the so-called 'National Alter- native', take any lessons from Comrade Lenin's opposition to 'National Opposition'?

Lenin's teachings in Left-Wing Communism an infantile disorder:

In 'Left-wing Communism an infantile disorder', Lenin categorically says: *"The whole history of Bolshevism both before*

and after the October Revolution is full of instances of maneuvering, temporising and compromising with other parties, bourgeois parties included".

He further says: *"To refuse beforehand to maneuver, to utilise the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporise and compromise with possible (even though temporary, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies, is not this ridiculous in the extreme?" Explaining the experiences of the Russian Revolution, Lenin says:*

"The Russian Revolutionary Social Democrats repeatedly utilised the services of the bourgeois liberals prior to the downfall of Tsardom, that is, they concluded numerous practical compromises with them; and in 1901-1902, even prior to the appearance of Bolshevism, the old Editorial Board of Iskra (consisting of Plekhanov, Axelrod, Zasullich, Martov, Petrewsov and myself) concluded (not for long, it is true) a for- mal political alliance with Struve, the political leader of bourgeois liberalism, while at the same time it was able to wage an unremitting and most merciless ideological and political struggle against bourgeois liberal- ism and against the slightest manifestation of its influence in the working class movement. The Bolsheviks have always adhered to this policy. Beginning with 1905, they systematically advocated an alliance be- tween the working class and the peasantry against the liberal bourgeoisie and Tsardom, never however, refusing to support the bourgeoisie against Tsardom (for instance, during the second round of elections, or during second ballot) and never ceasing their relentless ideological and political struggle against bourgeois revolutionary peasant Party, the Socialist Revolutionaries, exposing them as petty bourgeois democrats who falsely described themselves as socialists. During the Duma elections in 1907, the Bolsheviks for a brief period entered into a formal political bloc with the Socialist Revolutionaries. Between 1903 and 1911, there were periods of several years in which we were formally united with the Mensheviks in one Social Democratic Party; but we never ceased our ideological and political struggle against them as opportunists and vehicles of bourgeois influence among the proletariat. During the war we concluded certain compromises with the 'Kautskyites', with the Left Mensheviks (Martov), and with a section of the Socialist Revolutionaries, (Chernov

and Natansov); we were together with them at Zimmerwald and Kienthal and issued joint manifestos; but we never ceased and never relapsed our ideological and political struggle against the Kautskyites". **(Emphasis ours).**

Here we must note two factors: About the alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie in 1900-1902, the liberal bourgeoisie has not yet been exposed as treacherous and counter- revolutionary. This was done during the course of the 1905 Revolution and from then it was an irreconcilable ideolo- gical and political struggle against the counter-revolutionary Cadets pretending to be in the opposition.

On Great Britain :

On Great Britain, at that time, in Left-Wing Communism, Lenin said: *"There is no Communist Party in Great Britain yet, but there is a fresh, broad, powerful and rapidly growing communist movement among the workers which justifies the brightest hopes. There are several political parties and organisations (the British Socialist Party, the Socialist Labour Party, the South Wales Socialist Society, the Workers' Socialist Federation) which desire to form a communist party".*

"That the Hendersons, the Clynes, the Macdonalds and the Snowdens are hopelessly reactionary is true. It is equally true that they want to take power in their own hands (though they prefer a coalition with the bourgeoisie), that they want to rule on the old bourgeois lines and that when they do get into power they will unfailingly behave like the Scheidemans and Noskes. All that is true. But it by no means follows that to support them is treachery to the revolution, but rather than that in the interests of the revolution the working class revolutionaries should give the gentlemen a certain amount of parliamentary support".

"I will put it more concretely. In my opinion, the British Communists should unite their four (all very weak, and some very very weak) parties and groups into a single Communist Party on the basis of the principles of the Third International and of obligatory participation in parliament. The Communist Party should propose a compromise to the Hendersons and Snowdens, an election agreement; let us together fight the alliance of Lloyd George the Conservatives, let us divide the parliamentary seats in proportion

to the number of votes cast by the workers for the Labour Party, and for the Communist Party (not at the elections, but in a special vote) and let us retain complete liberty of agitation propaganda and political activity".

"If the Hendersons and the Snowdens consent to a bloc on these terms, we shall be the gainers... if the Hendersons and Snowdens reject a bloc with the Communists, the Communists will gain immediately as regards winning the sympathy of the masses"

"...In all constituencies where we have no candidates, we would urge the electors to vote for the Labour candidates and against the bourgeois candidate".

Depending on these proposals of Lenin pertaining to Britain at that time, some people interpret them to say that we should support the opposition, particularly the CPI-CPM combine in order to defeat Indira's authoritarianism.

Apart from their applicability to the Indian conditions of today, are these instructions of Lenin applicable to the present day conditions in Britain itself?

When comrade Lenin made these proposals for Britain, let us remember there was no Communist Party as such, which was only then information.

- The then, Labour Party of Britain was playing the opposition role towards the Conservatives in Britain, they had not yet come to power and exposed themselves to be as reactionary as the Conservatives. In short, they have not exposed themselves to the masses of the workers as the labour imperialists. The British Labour Party first came to power in Britain only in 1936, the first Mac Donald labour government in practice has exposed itself as the labour imperialist government.

Even then Lenin had cautioned that the support to the British Labour Party was not unconditional, but conditional on the basis of a common programme.

Inspite of the temporary alliance between the liberal bourgeoisie and the Communists in Russia in 1901- 1902, for a short period, when the counter-revolutionary nature of the Cadets had not been exposed, or their sharing of votes with the Cadets in the second stage i.e., the indirect elections, what stand out most prominently and strikingly is

Lenin's irreconcilable ideological and political struggle against the Cadets, the counter-revolutionary liberal bourgeoisie and against all bourgeois election alliances.

For combining legal and illegal activities:

The whole Duma period was also a period of intensive people's struggles outside the Duma and the revolutionary movement had to face heavy repression of Tsarist government.

In March 1908, Lenin said: ***"More than six months have passed since the reactionary coup of June 3, and beyond doubt this first half year has been marked by a considerable decline and weakening of all revolutionary organisations, including that of the Social Democrats. Wavering, disunity and disintegration such have been the general features of this half year. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, because of the extreme intensification of reaction and its temporary triumph, coupled with a slowing down in the direct class struggle, were bound to be accompanied by a crisis in the revolutionary parties".*** **(P. 17, Vol. 15.**

He further said: ***"A year of disintegration, a year of ideological and political disunity, a year of Party driftage lies behind us. The membership of all our party organisations has dropped. Some of them namely those whose membership was least proletarian have fallen to pieces. The Party's semi-legal institutions created by the revolution have been broken up time after time. Things reached a point when some elements within the party, under the impact of general break-up, began to ask whether it was necessary to preserve the old Social Democratic Party; whether it was necessary to continue its work, whether it was necessary to go underground once more, and how this was to be done. And the extreme right (the liquidationist trend, so- called) answered this question in the sense that it was necessary to legalise ourselves at all costs, even at the price of an open renunciation of the Party programme, tactics and organistion. This was undoubtedly an ideological and political crisis as well as an organisational one".*** **(P. 345, Vol. 15.**

In the face of this heavy repression, two wrong trends appeared among the ranks of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Russia. The trend of Otzovism among a section of the Bolshevik ranks and the trend of Liquidationism among the Menshevik ranks.

Lenin characterised Oztovism as a "germ of ideological liquidationism on the Left". During the fag end of Third Duma, these Oztovists again called for the boycott of elections, recall of the Party representatives from the Third Duma and refused to work in the mass organisations. Lenin said:

"Oztovism is not Bolshevism, but the worst political travesty of Bolshevism its worst political enemy could invent. There must be absolute clarity on this point. We think that all Bolsheviks, down to the smallest circle, should be perfectly clear in their minds what Oztovism stands for; should study it thoroughly and ask themselves: Is this not obvious renunciation — under the flag of 'revolutionariness' and 'Left- ism' of the fine traditions of the old Bolshevism, as it came into being in the period before the revolution and in the fire of the revolution?"

Attacking the trend of Liquidationism among the Menshevik ranks, Lenin declared: ***"Liquidationism in the narrow sense of the word, the liquidationism of the Mensheviks, consists ideologically in negation of the revolutionary class struggle of the socialist proletariat in general and denial of the hegemony of the proletariat in our bourgeois-democratic revolution in particular".*** **(P. 454, Vol. 15)**. He further said:

"In respect of organistion, liquidationism means denying the necessity for an illegal Social-Democratic Party, and consequently renouncing the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, leaving its ranks. It means fighting the Party in the columns of the legal press, in legal workers' organisations, in the trade unions and co-operative societies, at congresses attended by working class delegates etc." **(P. 454, Vol. 15).** Fighting against both these trends, Bolsheviks persisted in combining both the legal and illegal activi

ties, Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary activities and struggled to preserve the secret organisation. Ideo- logical and political struggle against Menshevism and unity with the Menshevik ranks.

One more very significant feature of the activities of the Bolsheviks and Lenin's writings of the Duma period is the uncompromising ideological and political struggle against the Menshevik leadership and positive approach to win the ordinary ranks in the day today struggles and the struggle for Revolution. On all issues of this period the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks held diametrically opposite views.

While the Bolsheviks were for armed uprising in 1905-1906, the Menshevik leadership was against it. While the Bolsheviks were for the Boycott of the Duma in 1905- 1906, the Mensheviks were for the participa- tion. While participating in the elections, the Bolsheviks were for participation on their own strength in the direct elections, with no election alliances with any liberal bourgeois opposition, the Menshevik leadership was for such bourgeois election agree- ments and blocs with the liberal bourgeoisie of various shades.

Thus we could see a running ideological and political struggle against the theories and policies of Menshevik leadership. While conducting the ideological and political struggle against the Menshevik leadership the revisionists - the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership consistently worked to draw the Menshevik ranks and their mass organisations in the day-to-day struggles of the people, and in the struggle for Revolution. It was a very serious and complex struggle which started with the Third Congress of the Party till 1912.

When the Mensheviks were finally expelled and the Bolsheviks formed themselves into a separate Party CPSU (Bolsheviks).

The teachings of Lenin of the whole period from 1905 to 1912. On the question of boycott and participation in the elections, the principles guiding such participation, rejection of bourgeois election alliances, agreements, blocs with liberal bourgeois opposition, irreconcilable ideological and political struggle against the policies and tactics of the Mensheviks the revisionists are all basic lessons of Marxism-Leninism.

Their application will vary from country to country, but they are universal teachings binding on the communist revolutionaries throughout the world.

Dimitrov's Report in 1935:

For all class collaborationists and all those who want united front with the opposition section of the ruling classes, and bourgeois election alliances, have been taking shelter under the Dimitrov's Report in 1935, to the 7th Congress of the Third International under the leadership of Stalin.

We are sorry to note that even some of the communist revolutionaries have been misusing Dimitrov's report in support of their theories of bourgeois election alliances, because comrade Stalin's name has been associated with this report.

But if one reads Dimitrov's Report carefully, there is nothing to support the theories of class collaboration or the theories of those who want bourgeois election alliances. What does Dimitrov's Report say?

Class character of Fascism:

Comrade Dimitrov says: ***"Fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital".***

"The accession to power of fascism is not an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government but a substi- tution for one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie - bourgeois democracy - - of another form of open, terrorist dictatorship".

"Fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is a ferocious power but an unstable one".

"The working class must be able to take advantage of the antagonisms and conflicts within the bourgeois camp, but it must not cherish the illusion that fascism will exhaust itself of its own accord. Fascism will not collapse automatically. It is only the revolutionary activity of the working class which can help to take advantage of the conflicts which inevitably arise within the bourgeois camp in order to undermine the fascist dictatorship and to overthrow it".

How can fascism be prevented from coming to power and how can fascism be overthrown after it has been victorious?

To this, the Communist International replies: ***"The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to commence, is to form a united front, to establish unity of the action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defence but also of successful counter-offensive against fascism, against the class enemy".***

"What is and ought to be the basic content of the united front at the present stage? The defence of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defence of the working class against fascism, must form the starting point, and main content of the united front in all capitalist countries".

"In the mobilisation of the toiling masses for the struggle against fascism, the formation of a broad people's anti-fascist front on the basis of the proletarian united front is a particularly important task. The success of the entire struggle of the proletariat is closely connected with the establishment of a fighting alliance and the basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie constituting the majority in the population of even industrially developed country".

"Election campaigns must be utilised for the further development and strengthening of the united fighting front of the proletariat. While coming forward independently in the elections and unfolding the programme of the Communist Party before the masses, the communists must seek to establish a united front with the Social Democratic Parties and the Trade Union (also with the organisations of the toiling peasants, handicraftsmen etc) and exert every effort to prevent the elections of reactionary and fascist candidates. In the face of fascist danger the communists may, while reserving for themselves freedom of political agitation and criticism, participate in election campaigns on a common platform and with a common ticket of the anti-fascist front, depending on the growth and success of the united front movement, also depending on the electoral system in operation".

When studying Dimitrov's Report, one should remember that it deals with advanced capitalist countries, and for the colonial countries, its call has been for building the anti-imperialist front.

The quotations given above from Dimitrov's Report are enough to show the absurdity of the theory of some of our critics that fascism is a society different from the capita- list society.

It also exposes the theory of those who propagate that under fascism the principal contradiction of the society changes. It also refutes the theory of those who say that during the period of struggle, the struggle must be confined only to the struggle for democratic rights.

It also exposes the theory of those who propagate that we must support any section of the ruling classes without a common platform of struggle and a common ticket based on a concrete struggle against fascism.

Based on the directives of Dimitrov's Report, in some of the advanced capitalist countries, particularly in France and Spain, the communists did unite with the Socialists and certain elements of the

radical bourgeoisie in order to fight the forces of fascism in those countries, participated in the elections in a united front with them and when this front got a majority in the parliaments, the communists even joined the Cabinets formed based on this united front election victories.

But historically, both of them could not survive more than a few months. Some of the very forces with whom the communists united in those elections betrayed the communists, expelled them from the Cabinets, resorted to repression on them and paved the way for fascism. In Spain, ultimately these events led to the civil war of 1936. In France, Hitler's war intervened and the whole Western Europe's political situation changed.

What are the positive and negative experiences of the united front with socialists and radical bourgeois elements both in France and Spain? No communist leader of international stature like Stalin, had politicalised these experiences and gave both positive and negative lessons, perhaps because of the short duration of this exercise.

Here also one must remember this experience also relates to the experience of the advanced capitalist countries, and they do not apply to the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Post-Second World War Period:

During the Second World War, when Hitler's Germany occupied the whole of Europe, the communists of Europe under the inspiring leadership of Stalin, played a heroic role in this National Liberation War. Let us remember that the Communists became the mass force among their people only because of their heroic role in that National Liberation struggle against Hitler's occupation.

When the Second World War ended in 1944, the Communists in countries like France and Italy emerged with a big mass following and thousands of armed guerillas behind them.

After the war, on the demand of the other bourgeois parties, the Communist Parties agreed to disperse their armed forces, submit them to their respective bourgeois governments. They decided to participate in the elections.

In the background of united front struggle against Hitler's occupation, the communists, particularly in France and Italy joined the Cabinets of those countries, formed immediately after the ending of world war.

At that time the communists were a big force among the people, with a big representation in the Parliaments. The bourgeois parties maneuvered again and again to make changes in the electoral laws to suit the bourgeoisie and reduced the representation of the communists. This happened particularly in France.

What is the content of the activities of the communists in Western Europe up to 1956?

The main content is disbanding their armed forces, submitting their arms to the bourgeois governments, legal activities with Parliament as the main platform of struggle. In this period itself election agreements with other bourgeois parties and the socialists for the sole purpose of increasing their representation in the parliament, became the main feature in the activities of the Communists in West Europe. Is this orientation based on the principles of Marxism- Leninism as taught by Lenin on the question of elections?

Here again unfortunately no Marxist-Leninist leader of international stature like Stalin, has left us any- thing on record. Later, when he took up the ideological struggle against modern revisionism of the CPSU leadership, Comrade Mao had attacked this whole orientation. He criticised the disbanding of armed forces of the people and the parliamentary illusions.

After the theory of Peaceful transition peddled by the CPSU leadership in 1956:

Even if there was any limitations or checks in the practice of West European Communists in their parliamentary work till 1956, with the theory of Peaceful Transition propagated by the Modern Revisionists led by the CPSU leadership in 1956, all these limitations and checks were swept away and all the gates were opened

wide for their policies of class collaboration. The practice of bourgeois election alliances have been systematised. They have declared their confidence in the Path of Peaceful Transition to Socialism and that they can achieve it through changes in the capitalist constitutions themselves. Finally, the theory of Euro-Communism has evolved out of these theories of Peaceful transition.

Thus one could see that the theory of euro-Communism is nothing but the theory of peaceful transition to Socialism. To call it a scientific experiment, as some international friends call it, is nothing but a distortion of Marxism- Leninism.

It is under the theory of bourgeois election alliances, the practice of path of parliamentarism the path of peaceful transition to socialism, being practiced by the revisionists and the neo-revisionists in India has evolved. It is out of this, their present slogan 'Left and Democratic front' has evolved. Practice has already proved that its main aim is to have bourgeois election alliances with all sorts of opposition sections of the ruling classes and even dissident section of the ruling Party, the Indira Congress.

Experience of the International Communist Movement in the past and the basic teachings of Marxism- Leninism have taught us that bourgeois election alliances and the revolutionary struggle are diametrically opposed to each other and there can be no compromise between them.

Applicability to India:

The teachings of Lenin on the question of elections, parliamentary institutions, bourgeois election alliances, united front with sections of the ruling classes when and why, cannot be copied mechanically and applied to the Indian conditions.

We have to concretely study the socio-economic and political conditions in India at present, determine our own tactics of struggle based on the universal teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

— One should remember that Lenin's teachings on the attitude of the working class towards the bourgeois parties are based on the experiences of revolution in Tsarist Russia an imperialist country though economically weak.

- India is not a capitalistically developed industrial country, but a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, ruled by the comprador big bourgeois big landlord classes, subservient to imperialism and social imperialism at present.

The semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of our country shows that imperialism dominates our country till the New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the working class finally triumphs.

Because of its semi-colonial and semi-feudal character, our country has become the hunting ground for the imperia- list powers to contend for domination, particularly the contention of the two super powers, US imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism, as part of their rivalry for world hegemony.

Our ruling classes being comprador, they are tied to the various imperialist powers, USA, Soviet Union, and the second world countries, and therefore the contradictions of the imperialist powers are being reflected in the contradictions of the ruling classes in India.

Whether one likes it or not, bourgeois parliamentary institutions are a fact of life in India. Though im- posed by the British, they objectively exist and the majority of the people in India still follow the various ruling class parties and the revisionists and neo-revisionists, showing the strong parliamentary and reformist illusions of our people.

Based on the concrete situation in India, under the guidance of Marxism Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, our Party has determined its own tactics of struggle.

Since our country is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, the experiences of the Chinese Revolution are more relevant to India than the experiences of the advanced capitalist countries.'

Based on this fact, our Party has declared that Agrarian Revolution is the main form of struggle for the complete liberation of our country. Agrarian Revolutionary struggle is the main form of struggle in all phases of our struggle for New Democratic Revolution, combined with the struggle for united front, based on the concrete situation in each phase of the struggle. This demands that all the immediate struggles of the people, economic and political, national and international should be consciously orientated towards advancing the Agrarian revolutionary struggle.

Our country being a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, there are certain occasions when the working class has to unite with sections of the ruling classes, on occasions like fighting foreign aggression against our country, our country becoming a neo-colony of any of the imperialist powers, and uniting with sections of the ruling classes for democratic rights under conditions of the Emergency rule.

On all other occasions, there can be no general political united front between the working class and any section of the ruling classes on the basis of any common programme. But we should utilise the contradictions of the ruling classes and their parties on specific immediate issues, economic and political, to advance the revolutionary movement in the country.

Since we take Soviet social imperialism as greater danger to our people today both nationally and internationalally, naturally, we take the pro-Soviet lobby, the Indira Congress, the CPI-CPM combine and other pro- Soviet forces in other parties to be a greater danger to our people today.

While we concentrate the peoples struggles on the Indira Congress government both in the Centre and the States, an irreconcilable ideological and political struggle should be conducted against the compromising policies of the CPI-CPM combine, who faithfully serve the interests of the Soviet Union, both in India and abroad.

While we conduct an irreconcilable ideological and political struggle against the compromising policies of the leaderships of the CPI-CPM combine, we pursue a consistent policy of uniting with their ranks and their mass organisations to conduct united struggles on the immediate issues of the people.

Our decision to participate in the elections depending on the level of the revolutionary movement and the consciousness of the people, the aims of our participation, our rejection of election agreements or adjustments of seats with the opposition section of the ruling classes, or the CPI- CPM, our decision to have such electoral agreements or adjustments of seats only with other communist revolutionary organisations or those who are for anti-imperialist struggles and the struggle for democratic rights, are all based on the teachings of Lenin, as quoted above.

Thus one could see that the programme, tactics of struggle, and the political line of some of our critics are not based on any theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism. They are nothing but blind assertions.

It is because of the sound theoretical foundation based on the concrete situation in our country, the concentration of our comrades to implement this programme, that has helped our Party to advance the revolutionary movement in the country and we have already emerged as the biggest among the revolutionary organisations in the country. It is this fact that gives us confidence in our programme, tactics of struggle and the political line of our Party.

Advance on the path of Agrarian Revolution.

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Bourgeois Election Alliances: Certain Experiences from Past History

What is the attitude of the Communist Revolutionaries towards elections? Can the Communist Revolutionaries have election alliances with opposition ruling class parties or the revisionist and the neo-revisionists ? What is the relation between election work and Agrarian Revolution? These questions have come before the Communist Revolutionaries for discussion. It is true there are serious differences among them on all these questions. They are related to ideological conceptions, political assessments and tactics of struggle and practice.

Certain organisations of Communist Revolutionaries publicly say that they are still boycotting elections as a principle. Participation in elections is a question of tactics. When the revolutionary movement is on the upsurge, elections are boycotted. When the revolutionary movement is in the retreat, depending on the consciousness of the people and the movement, one should participate in the elections. These are Lenin's principles. But these comrades have nothing to do with this ideology. They think that boycott of elections represents leftism. They wrongly think that this 'left' pose is useful for revolutionary struggle.

But they are not able even to implement their slogan of boycott of elections in practice. At the village level, their cadres, ranks and sympathisers are actively participating in the elections and that too in all elections. It is significant to note that some of these elements are having links with groups inside the Congress and support such groups which they think are favourable to them. They even secretly propagate in support of the Congress (1). Boycott of elections in the day time, but participating during the night time-this is the wonderful practice of some of them. Formal declaration of boycott of election by their leadership but participation in the elections by their cadres and ranks at the lower levels -this is their practice. This is nothing but the degeneration of the slogan of boycott of elections.

There are other organisations of Communist Revolutionaries. These organisations are going to the other extreme. They contest certain seats. In all other seats they are supporting opposition ruling class

parties, the revisionists and the neo-revisionists. They claim to be doing this to defeat the Congress (1) in power, in the name of defeating Indira's autocracy or Indira's fascism or in the name of building the anti-fascist front.

Our Party opposes both these trends and resists them. We have decided to participate in the elections taking into consideration the consciousness of the people, and the level of the people's movement. But our Party has laid down the general principles for such participation. Extensive propagation of revolutionary politics among the people, political consolidation of existing people's movements, extension of the movement to new areas, organising the people for new struggles after the elections-these are the general principles guiding our participation in the elections.

We have clearly stated that our participation in the elections should not create any illusions among the people about the existing big-bourgeois big-landlord constitution. On the other hand, it should help the people to realise the necessity of Agrarian Revolution. We should tell the people that elections under the present Constitution will not bring any benefits to the people and that New Democratic Revolution is the only Path of Liberation for our people.

We have decided to participate in the elections on the basis of our own strength. We have decided not to have any election alliances either with the opposition ruling class parties, or with the revisionists and neo- revisionists. We will have election alliances only with those who support the New Democratic Revolution. Where we do not contest, we do not support either the opposition section of the ruling class parties or the CPI-CPM combine.

These are the general principles guiding our participation in the elections-direct and indirect.

Of course one has to analyse the ideological, political and tactical questions about the election alliances with the opposition section of the ruling classes or the CPI-CPM combine.

But first let us see the experiences of such election alliances from our past history in India, particularly from the experience in Andhra.

Betrayal of the Heroic Telengana struggle (1946-51) Entry into Parliamentary elections

In India, the Heroic Telengana Struggle (1946-51) was the first struggle for Agrarian Revolution. At that time, the Nehru government sent its army to crush this struggle. With this, the leadership of the

united Communist Party betrayed the Telengana struggle, laid down arms and decided to participate in the elections.

But the ranks of the Telengana struggle refused to lay down their arms and give up the struggle. Both the revisionists and neo-revisionists had to invent many lies to convince them to lay down their arms. They even utilised the name of the great Stalin for this dirty purpose. Finally they resorted to the last weapon-deception. They said:

We laid down arms only temporarily. We will preserve the arms secretly. Our participation in the elections is only temporary. Now our forces are weakened. Let us gather some strength by participating in the elections and then take up arms again. So we participate in the elections, as a preparation for taking up arms again.

Only with such promises could the leadership force the fighters, the rank and file of the Telengana struggle to lay down their arms and take to the path of parliamentarism.

It is true that the 'Pandavas' preserved their arms secretly for one year. But after that one year, Pandavas took up their arms again, waged war against Kauravas and won back their kingdom.

But our Pandavas-the revisionists and the neo revisionists, followed a different path. They did not go into secret hiding. What they entered were only the open parliamentary institutions, what they practiced was only parliamentary tactics, the path of bourgeois election alliances, winning seats and then power, that is, through elections. They have developed this as an 'art'. They have gained experience in this 'art'. They have forgotten the arms, which they say they have preserved secretly. They have become worshippers of the parliamentary path and created 'theories' of peaceful transition.

How did the revisionists and the neo-revisionists degenerate from the path of armed struggle to the path of parliamentarism? How did they change from secret Party life to mere legalism? How did they change from the path of Agrarian Revolution to the path of bourgeois election alliances?

This transformation did not come in a single day but happened step by step. First they started attacking the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism itself. They began to say that some Marxist-Leninist tenets have become outdated. In the name of utilising the contradictions of the ruling classes they began the search for the 'good' and 'bad' in the

Congress and began to call all those on friendly terms with the leaders as 'progressives' and began forming united front with them.

With this, the revisionists and the neo-revisionists abandoned the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle of exposing the anti-people's character of all the ruling classes and their parties before the people. In practice the policy of uniting with the opposition section of the ruling classes for election purposes began to be adopted. The slogan of united front with the opposition section of the ruling classes began to come into operation.

Marxism-Leninism is based on class struggle. The revisionists and the neo-revisionists abandoned this very principle itself. Under the pretext of united front with the middle and rich peasants, the struggle for the demands of the agricultural labourers was abandoned. The policy of agitating only on those demands of the agricultural labourers to which the middle and rich peasants agreed to, was put into practice.

It is time we should unite the agricultural labourers, the poor peasants, the middle and rich peasants against the landlords at the village level. For this, we must fight against the feudal exploitation, whoever practices it. For this we must fight for the demands of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. At the same time, we must fight for the demands of the middle and rich peasants. In this process we should build the united front with the middle and rich peasants against the landlords. The leadership betrayed this and their line helped only the landlords.

With the era of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union, the policy of peaceful transition was increasingly propagated in India, the policy that the present system of exploitation could be changed peacefully came to the forefront. Of course, all these changes did not take place in a single day, but only gradually, step by step. One should carefully study this step by step transformation.

Abandonment of Class Struggle

In 1952 elections, the communists, both in Telengana and Andhra regions, won big victories. In both the areas the communists emerged as the biggest political force.The revisionists and the neo-revisionists utilised the high prestige of heroic struggle of 1946-51, the sacrifices of the people, and the fighting heroes into their electoral gains. But in

both the regions, the Congress, with the help of the 'independents' was able to retain its power.

With these electoral gains, the leadership began to propagate new theories. In Andhra today, tommorrow Kerala, then West Bengal and step by step capture of power through elections-began to be increasingly propagated among the ranks. Some openly did this, some began 'blissfully' to dream of such changes.

Between 1951-56 the Party worked under the guidance of 1951 Programme which has characterised our country as a semi-colonial aud semi-feudal country with fake independence and bogus democracy. It said that only Revolution could liberate our people. This remained on paper, in practice this was betrayed. At that time, it was undivided Madras State. Barren speech-making in the Assemblies and Parliament, public meetings, and exaggeration of our role in those institutions-became the general pattern of Party work.

In this period, discussions which have ideological importance took place.

First: Some senior comrades said that we are abandoning anti land- lord struggles at the village level, the struggle for waste lands, the struggles for agricultural labourers and demands of the poor peasants and giving more importance to our work in the Assemblies and Parliament. This was wrong. We must take the first task as the major task. But in the course of the discussions, all these good points were relegated to the background. How to retain present Assembly and parliament seats we have already won ? How to win new seats? The discussions centered around this.

Not only that. A new conception was brought in. It was said that it was wrong to fight only for the demands of the agricultural labourers. They cautioned that such a policy would alienate the middle and rich peasants from the Party. They cautioned the Party that the demands of the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants have to be settled peacefully.

These elements began to say that we should not only agitate for the demands of the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, but our mass organisations should take the responsibility of making these sections do their work properly.

With this the call was given to the mass organisations that they should see that the agricultural labourers should work for 7-8 hours

completely in the fields. With this, the hateful method of beating the drums signalling the agricultural labourers as to when they should start from their homes for work in the fields and when they should leave the fields for home, was started both in the mornings and the evenings.

Naturally this gladdened the hearts of the landlords in the villages. They were glad that these communists were working as their agents among the agricultural labourers. They began lavishly praising these communists and these communists were carried away by praises from the landlord elements. They began to defend their service to the landlords in the name of united front with the middle and rich peasants. In practice, the 'united front' never came into existence as a result of such tactics. Only it helped the landlords. With this, the leadership began to make friendship with the small landlords and rich peasants to get more votes and seats.

We must unite the agricultural labourers, poor, middle and rich peasants. What are their problems? How to co-ordinate these struggles ? How to build united front against the landlords? These were never discussed. No programme was given for this. But the line of the leadership helped the landlords only.

Second: In 1952 elections the Congress had been severely defeated in the Circar districts. The Communists won greater number of seats in these districts. Because of this, the Congress leadership began rousing the regional passions of the people of one area against the people in another area-Rayalaseema against the Circar districts.

The aim of the Congress leadership was to divert the attention of the people from their class struggles and anti landlord struggles. For this, they began rousing the passions of the people of one area against the people of another area. For this they raised slogans like Kurnool as the capital of the new Andhra state, the slogan of Krishna - Pennar Project, the high level canal of Thungabhadra to be constructed first, establishing Tirupathi University etc. to rouse Rayalaseema people against Circar districts.

It was the duty of the communists to defeat this conspiracy. But this could only be defeated by organising the exploited classes of all areas against the landlords and advance the revolutionary movement. But the leadership of the united Communist Party did not adopt such a

course. The attitude of the leadership on all the questions raised above, in practice only helped the Congress in diverting the attention of the people from the path of class struggles and anti-landlord struggles. This main failure of this period is to be noted.

Take one more example. Whose duty is it to repair the irrigation canals? It is the responsibility of the government. To agitate among the people and organise and force the government to implement these tasks, is the task of the communists. But what was the attitude of the leadership of the united communist movement with regard to repairs to the Krishna canals? They themselves began to dig the canals to repair them. They mobilised the party ranks to do this job. They took photos of leaders participating in this manual labour and published in the Party organs. Of course this will show the 'love' of the Party for the interests of the people. But will work of such reformist nature rouse the class consciousness of the people? They were only hiding the abandonment of class struggle behind these reformist works.

1955 elections in Andhra Wrong Lessons

Whatever it be, the struggle for power between the various Congress groups was useful for the united Communist Party leadership. The Prakasam ministry was defeated. Elections were again held for the Andhra Assembly. The leadership of the united Communist Party announced an election manifesto for capture of power through the elections. But it fought the elections on the basis of its own strength.

Even by then, the struggle of the Heroic Telengana Struggle (1946-51) was still fresh in the minds of the people. So agricultural labourers, the poor peasants came forward in support of the Party in that elections on a big scale. The Congress leaders united all its groups and all landlords' groups to retain power. It spent lavishly on arrack and toddy to purchase votes. Where the landlords were stronger, they suppressed the voice of the poorer sections. They did not allow the poorer sections to vote, if they were suspected of having sympathies for the Communist Party.

With such dirty methods, the Congress won in that election. The united Communist Party was decisively defeated. But the leadership refused to take proper lessons from this defeat. It took wrong lessons. In the period between 1952-55, with election illusions dominating the minds of the leadership, by and large, it has abandoned the path of class struggle and the anti-landlord struggle as its main task to advance

the Agrarian Revolution. In the districts, when such issues were taken, it was due to the initiative of the district leadership. Even then, they did not go beyond the legal, economic and general political agitational level, The main work of the Party during this period was work in the Assemblies and Parliament, deputations to govt. offices, petitions to the govt. etc. Because of this, we failed to politically consolidate the enthusiasm of the masses shown in 1952 elections. We could not win the masses. In addition, in 1955 elections the Congress could penetrate our ranks and purchase votes. Thus we could see that because of our concentration on such issues like Capital or regional issues; instead of concentrating on anti-landlord struggles and class struggles-this has resulted in the weakening of the revolutionary movement in Andhra. The leadership of the united Communist Party refused to take this lesson.

By 1955, our movement in Andhra has been forced to depend more on the general political sympathies of the masses. In the name of overcoming this weakness, the leadership at all levels adopted the method of big public meetings and rallies. The leadership deluded itself into thinking that all people who attended those meetings would vote for the Party. With this, house to house and group propaganda work was abandoned. Propaganda through jeeps and mikes became the main feature. Above all, propaganda with the help of the cine artists dominated the election campaign. With such election propaganda, the Party failed to get any additional votes. The result was only debts running into lakhs of rupees for the District Committees and Provincial Committee, becoming an unbearable burden. The Party leadership failed to take proper lessons from this. This continued to be the main practice in the subsequent elections too.

Above all these things, was it correct on the part of the communists to try to come to power through elections? Will elections, held under the present Constitution meant to preserve the present system of exploitation, bring about any basic changes in the conditions of the people? None in the leadership dared to discuss this basic question. We were terribly afraid even to raise such questions at that time.

Instead of putting these fundamental questions, and find correct answers, it was decided that our defeat was due to lack of united front with other bourgeois parties. In addition, it was declared that it was wrong on the part of the Party to have included the programme of 'land

to the tiller' in the election manifesto, which according to them, resulted in driving the middle and rich peasants into the lap of the landlords.

One should remember that these very wrong lessons formed the basis for bourgeois election alliances of the later period.

Shameful methods for the liquidation of the Party

With the defeat of the Party in these elections, some leaders in the united communist movement lost hopes for the future. They began advising their close followers and sympathisers to look after their own family affairs. They advised their followers like this: "We have tried to capture power through the Telengana armed struggle. But we failed. This time we have tried for the same through the elections. Now also we have failed. Now there is no question of our coming to power in the near future. It is better now to look after your own family affairs. You sell the small plots of lands in Krishna and Guntur districts and go to new project areas in backward districts, where you can purchase land cheaply and can improve the lot of your families". In actual practice, what they tried to do was the virtual liquidation of the Party in the most shameful manner.

Some persons took the cue from this. Hundreds of cadres from Party ranks from Krishna and Guntur districts were encouraged to migrate. In a planned way, they were all rehabilitated on the banks of Godavari river in Khammam and Warangal districts, along the K.C. canal and the High level and Low level canals of Tungabhadra. They purchased lands of the girijans and poor peasants cheaply. Now they have become rich. Actually some of them had become the landlords and village-bureaucrats exploiting the local people. When one remembers the sacrifices of some of these persons in the earlier struggles and their new role as exploiters, one gets disgusted. They are standing examples of the degeneration of the policies of the leadership of the united Communist Party.

United Front with Dissident Congressmen

We have already seen how the leadership of the united Communist Party refused to draw proper lessons from the electoral defeat in 1955. We have already seen how they drew the wrong lesson that the defeat was primarily due to absence of election alliances with the bourgeois groups.

This same process took another shape in the Telengana region. In order to deceive the people, the Congress government brought forward Tenancy Act for the 'protection' of Tenancy Rights of the peasants and the Party lost no time in hailing it.

As a result of this Act, actually all the lands seized by the peasants during the heroic struggle were dragged to the courts, where the peasants lost greater part of these lands, because they had no land records in their favour. Only in those villages, where the peasants had strength in their mass organisations, they could retain some of these lands by compromising with the landlords. In the greater part of the Telengana area, the peasants lost majority of the lands seized during the Telengana struggle. Landlords were once again established in the villages of Telangana. The gains of the Heroic Telengana were lost one after the other. The leadership of united communist movement was satisfied with the Parliamentary work and deputations to the bureaucratic officials.

Thus, with the Parliamentary work, with Agrarian Revolution as aim, class struggles have been abandoned by and large. The Party work was confined largely to legal, economic struggles and general political agitations. By 1957 Assembly and Parliament elections, the class basis and the support of the people were very much weakened. As in the past, the Party could not win seats on the basis of its own strength. With this, the hunt for the bourgeois 'friends' began.

But at this time, still there was no clear-cut bourgeois opposition to the Congress in Andhra. Factional struggles inside the Congress had started. A part of the Party leadership began to see 'progressives' within the Congress. These were the days when the Second Five Year Plan was launched. A part of the leadership began to see 'progressiveness' in this plan. These were the days of peaceful transition theories emanating from the Soviet Union with the rise of Khrushchev to power there.

In this political background, the process of befriending the dissident Congressmen by the leadership of the united Communist Party started. The process of having united front with those Congressmen, who did not get Congress tickets, and 'independents' started. The arguments of the leadership in defence of such a line were strange to say the least!

We cannot win a seat in any particular constituency on our own strength. Our votes in another constituency are not sufficient to win a seat. Let us barter our votes in such constituencies with dissident Congressmen or 'independents' to take their votes in the other constituency in return and win these seats and thus strengthen ourselves in the Assemblies.

Do anything-but win the seat. That was the only motto! From this, the policy of united front with Congress dissidents became the policy of united Communist Party, from top to bottom, to be applied from the village panchayats to the Parliament. Thus the class struggle and the class issues were relegated into the background, weakening the anti-landlord struggles.

United Front with 'Progressives' inside the Congress.

Having taken to this policy, it did not stop there. It took its inevitable course. With the Second Five year Plan, the Soviet leadership, with its revisionist theories, began to enter India on a big scale. Condemnation of the great Stalin and praises for Nehru started. Defence of the 'progressive policies of Nehru, became the official line of the Party to advance towards socialism. The leadership of the united Communist Party took up this 'sacred' task of defending 'Nehru's progressivism'.

In the background of this new theory, the then Party in West Bengal made a united front with Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee, began supporting the Akalis under the leadership of Fateh Singh, began supporting Congress against the DMK in Madras. In Andhra, it took to worse forms. Let's look at a few examples.

There was a contest for Chief Ministership between Burgula Rama Krishna Rao and Venkata Ranga Reddy among the Congress legislators. The leadership of the Party immediately announced that Burgula Rama Krishna Rao was a representative of the small landlords and he should be supported. Here one should remember it was the Congress legislators who were to elect their Chief Minister. So the support of the Party was only in the streets.

When the present Andhra State was formed, there was a contest for Chief Ministership between Sanjeeva Reddy and Gopala Reddy, the two Congress leaders. The leadership of the united Communist Party immediately annouced that Sanjeeva Reddy was the representative

of smaller land- lords and that Gopal Reddy was the represetative of the bigger landlords and they supported Sanjeeva Reddy. Where? In the streets and in the Party official organs. Whom did they really help? Only to bury the concept of class struggle and take to the path of class collabortion.

It did not stop with this. When there was a contest between the Congress and the Swatanthra Party candidate Ranga, the Party leadership openly supported the Congress candidate as against the candidate of the Swathanthra Party since the Congress was considered to be progressive. But unfortunately for them Ranga subsequently joined the Congress itself.

By 1962, the policy of class collaboration became more open. A proposal came before the State Committee that the united Party should publish the list of Congress candidates whom the Party would support. Of course it was rejected. But it was this conception that led later to the CPI's support to the IndiraCongress govt. and its emergency rule.

This policy of finding the 'progressives' inside the Congress played havoc with the District Committees leading to splits among them, each faction supporting one set of Congress groups in the district. For instance, in Khammam district, a section in the District Committee supported one section of Congress led by the notorious Vengal Rao, while the other section supported the another section of Congress men led by Siddha Reddy.

This policy did not materially change even with the formation of the CPM. It was only said that the Party should support the non-official Congress. Opposition to the Congress became united front with opposition section of the ruling parties. For instance, the Muslim League in Kerala became 'progressive' if it tied itself with the CPM. And the same Muslim League became 'reactionary' if it links with the Congress.

Now both the revisionists and the neo-revisionists have taken up this concept. It is this policy that has now become the policy of building the Left and Democratic Front propagated now by both of them. Its sole aim is united front with the opposition section of the ruling classes. That is why both of them are running after the Janata, Lok Dal, Akali Dal, DMK and AIDMK etc., all in the name of opposing the authoritarianism of Indira Gandhi !

Both the revisionists and the neo-revisionists have long ago abandoned the path of class struggle and resistance struggle. Step by step they were wedded to the path of parliamentarism. Winning of seats and capturing state ministries became their sole aim. Defence of these ministries has now become their sole concern. For this, they should win the sympathy of Indira Gandhi in the Centre. That is why both of them are now praising the 'non-aligned' and 'anti-imperialist' polices of Indira Gandhi to the skies. Now they have changed from fake opposition to critical support. They have paved the way from praising Nehru to praising Indira Gandhi. This is the culmination of their policies of class collaboration.

We should note the gradual change of the revisionists and the neo- revisionists from the position of Telengana armed struggle to the present path of parliamentarism.

// Having betrayed the Telengana struggle, during 1952-55, the united Communist Party, by and large, participated in the election on its own strength. With the participation in elections, work in the Assemblies: legal, economic and general political agitations and deputations to bureaucratic officials became the main work of the Party. Class struggles were by and large abandoned. They later changed to united front with Congress dissidents and 'independents'. Later it became united front with the 'progressives' inside the Congress itself and support to Nehru's progressivism. Then it changed to support to Indira Congress rule and its Emergency rule by the CPI. Now 'left and democratic front' i.e, united front with all opposition sections of the ruling classes, and critical support to Indira Gandhi has now become the policy of the CPI and CPM.

Panchayat Raj-Factional politics in the Villages

We have seen above, how, after 1952 elections, the leadership of the united Communist Party abandoned class struggles and took to the path of class collaboration. The heinous features of this policy can be clearly seen in the programme of these parties in the villages.

In 1956, Nehru introduced Village Panchayat Raj. With this, the Samitis to be formed of the Presidents of the village Panchayats, and Zilla Parishads to be formed out of the Samithis came into practice. This was an effort on the part of the Congress govt. to keep the landlords

in power from the village level to the Zilla Parishad level. To win power in these bodies became the sole aim of the CPI and CPM. The policies of class collaboration pursued by the CPI-CPM leadership helped their followers to acquire dominant positions in these bodies, particularly in the village Panchayats and Samithis in certain places.

By that time itself, all class struggles and anti-landlord struggles have been by and large abandoned at the village levels. During the first elections under the Panchayat Raj system, it was clear that it was difficult to acquire dominant position in these bodies merely by depending on the general sympathy of the people. In order to win in these elections, the policy of united front with the landlord groups and Congress groups was initiated by the CPI-CPM leadership.

The revisionists and neo-revisionists began to adopt immoral methods being implemented by the Congress landlords. Purchasing of votes, use of arrack and toddy to get the poor people's votes, keeping unwilling or suspected voters under restrictions, getting votes through various pressure tactics, special camps for village Presidents under strict watch, taking the unwilling village Presidents and keeping them in confinement against their will-all immoral methods of the Congress landlords were adopted by the CPI-CPM leadership to win power in these bodies.

In some places these immoral methods were implemented by the CPI, CPM leadership in co-operation with the Congress groups themselves. Large sums of money is necessary to win the elections in Panchayats, Samithis and Zilla Parishads. To get this money, the CPI leadership converted these institutions into instruments for corruption. Thus the leaders of the CPI and CPM at the village level became arrack contractors and road contractors and became the worst corrupt bureaucrats in the villages.

In this way, the cadres of the CPI and CPM, emerged as various types of contractors, as exploiters, as new landlords and bureaucrats in the villages. Now a situation had arisen where, in the villages under the domination of CPI and CPM, the people had no civil rights. Other parties opposed to them have no right to hold public meetings, no right to distribute their pamphlets or put up wall-posters. These are the democratic rights for the people in the villages under their domination.

This is the culmination of the policies of class collaboration being pursued by the CPI and CPM.

Basic Lessons

What are the basic lessons one has to learn from the politics of Parliamentarism being pursued by the CPI-CPM leadership?

-When one abandons the class struggle and the resistance struggle, he is bound to take to the Path of Parliamentarism, whether he likes it or not. There is no other alternative.

-The policies of bourgeois election alliances, in whatever garb, are bound to lead to the policy of class collaboration, weaken and finally destroy the resistance struggle.

In 1952, the united Communist Party participated in the elections on the basis of its own strength. With the success in these elections, the leaders began to propagate the concept of achieving power through elections. With this they abandoned class struggles step by step, slipped into the policy of election alliances with the ruling class parties. The organisations of Communist Revolutionaries should take proper lessons from this sordid history of parliamentarism of the CPI-CPM.

We have the least doubt in saying that the politics of certain organisations and groups of Communist Revolutionaries are very dangerous to the revolutionary movement in the country. The slogans like 'anti-authoritarian front', 'anti-autocratic front', front against Indira's dictatorship, that the struggle against Indira's fascism is a transitional phase, that during this phase of struggle we should fight only for democratic rights-all these wrong slogans are bound to lead the working class Party into bourgeois election alliances and united front with the ruling class parties and destroy the resistance struggle. Our Party is determinedly opposed to all such policies.

(This article was published in July-August 1982, Road to Liberation.)



On The Principal Contradiction in India

A correct definition of the principal contradiction in our country at the present phase of the New Democratic Revolution of our country helps the party to correctly identify the main enemies and the main allies of the Indian revolution.

Basic contradictions and the Principal contradiction

With the transfer of power in 1947 from the British imperialism to Congress representing the big bourgeois, big landlord classes, our country has changed from being a colonial and semi-feudal country to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country.

In our semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, four basic contradictions are at work. They are:

- The contradiction between the Nation and the imperialism.
- The contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the people.
- The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.
- The contradictions between different sections of the ruling classes.

These four are the basic contradictions influencing the course of the Indian revolution. But during the whole course of our New Democratic Revolution, all these basic contradictions will not have equal importance. Depending on various factors and changes in the political situation, one of the four basic contradictions, stated above, matures more than others and occupies the principal position. The resolution of that matured con tradiction paves the way for the resolution of the secondary contradictions. Comrade Mao says:

There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determines or influences the existence and development of the other contradictions. **(Mao: On Contradictions)**

So, we have to closely study the basic contradictions in our country at this particular phase of our semi- colonial and semi-feudal country. We should correctly identify the principal contradiction. Determining such contradiction helps to locate the principal enemies and the principal allies of the Indian revolution, at the present phase.

Past Struggles

In the past, after the transfer of power from British imperialism to the big bourgeois, big landlord Con gress in 1947, the leadership of the communist movement in the country thoroughly failed to understand the nature of this transfer of power, our country changing from being a colony to being a semi-colonial and semi- feudal country; the subservient role of the new ruling classes towards imperialism; the comprador nature of our ruling classes; the change from the direct rule of British imperialism to the indirect rule of imperialism.

It failed to properly study the basic contradictions of our semi-colonial and semi-feudal country and their inter-relations. In short, it failed to correctly identify the principal contradiction i.e., to correctly identify the main enemies and the main allies of the Indian revolution and the main form of struggle to accomplish the Indian revolution. Consequently, the leadership committed many right and left deviations on these questions, revisionism being the long standing.

Even after the communist revolutionaries broke away ideologically and organisationally with revision- ism and neo-revisionism, the controversy among them on the question of the principal contradiction in India did not end.

The CPI (ML) leadership, under the influence of Charu's line, subsequently decided that the principal contradiction in India is between the landlords and peasants and since the peasants in India were in majority, they said that the principal contradiction can be said to be between the landlords and the majority of the people. Later this was upheld by the Party Congress also. Charu's line did not even recognize the existence of national bourgeoisie and rich peasants and the necessity of winning them over in the struggle against imperialism and the big bourgeois, big landlord classes and since its strategic programme itself was wrong, it brought immense damage to the Indian revolution. Later the old CC identified the principal contradiction as the one between feudalism and the broad masses of the people.

But the Andhra Committee, which was then outside the CPI (ML) at that time did not agree that the principal contradiction was between the landlords and the peasants.

At that time there were two distinct trends in the Andhra Committee on this question. While the DV group held that the principal contradiction is between feudalism and the broad masses of the people, some of the present leaders of the Andhra Committee held that the principal contradiction is between the big bourgeois, big landlord classes on the one hand and the broad masses of the people. Though they noted the subservient role of the ruling classes towards imperialism, they did not specify the alliance of imperialism with the ruling classes in India. Consequently in their separate Provincial Party Conference in 1973, they declared that the principal contradiction in India is between feudalism and the broad masses of the Indian people.

This conception on the principal contradiction prevailed among majority of the communist revolutionaries in the country. But discussions have continued among them on this question. After the merger of the old CC and the Unity Committee, some of the leaders of Unity Committee proposed that the principal contradiction is between the alliance of imperialism, and feudalism on one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other. After discussions, the PCC, in its Draft Amended Programme (published in June 1978 issue of New Democracy) declared that the principal contradiction in India at this phase is between "Feudalism and the broad masses of the people". It has also explained that "feudalism is an ally and social basis of imperialism". It has further explained that "at certain stage of development of Indian revolution, the contradiction between the imperialism and the nation may become the principal contradiction, particularly when the revolutionary move ment advances to a higher stage or when a single imperialist power becomes the principal enemy."

New definition of the principal contradiction by the PCC.

After further studying this question, and our own experiences in the country, the PCC (Provisional Cen tral Committee) had declared that the principal contradiction is one between the alliance of imperialism, feu dalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism on one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other. It has further declared that,

"It is imperialism that sustains feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism in order to carry out its economic, political and military objectives and is therefore predominant in the alliance. In the present conditions of world capitalism where two super powers are contending for world hegemony and hegemony over India, only one them will be the principal target of the Indian people in a particular period according to its economic, political and military predominance in our country. However, it must be borne in mind that at a certain state of development of Indian revolution, the contradiction between imperialism and the nation may become the principal contradiction, particularly when the revolutionary movement advances to a higher stage".

The amended programme (draft) while defining the principal contradiction is between feudalism and the broad masses of the people, has also correctly defined that the principal enemies of the revolution being imperialism (including social imperialism), feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism. It has defined that the principal allies of the revolution being the workers, peasants, urban middle classes, and the national bour geoisie, to be united in a People's Democratic Front, under the leadership of the working class. It has defined that worker-peasant alliance as the core of this People's Democratic Front. It has also declared that the "Path of the Indian revolution will be essentially the Chinese path to defeat the enemies of the Indian revolution i.e. the path of protracted people's war, with agrarian revolution as its axis since the peasantry is the main force of our democratic revolution led by the working class".

Now, the new amendment has declared that the principal contradiction is the between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism and the broad masses of the people. But it has not changed either the main enemies or the main allies of the revolution or the main form of struggle to achieve the Indian revolution.

If the new definition of the principal contradiction does not change the main enemies and the main allies of the Indian revolution or the path of the Indian revolution, why then this change in the definition of the principal contradiction.

It is to bring about (1) more correctly the role of imperialism in maintaining the present semi-colonial, semi-feudal society in our

country,(2)its alliance with our big bourgeois, big landlord classes to maintain the present social set up and suppression of the revolutionary forces, and (3) to focus more clearly the necessity of utilising the contradictions of the various imperialist countries exploiting our country so that the principal enemy among them could be identified for greater concentration.

The Role of imperialism

The amended Programme (draft) had correctly defined that of the four basic contradictions operating in our present society, the contradiction between imperialism and the nation and the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the people are the two basic contradictions decisively influencing the course of the Indian revolution.

During the period of the direct rule, British imperialism used its military force to suppress the national liberation struggle. Even when forced to transfer power to the big bourgeois, big landlord classes, it divided the country into India and Pakistan; it incited communal riots between the Hindus and Muslims on a big scale to weaken both the countries and keep them under its control. It tried to create many independent states inside India and thus keep India weak and preserve its control and exploitation in our country.

Even with the transfer of power in 1947 to our big bourgeois, big landlord classes, India did not become a fully sovereign and independent country. Our country got only formal political independence, but continued to be subjected to indirect control and exploitation of imperialism.

Our country being a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, the comprador big bourgeois, big landlord classes have opened the gates of our country to further inflow of foreign capital from various imperialist powers like USA, Soviet social imperialism, Japan, West Germany etc. in the form of direct investments, loans, joint ventures etc. Thus, we see that while, before 1947, it was British imperialism that dominated our country, today our country is being subjected to the exploitation of various other imperialist powers, particularly US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

Foreign exploitation and domination have actually grown in our country with the transfer of power in 1947. Our big bourgeois, big

land lord classes in India are comprador in character, subservient to imperialism, have only 'freedom' to change their masters in the international market, In the beginning they mainly followed the British imperialists, later they submitted themselves to US imperialism and later still, they agreed to submit themselves to Soviet social imperialism also.

All this clearly shows how imperialism plays a dominant role in the exploitation and suppression of our country whether in the period of direct rule British imperialism before 1947, or in the period of indirect rule i.

e., the present semi-colonial, semi-feudal status of our country.

Thus, we see imperialism and social imperialism play a predominant role in maintaining the present semi- colonial semi-feudal status of our country and in the suppression of our New Democratic Revolution. Comrade Stalin says:

Imperialism, with all its financial and military might, is the force in China that supports, inspires, fosters and preserves the feudal survivals, together with their entire bureaucratic militarist super structure. (Stalin: On China)

Comrade Mao says:

"What are the chief targets or enemies at this stage of the Chinese Revolution? They are imperialism and feudalism, the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries and the landlord class of our country. For it is these two that are the chief oppressors, the chief obstacles to the progress of Chinese society at the present stage. The two collude with each other in oppressing the Chinese people, and imperialism is the foremost and most ferocious enemy of the Chinese people, because national oppression by imperialism is the more onerous".

(p 315, Vol II, Mao Zedong) (underline mine)

So, this clearly shows that the main edge of our New Democratic Revolution should be aimed against imperialism and social imperialism.

Imperialism in alliance with our ruling classes

Imperialism and social imperialism not only dominate the economic, political, and military situation of our country, it is in alliance with our big bourgeois, big landlord classes for joint exploitation and suppression of our people and their revolutionary struggles.

The amended Programme (draft) itself has declared that imperialism (including social imperialism), feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism are the main enemies of the Indian revolution.

But these elements are not separate elements. These main enemies are in an alliance for joint oppression and suppression of our country and the people have to fight against this alliance to achieve their New Democratic Revolution,

Imperialism is dependent on the comprador big bourgeoisie in India for its trade in India, its investments, and joint ventures. The big bourgeoisie in India is dependent on imperialism for capital, machinery, and technical knowledge. This is the economic basis for an alliance between imperialism and big bourgeois class.

Imperialism is dependent on the landlords to keep the vast rural areas safe for selling its finished products and to get its necessary industrial raw materials. On the other hand, landlords, particularly the capitalist landlords, need the help of imperialism for the export of their surplus raw materials and for the supply of various inputs necessary for more agricultural production. This is the economic basis for an alliance between landlords and the imperialism. This is the reason why, of late, imperialism, particularly Soviet Union, is making greater efforts to penetrate Indian agriculture.

Similarly, we can see a similar economic dependance between the big bourgeois and big landlord classes.

Politically imperialism needs the help of the big bourgeois, big landlord classes to keep the Indian people, particularly the workers and peasants, suppressed and thus make the country safe for its exploitation. Similarly, the big bourgeois, big landlord classes need the help of imperialism-economic, political and military-in their suppression of the Indian people's struggles.

Thus, we see that there is clear economic and political basis for an alliance between imperialism, feudal- ism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism.

Speaking about the direct and indirect intervention of imperialism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, comrade Stalin says:

Intervention is by no means confined to the incursion of troops, and the incursion of troops by no means constitutes the principal feature of intervention. In the present day conditions of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries, when the direct incursion of foreign troops may give rise to protests and conflicts,

intervention assumes more flexible and more camouflaged form. In the conditions prevailing today, imperial- ism prefers to intervene in a dependent coun- try by organising civil war there, by financing counter revolutionary forces against the revolution, by giving moral and financial support to its Chinese agents against the revolution. **(p. 7. Stalin: On Chinese Revolution)**

There is another aspect to their alliance. The Indian ruling classes have expansionist ambitions towards their neighbours. They can achieve these expansionist ambitions only with the help of one imperialist power of the another. The imperialist powers also, particularly the Soviet Union, wants to make our country its base for its expansionist aims in Asia and the world. This is another basis for an alliance between imperialism and our own ruling classes.

This should not mean that there are no contradictions between the various constituents of this alliance. There are bound to be contradictions among them as to the share of each in their joint exploitation of our people, but they are not antagonistic contradictions, but contradictions which will be settled through discussions.

Thus, we see clearly that in the present phase, principal contradiction is between the alliance of imperial ism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism on one hand, and the broad masses of our people on the other hand. Naturally because of its superior economic and military strength, imperialism is the leader of this alliance.

This means that at the present phase of the Indian revolution, when our country is semi-colonial, semi- feudal, the anti-imperialist tasks and the democratic tasks are inter-linked i.e., the struggle against imperialism and the struggle against our big bourgeois, big landlord classes are inter-linked.

Seeing the economic, political, and military domination of imperialism We cannot defeat and social imperialism in India, one thing is clear. imperialism (including social imperialism) without defeating our own big bourgeois, big landlord classes, because they are the main props of imperialist oppression and suppression in India. Similarly, we cannot defeat the big bourgeois, big landlord classes, without at the same time defeating imperialism (including Soviet social imperialism) because it is imperialism that "supports, inspires, fosters

and preserves the feudal survivals together with their entire bureaucratic militarist superstructure".

Comrade Mao says:

Unquestionably, the main tasks are to strike at these two enemies, to carry out a national revolution to overthrow foreign imperialist oppression and a democratic revolution to overthrow feudal landlord oppression, the primary and foremost task being national revolution to overthrow imperialism. These two great tasks are inter-related; unless imperialist rule is overthrown the rule of the feudal landlord class cannot be terminated, because imperialism is its main support. Conversely, unless help is given to the peasants in their struggle to overthrow the feudal landlord class, it will be impossible to build powerful revolutionary contingents to overthrow imperialist rule, because the feudal landlord class is the main social base of imperialist rule in China and peasantry is the main force in the Chinese revolution. Therefore, the two fundamental tasks, the national revolution and the democratic revolution are at once distinct and united.

(p. 318, Mao Zedong, Vol II)

Comrade Stalin says:

Thus, the present revolution in China is a continuation of two streams of the revolutionary movement, the movement against feudal survivals and the movement against imperialism. The bourgeois democratic revolution in China is a combination of the struggle against feudal survivals and the struggle against imperialism. **(Stalin: On Chinese Revolution, p. 69.)**

Differentiation of the Imperialist Powers

Since the leader of the alliance of imperialism, feudalism, and comprador bureaucrat capitalism is imperialism, we should carefully consider the contradictions of the various imperialist powers and their supporters in in the country, in order to utilise these contradictions in the struggle for People's Democratic Revolution, to identify the main enemy among them for concentrated attack.

Ours is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. So many imperialist powers-Soviet social imperialism, US imperialism, Britain, West Germany, Japan etc.-are investing their capital in India and are contending for their supremacy in India. But the main contention for

the domination of our country is between Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism.

Soviet Union dominates our public sector which is the commanding heights of our economy; it monopolises the supply of military hardware to our Army; it has already got a military pact with our government in the name of the 'Friendship Treaty'. Because of these three factors, it is clear that Soviet Union has an edge over the other imperialist powers including US imperialism in exploiting and dominating our country. That is why the recent P.C.C. resolution "People's Democratic Revolution and our immediate tasks", has clearly said that Soviet Union is a greater enemy of the Indian people, both nationally and internationally. That means while exposing US imperialism, we should make still greater efforts to expose the predominant position of the Soviet Union in India

The recent visit of Kosygin to India, and the spate of new agreements between the Soviet Union and the present govt. still further increase the grip of the Soviet Union over India. This also proves that the pro-US Janata government is not in a position to prevent the growing predominant position of the Soviet Union in India, because of its general position in the country.

The communist revolutionaries in India should make use of the contradictions between the various imperialist powers, particularly those between Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism and the ruling section groups supporting them, to advance the revolutionary movement in the country. At present this should not lead to any general political alignment with any section of the ruling classes against the other section, but these contradictions should be utilised from issue to issue affecting the economic and political life of our people and our country. The possibility of a political united front between the working class and any section of the ruling class does exist when our country is directly invaded by a particular imperialist power or when one superpower imposes its exclusive hegemony over our country or when our country is converted into a neo- colony of any superpower.

Comrade Mao says:

The comprador bourgeoisie is always a running dog of imperialism and a target of the revolution. Different groups of the comprador bourgeoisie belong to the monopoly capitalist groups of

different imperialist countries such as the United States, Britain, and France. In the struggle against the various comprador groups, it is necessary to exploit the contradictions between imperialist countries, first coping with one of them and striking at the chief immediate enemy. **(p. 327, Mao Zedong Vol. V)**

Agrarian Revolution - the main form of struggle

Some critics express the fear that the acceptance of the principal contradiction (the one between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism, and the comprador bureaucrat capitalism on the one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other) will reduce the importance of Protracted People's War, with Agrarian Revolution as its axis.

The necessity of Protracted People's War, as the main form of struggle to achieve our New Democratic Revolution does not arise out of the principal contradiction, but by the semi-feudal status of our country, the uneven development of our country, by the fact that in our country the peasants are the main force of struggle against the present system to be organised under the leadership of the working class, and the necessity to gather necessary revolutionary forces to capture final power in the cities. That is why the Amended Programme itself says that "the main force of the democratic revolution led by the working class is the peasantry".

It has also declared that the path of Indian revolution will be essentially the Chinese path in order to defeat the enemies of the Indian revolution and to achieve this it has given the following three tasks to be fulfilled.

-A Party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

-A People's Army under the leadership of the Party.

-A United Front of all revolutionary classes, with worker-peasant alliance as its core under the leadership of the proletariat.

It is only by doggedly pursuing the Path of Protracted People's War with Agrarian Revolution as its axis, that the Indian people can achieve success in their New Democratic Revolution. All other struggles help in advancing the Agrarian Revolution as its central task.

Comrade Mao says:

"Unless help is given to the peasants in their struggle to overthrow the feudal landlord class, it will be impossible to build powerful revolutionary contingents to overthrow imperialist rule, because the feudal land- lord class is the main social base of

imperialist rule in China and the peasantry is the main force in the Chinese Revolution" **(p. 318, Mao Zedong Vol. II.)**

Comrade Stalin says:

What is agrarian revolution? It is indeed the basis and content of bourgeois democratic revolution.

He further said:

The opposition has forgotten that the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people against imperialism is due first and foremost to the fact that imperialism in China is the force that supports and inspires the immediate exploiters of the Chinese people-the feudal lords, militarists, capitalists, and that Chinese workers and peasants bureaucrats etc., cannot defeat their exploiters without at the same time waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

(P. 96 Stalin: On Chinese Revolution)

He further says:

While the distinguishing feature of the first stage was that the spearhead of the revolution was turned mainly against foreign imperialism, the characteristic feature of the second stage is that the spearhead of the revolution is now turned mainly against the internal enemies, primarily against the feudal land- lords, against the feudal regime. **(same book, p. 137)**

Thus, it is clear that the Protracted People's War with Agrarian Revolution as its axis is the main form of struggle to accomplish our New Democratic Revolution.

Lessons of the Chinese Revolution

This is borne out by the experience of the Chinese revolution itself. In all the phases of the Chinese revolution-the National Liberation struggle against imperialism and warlordism, the First Civil War against Chiang Kai-shek and his allies, the struggle against Japanese aggression, and the Second Civil War against Chiang Kai-shek and his allies-Agrarian Revolution was the main form of struggle adopted by the CPC in their struggle for New Democratic Revolution.

In all the writings and explanations of the Chinese comrades, including the writings of comrade Mao, it is clear that the CPC, while taking the Protracted People's War with Agrarian Revolution as its axis, as the main

form of struggle, adopted the tactics of destruction of imperialism and weakening of feudalism during the period of anti-Japanese struggle, and adopted the tactics of complete destruction of imperialism and feudalism as a whole in all other phases of their revolution.

Explaining how the principal contradiction in China changed during the different phases of the Chinese Revolution, comrade Mao says:

In a semi-colonial country such as China, the relationship between the principal contradiction and the non-principal contradiction presents a complicated picture. When imperialism launches a war of aggression against such a country, all its various classes, except for some traitors, can temporarily unite in a National War against imperialism. At such a time the contradiction between imperialism and the country concerned becomes the principal contradiction (including what was the principal contradiction between the feudal system and the great masses of the people) are temporarily relegated to a secondary and subordinate position.

(p. 331, Mao Zedong Vol. I)

Merely taking the words in brackets in the above sentence, some critics argue that comrade Mao held that before the aggression of Japanese imperialism in China, i.e., between 1927 to 1937, the principal contradiction in China was between feudalism and the broad masses of the Chinese people. Taking Mao's writings in isolation from his other writings leads one to wrong conclusions.

We must take this writing of Comrade Mao combined with the subsequent paragraphs in that very article (On Contradiction) wherein he says:

But in another situation, the contradictions change position. When imperialism carries on its oppression not by war, but by milder means- political, economic, and cultural- the ruling classes in semi-colonial countries capitulate to imperialism and the two form an alliance for the joint oppression of the masses of the people. At such a time, the masses resort to civil war against the alliance of imperialism and the feudal classes, while imperialism often employs indirect methods rather than direct action in helping the reactionaries in semi- colonial countries

to oppress the people and thus make the internal contradictions particularly sharp.

He further says:

When a revolutionary civil war develops to the point of threatening the very existence of imperialism and its running dogs, the domestic reactionaries, imperialism often adopts other methods in order to maintain its rule; it either tries to split the revolutionary front from within or sends armed forces to help the domestic reactionaries directly. At such a time, foreign imperialism and domestic reaction stand quite openly at one pole while the masses of the people stand at the other pole, thus forming the principal contradiction which deter- mines or influences the development of the other contradictions.

(pp. 331-332, Mao Zedong Vol. I)

Thus, it is clear that comrade Mao held that in the period of indirect rule, the period between 1927 to 1937, that the principal contradiction in China at that time was between the alliance of imperialism and the big bourgeois, big landlord classes on one side and the broad masses of China on the other side,

Describing the period between 1927 to 1937 in China, comrade Mao

As for China's big bourgeoisie, which is represented by the Kuomingtang, all through the long period from 1927 to 1937, it nestled in the arms of imperialists and formed an alli- ance with the feudal forces against the revolutionary people. In 1927 and for some time afterwards, the Chinese national bourgeoisie also followed the counter-revolution. (p. 349, Mao Zedong Vol. II)

Conclusions

From what has been described above, the following conclusions should be kept in mind:

1. Ours is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country; the stage of our revolution is People's Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the working class.

2. The main enemies of the revolution are imperialism, particularly Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism and the big bourgeois, landlord classes in the country. The main allies of the

Revolution are workers, peasants, urban middle classes and the national bourgeoisie to be united in People's Democratic Front under the leadership of the working class. Worker-peasant alliance is the main base of this united front.

3. The principal contradiction is between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism, and comprador bureaucrat capitalism and the broad masses of the people. Imperialism is the leader of this alliance.

4. The contradictions of various imperialist powers, particularly those between Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism contending for domination over India and the contradictions between the various sections of the ruling classes in India supporting these super powers should be utilised to advance the revolutionary struggle.

Taking the present situation in India, of all the imperialist powers including USA, Soviet social imperialism is the greater enemy of the Indian people both nationally and internationally.

Today these contradictions should be utilised from issue to issue, economic and political, affecting the life of our people and country to isolate and defeat the chief enemy on that particular issue, and thus advance the revolutionary struggle.

5. The peasantry is the main force in our revolution and the working class is the leader of the revolution. Protracted People's War with Agrarian Revolution as its axis is the main path of Indian revolution and all other tasks must help in accomplishing this central task,

19-4-1979



In defence of comrade Mao and Mao Zedong Thought

(This is an excerpt from the CC resolution passed on 17.3.1982. This resolution fully explains the stand of the Party on certain issues concerning CPC. The resolution is in print. Hence, we are giving excerpts from that resolution)

In 1980, the Special Congress of our Party passed a resolution. That resolution supported the general orientation of the CPC (Communist Party of China) the four modernisations to build socialism in China, its struggles against the two super powers, its support to the national liberation struggles and its continuation of the three world theory. At the same time our resolution demarcated itself from the CPC on its assessment of comrade Mao and Mao Zedong Thought, Liu Shaoqi and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Inspite of certain positive factors in the recent resolution of the CPC on "Questions of Party History" (hereafter called the History Resolution) passed by its Plenum on June 27, 1981, the CC resolution says that "our differences on certain questions of ideology still persist. The situation calls for a deeper explanation of their differences. Hence this resolution".

International background to the Cultural Revolution

The CC Resolution says: *"The whole History Resolution is significant for the omission of the international background of the Cultural Revolution."*

"Our Party firmly believes that the Great Proletarian Cultural Re- volution was an essential part of the struggle of the CPC and comrade Mao against modern revisionism from the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956."

The CC Resolution further says: "The enormous growth of the national liberation movements, and these movements more and more taking to the path of armed struggle to achieve their independence, the polarisation in the ranks of the communists, more and more Marxists-

Leninists standing up against revisionism, more and more third world countries coming into opposition to the two super powers-all indicate the correctness of the theoretical propositions of the General Line of the International Communist Movement and the 9 Commentaries of the CPC and comrade Mao to be absolutely correct".

The CC Resolution further says: *"It is very significant to note that the History Resolution has completely left out Mao's great Marxist-Leninist struggle against modern revisionism of the CPSU, in its review of the Cultural Revolution. it cannot be an accidental lapse. Only the CPC leadership can give a proper explanation for this important omission. But Marxists-Leninists cannot accept this omission."*

"Not only that. Now the CPC leadership has unilaterally withdrawn the General Line and the 9 Commentaries. They were an important contribution to the ideological struggle against modern revisionism, because they are based on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, Marxists-Leninists will always treasure them as guidance for their future struggles.

Criticising the characterisation of the CPC Resolution on the CPSU leadership as merely a deviation from Marxism-Leninism, the CC resolution asserts: *"We firmly believe that the CPSU leadership had completely betrayed Marxism and Leninism and this is nowhere reflected in the History Resolution. To the extent it says, it is only minimising the danger from modern revisionism and social imperialism to the whole world people."*

After extensively quoting from the 9 Commentaries and the General line of the International Communist Movement characterising the rise of Modern revisionism to power in the Soviet Union as restoration of capital- ism in that country and later characterising the Soviet Union as a social imperialist country, the CC resolution says:

"These are the historic lessons that the CPC and comrade Mao drew for Socialist China from the phenomenon of the revisionist clique usurping Party and state power in the Soviet Union. Let us remember that all the main leaders of the CPC, including some in the present leaders were cl closely associated with these lessons."

"These are the very issues that are involved in the Cultural Revolution of China in 1966 Now the History Resolution of the present leadership of the CPC has completely negated these lessons".

"But the History Resolution has not offered a single explanation for the revisionist clique coming to power in the Soviet Union. It has not even offered any explanation as to what is the social basis for hegemonism and big nation chauvinism in the Soviet Union about which the History Resolution speaks of."

"This is the international background in which the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China was launched in 1966." The CC Resolution says:

"Whoever wants to persist in the struggle against modern revisionism and social imperialism of the CPSU, cannot but support the ideological issues involved in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led by comrade Mao was only a part of his struggle against modern revisionism throughout the world. This is one of the reasons why we supported and continue to support the correct ideological issues involved in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

National background of the Cultural Revolution:

After tracing the various general policies of the CPC and comrade Mao during the period of Rehabilitation (1949-52), the period of Transition to Socialism (1952-56), Socialist Construction (1956-66) and the successes of these periods, the Resolution says:

"Comrade Mao had to wage this ideological struggle against the bourgeois rightists and reactionary intellectuals, against Party leaders like Liu Shaoqi and some of his friends. It is also significant to note that the ideological and political struggles on policy issues of this period had their origin in the earlier period itself- The period of transition from New Democracy to Socialism. It is also significant to note that this ideological struggle between the correct positions of comrade Mao and the wrong positions of others be became sharp only after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and its wrong decisions and Khrushchev revisionist clique coming to power in 1955".

The CC Resolution further says:

"The continuing opposition of a section of the leadership represented by Liu Shaoqi against the correct General Line of the Party for Socialist Construction, the Great Leap and the Communes, the continuing resistance of the bourgeois rightists to socialism,

their opposition to the struggle of the CPC and comrade Mao against modern revisionism, their formal acceptance of the CPC decisions but sabotage in practice, the strengthening of bureaucracy in the Party and government-this was the immediate cause for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) in 1966."

"Thus, one could see that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution GPCR in 1966 a was struggle against modern revisionism both inside and outside China and to prevent restoration of capitalism in China, as it happened in the Soviet Union".

Class struggles and principal contradiction in a socialist society:

After extensively quoting from Marx, Engles, Lenin and Stalin on this subject, the CC resolution says: *"Mao's position on classes and class struggle in Socialist China, the struggle between the Socialist Road and the Capitalist Road is entirely based on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism".*

"That is why comrade Mao has taken class struggle as the key link in the struggle to build Socialism. But unfortunately, the History Resolution rejects firmly the class struggle as the key link".

"It is really surprising to see this argument of the History Resolution. We are Marxists-Leninists and as such, for us class struggle is the key link in all phases of our struggle. In China also comrade Mao based himself on class struggle as the key link in the struggle for New Democratic Revolution, in the Rehabilitation Period, Transition Period and in the Period of Socialist Construction".

"In the Period of Socialist Construction also there is still the struggle against the remnants of the old reactionary exploiting classes, the emergence. of new bourgeois elements, the question of eliminating capitalism and its roots in all spheres, the ideological struggle in the superstructure, and the struggle against international capital and modern revisionism. Of course, the class struggle in the Period of Socialist Construction is quite different from class struggle of the earlier period both in content and form. But it is still the class struggle and that is why comrade Mao advocated class struggle as the key link even during the period of socialist construction".

"According to the History Resolution, the principal contradiction in a socialist society is between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of the productive forces.

We cannot accept this formula. Principal contradiction should be read as contradiction between various classes exist

ing in a particular society '

"The contradiction between the material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of the productive forces is common to all class societies.....

"It is true that the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants having lost their economic base, accept socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But their acceptance is only formal, some of them still try for the restoration of capitalism whenever an opportunity arises.

"In addition, Tibet has been liberated very recently. Taiwan is yet to be liberated and the exploiting classes have got their own social contacts with the mainland China. Above all the danger of social imperialism and modern revisionism still exists."

"Therefore, it is too early to say that classes have already been eliminated in China or that landlords, rich peasants, capitalists and industrialists and businessmen have already transformed themselves into working people".

Differing with the CPC's History Resolution saying that the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on class struggles and the danger of restoration of capitalism and differing with the CPC's History Resolution, the CC resolution says

"If one accepts the line of reasoning of the History Resolution, every one of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism can be rejected on the plea of inapplicability because of time and place. Revisionists of all hues and colours have been doing the very same throughout the history and throughout the world".

Positive and negative factors of the Cultural Revolution:

The CC resolution says: *"Even the extent the History Resolution speaks of the achievements of China both internally and externally is enough to show that the general orientation of the Cultural Revolution initiated and led by comrade Mao was basically correct."* The History Resolution itself says that: *"All these important facts are inseparable from the great role played be comrade Mao Zedong".*

After this, for the History Resolution to say that none of these successes can be attributed to Cultural Revolution is a bit surprising. It cannot convince anybody.

"Inspite of these positive achievements and positive factors of the Cultural Revolution, were there no negative factors during the Cultural Revolution? Certainly, there were. In our opinion, as far as we have studied the Chinese literature, these negative factors are".

.. -"There were excesses – they were committed in identifying the anti-socialist elements and removing them from positions of authority and power. It vitiated the atmosphere inside the Party and government to a certain extent".

- "In the name of fighting against the capitalist roaders, certain persons-like Lin Biao and the 'Gang of Four'-utilised the turbulent situation of the Cultural Revolution period to extend the struggle quite unreasonably, with ulterior motives, against old and certain veterans of long standing in the Chinese revolution".

- "In their game of power politics, factionalism, groupism and their lust for power, Lin Biao and the 'Gang of Four' utilised the turbulent situation of the Cultural Revolution to provoke constant quarrels among the people and cadres of the Party in order to get support from sections of the people and the cadres of the Party."

- "Lin Piao and the 'Gang' of Four utilised this turbulent situation to introduce equality in the distribution of goods, forgetting the state of the Chinese economy which is yet to observe the principle *"from each according to his labour, to each according to his work,"* to pose themselves as the real leftists and mislead the people."

Thus, one could easily understand how Lin Biao and the 'Gang' of Four took the guideline of the Cultural Revolution to extremes thus causing damage to the socialist cause in China to a certain extent. Their activities did damage the correct concept of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by commrade Mao and ultimately led to the dissatisfaction among a certain section of the people to certain extent.

These are the negative factors of the Cultural Revolution. But we firmly believe that the positive achievements of the Cultural Revolution are greater than the negative factors of this revolution.

Refutation of the accusations against comrade Mao:

Refuting the allegations of the History Resolution against comrade Mao, the CC resolution declares: *"Having accepted the great contributions of comrade Mao and Mao Zedong Thought to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism, the History Resolution levels very serious charges that comrade Mao became 'smug' about 'successes', 'impatient for quick results', and 'overestimated the role of man's subjective will and efforts' and that the 'gradually divorced himself from practice and from the masses, acted more and more arbitrarily and subjectively and increasingly put himself above the Central Committee of the Party'. The History Resolution even accuses comrade Mao of having undermined 'the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the Party and country' and this phenomenon' of a personality cult of comrade Mao, it appears, for the History Resolution, to be a product, of 'century old feudal influence."*

*"These are not criticisms of any mistakes or errors. These are nothing but wild accusations against com*rade *Mao without any basis. They are not even worthy of any reply. We thoroughly reject them."*

"It is not our case that comrade Mao had not made any mistakes. Such an understanding is not even dialectical. Comrade Mao himself many times declared that he had committed mistakes."

"When mistakes are committed, one should always analyse the nature of the mistakes, the ideological, political, organisational character of these mistakes the circumstances in which these mistakes are committed,

whether they were unavoidable or avoidable under those circumstances etc."

"The History Resolution has not tried any such explanation, any such analysis. It is only flinging wild accusations against comrade Mao... for the History Resolution to hurl such wild accusations against comrade Mao are unworthy of a great Party like the CPC and that too after his death, when he is no more to answer any of these wild accusations. Let us remember that the Khrushchov clique in Russia behaved in a similar way which the CPC itself had criticised in the earlier period".

Universal character of Mao Zedong Thought

The CC resolution says that by implication, the History Resolution holds that "Mao Zedong was correct only during the period of New Democratic Revolution and Socialist Transformation. It can only mean that Mao Zedong Thought is having universal character only up to New Democratic Revolution and Socialist Transformation and afterwards i.e. after 1956 it has lost its validity.

" Whether the CPC accepts the universal character of Mao Zedong Thought or not, our Party, the CPI (ML) holders that the Mao Zedong Thought is a part and enrichment of Marxism- Leninism- and therefore we firmly hold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding ideology of our Party."

Attitude towards the 'Gang' of Four

The CC resolution says: "We have already stated how Lin Biao and the 'Gang' of Four took to extremities, committed many excesses and may 'left errors' thus causing serious damage to the cause of socialism in China and the world revolution".

"It is very correct on the part of the CPC to have characterised Lian Biao as a counter-revolutionary since he tried to kill comrade Mao."

"The CPC was correct when it removed the 'Gang' of Four from the Party and govt. and initiated an ideological and political struggle to eradicate their reactionary influence. At that time our Party fully sup- ported the CPC in this struggle."

"But still there is a nagging doubt in the minds of many throughout the world whether it was correct to have characterised them as counter- revolutionaries. The History Resolution also speaks of 'left' errors of the 'gang' of four. Can 'left' errors be called counter-revolutionary?"

Anyhow, the whole exercise of the trial of the 'gang' of four, we feel, was quite unnecessary. Of course, the CPC and the Chinese have repeatedly stated that they were being tried for contravening specific government decrees and laws.

Of course, it is necessary to fight their left-errors and isolate them politically and ideologically from the people, but a criminal trial cannot achieve this objective.

Restoration of Liu Shaoqi

After giving various examples of Liu Shaoqi's opposition to comrade Mao's line, the CC resolution says: *"Liu Shaoqi was opposed to the General Line of the CPC and comrade Mao in all the phases of the struggle in China-Rehabilitation period, Transition period, Socialist Construction, Great Leap Forward and the Communes. It should be noted that Liu Shaoqi was opposed to the struggle against modern revisionism". "From the quotations given above, it is clear that there had been a running ideological struggle between the line of comrade Mao and that of Liu Shaoqi in all the phases ".*

"It was only through serious ideological debate inside the Party comrade Mao won the part and Chinese people to his lines cobcerning thrse periods, and Liu Shaoqi's lines were defeated. The very successes Party and Chinese people to his lines concerning of China during all these phases is a standing confirmation of the correct- ness of the lines of comrade Mao."

"The History Resolution has not specifically discussed the line of Liu Shaoqi during the various phases of Chinese struggle for socialism."

But from the reasoning the History Resolution, they accept comrade Mao up to the transition period. Between 1956 to 76, in a way, they accept the positions of Liu Shaoqi and they have condemned Mao's line between 1966-76 as anti-Marxist.

"As we have explained earlier, we cannot accept this reasoning." "The verdict of the History Resolution on comrade Mao and Liu Shaoqi cannot be final."

Conclusions

In conclusion, the CC resolution says *"Inspite of our differences with the CPC on their attitude to com- rade Mao, Mao Zedong Thought and Cultural Revolution, we are strongly opposed to those who condemn China as a capitalist country. China is a great socialist country with 100 crores of population. Proletarian internationalism demands us to programme of the CPC to strengthen socialism in China. A strong socialist country alone can effectively help the world revolutionary movement. We firmly believe socialist China under the leadership of the CPC will act as a centre for world revolution."*

"Our Party fully supports the CPC in its support to the national liberation movements throughout the world and their three world

theory and struggle against the conspiracies of the two Super power-US imperialism and social imperialism-taking the latter as a greater danger. This general orientation of the CPC in the present day world is basically correct,".

"Proletarian internationalism does not mean blind obedience of one Party to the other. Proletarian internationalism means unity in the general orientation and mutual support. Even then there are bound to be certain differences".

"We are very conscious of the fact that the ideological issues connected with the GPCR are the issues connected with Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction".

"The issues of socialism and socialist construction a not on the immediate agenda of our country and our Party. We are yet in the stage of the New Democratic Revolution.

But, the issues of the Cultural Revolution are the issues of Marxism Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. "In defending comrade Mao and Mao Zedong Thought we are defending the fundamental principles of

Marxism-Leninism - Mao Zedong Thought-the guiding ideology of our Party."

"In defending Mao Zedong Thought we are defending the struggle against modern revisionism represented by the revisionist clique in power in the Soviet Union".

"In defending Mao and Mao Zedong Thought we are defending the correct concept of People's War- which is of immediate importance for our country and Party".

"We have full faith that the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC will succeed in overcoming the present difficulties. While comrades Lenin and Stalin had to build socialism in a more advanced capitalist country, without any prior experience, comrade Mao and the CPC have to build socialism in a vast backward agricultural country, without any prior experience. Hence the present difficulties. We firmly believe that the Chinese people and the CPC will finally triumph in building socialism in their country.

17-3-82

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World Communist Movement and its Lessons

Introduction

Comrades Marx and Engels have enunciated the tasks of the world proletariat in the Manifesto of the Communist Party published in 1848..

They had declared unequivocally that the establishment of socialist system alone, throwing out the capitalist system lock, stock and barrel, would pave the way for the emancipation of the working class.

"The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

"Workers of the world unite!"

This slogan was raised in 1848. Today it it resounding throughout the world. Of the world population, 100 crores have been liberated permanently from the capitalist system. It has started moving along the socialist path. The imperialist system is collapsing. Anti-colonial liberation struggles are surging forward like great hurricanes.

Under the leadership of the communist parties, the working class in capitalist countries is fighting heroically against the governments of the capitalist countries. We are in the era when the world communist movement is in a position to achieve the final victory over the world imperialist system.

At this auspicious stage, serious differences have arisen in the world communist movement on the ideological issues concerning strategy and tactics to be adopted in today's context.

Today, every communist is giving a serious thought to the future of the world communist movement and about the forms of struggle,

strategy and the tactics. A way could certainly be found for our problems of today if the various events in the history of the world communist movement and the lessons drawn from it are carefully analysed.

The history of the world communist movement could be chronologically divided into five chapters and analysed.

1. The period from 1848 to 1871.

2. The period from 1871 Paris Commune to 1905 Russian Revolution,

3. The period from 1905 to 1917 Revolution.

4. The period from 1917 to 1949 Chinese Revolution.

5. The post 1949 Chinese Revolution period.

Let us study in depth the successes that the communist movement achieved and the lessons to be drawn in all these five stages.

1. FIRST STAGE

The period from 1848 to 1871

In the 15th and 16th centuries many naval adventurers undertook sea voyages. They had discovered new continents and countries. New transport routes across the seas have come into existence. Trade and commerce developed tremendously. The development of science had laid the foundations for the development of heavy industries. Colonisation of the countries had earned the necessary capital for the industrial development of the West European countries. It laid the foundation for the industrial revolution in Western Europe.

In the middle of the 17th century the industrial revolution took place in England. Gradually it had extended to Europe. The industrial revolution developed industries and commerce at a rapid pace. It created the modern bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie set out to smash the feudal system and its state machinery which had become an obstacle for the development of capitalism.

The bourgeois revolutions took place in 1649 in England, in 1776 in America, in 1789, 1830 and in 1848 and in France, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Italy.

As a consequence of these revolutions, capitalism had been finally established worldwide. In Europe modern bourgeois governments also had come into existence. With the advent of the industrial revolution, the industrial proletariat also had been created on a large scale.

The working class had revolted against the inhuman exploitation being perpetuated on it. Gradually it had started to build an organised trade union movement.

Chartist Movement

This laid the foundation for the first trade union movement in England. Between 1837-50, the British workers had conducted the Chartist movement which was mainly for the adult franchise of workers.

-Right to vote for men, constituencies with equal voting rights, convening of parliament annually, salaries for the members of parliament, secret ballot system, and cancellation of the condition of property as the pre-requisite for election to parliament.

On these demands a petition with 33 lakh signatures was submitted to the parliament which had rejected it. Strikes had taken place. In some places it had taken the form of armed struggle. Nevertheless it failed.

This was noted as the first political struggle waged by the British working class against capitalism. This has contributed tremendously to the onward march of the world working class movement.

1847 Communist League

Utopian socialist theories were much popular among the workers prior to the arrival of Marx and Engels onto the scene. These utopian socialist ideologues, without taking into consideration the class struggles and the principles inherent in the capitalist society, felt that the society could be changed by making the capitalists treat the workers with a liberal outlook without going to the extent of overthrowing capitalism. By the equitable distribution of profits to the workers and by running the industries in an ideal fashion-atleast by some industrialists, the utopian socialists had hoped that the entire bourgeoisie could be made to agree to this. They had dreamt that by this method the exploitation of the workers could be brought to an end.

In such a situation Marx and Engels had come onto the scene of working class movement. They had examined the principles of class

struggle which has been continuously going in the capitalist society. They had arrived at the conclusion that the liberation of the exploited people could be achieved only by the overthrow of the capitalist system through class struggle by rallying all the exploited classes under the leadership of the working class.

Those were the days, when in western Europe bourgeois democratic revolutions were taking place against the feudal monarchic and merchant classes. Those were the days when the revolutionaries who had participated in those revolutions were exiled from their countries by the governments. In 1847 all such revolutionaries assembled in England and founded the Communist League. On behalf of this League the Manifesto of the Communist Party written by Comrades Marx and Engels, was published.

-The Manifesto had declared that the history of the hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

-It has stated that the contradiction between the collective production and private appropriation and the contradiction between the means of production and the distribution of production in the capitalist system would inevitably lead to crises. It has reiterated that the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class will get intensified and inevitably lead to the smashing of capitalist system and the triumph of the working class.

-It has sharply condemned the erroneous socialist theories hitherto in propagation among the working class,

The feudal socialism had criticised severely the decay and exploitation brought by capitalism into the society but it had stopped there itself. It had not shown the way for emancipation. It had tried to turn the thoughts of the people back towards the earlier feudal society. It had linked its propaganda with Christianity. It had consoled the workers that even if they undergo sufferings in this world, they would get bountiful happiness in the other world. The Manifesto has exposed the hollowness of this theory.

The petty bourgeois theory had reflected the demands of the peasantry and the middle classes. This theory also had roundly condemned the injustice in the capitalist society, but had not shown

the way out. The aim of the protagonists of this theory was to ameliorate the conditions of the workers within the framework of the property relations of the existing society. The Manifesto has exposed the weaknesses of this theory.

The Manifesto has severely criticised all the liberal theories and other bourgeois theories which oppose class struggles.

It has given a call to the working class of the world to overthrow the world capitalist system.

1848 French Revolution

There was an upsurge in bourgeois revolutions all over Europe in 1848. Among them, the French revolution was of significance.

In 1847, a severe economic crisis had brought the industries to a grinding halt. Consequently, unemployment soared. The masses were subjected to untold sufferings.

The revolution of 1848 was a bourgeois democratic revolution conducted by the developing bourgeoisie, working class and the middle classes against the feudal, monarchic, and the merchant classes which were in power.

This revolution started on 24th February, 1848. In Paris city, the working class had rebelled. The monarchic government was overthrown and an interim government was formed.

The working class had hoped that this interim government would settle their basic demands. But the bourgeoisie had frustrated the hopes of the working class. On seeing the working class revolution. the bourgeoisie panicked and had compromised with the feudal classes. Both these classes together had suppressed the working class.

In the French bourgeois revolution of 1848, both the Marxian theory and the pre-Marxian bourgeois and petty bourgeois socialist theories were put to test. The role of different classes in accomplishing the bourgeois democratic revolution had become clear.

Comrade Marx had drawn valuable lessons for the working class from the failure of the 1848 French revolution.

Lessons

This was the first class struggle waged between the modern working class and the modern bourgeoisie.

In the revolutionary conditions, the role of each and every class had become clear.

-It had removed the illusions of the working class on the bourgeois parliamentary system.

-It was proved that in the event of a working class revolution, the bourgeoisie would abolish even the parliamentary system.

-It was proved that the emanicipation of the working class and the other exploited masses would be possible only through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

-It made clear that the working class revolution would be successful only when there is unity between the workers and the peasantry.

-It had become clear that without the support of the working class, the middle classes cannot stand on their own.

-It was natural for the big bourgeoisie and the landlord classes to unite and oppose the working class. The contradiction between these two classes was a limited one.

-The success of the working class revolution in any country of the capitalist world depends on the world revolutionary situation.

It became clear that the working class alone would fight unswevingly for socialism.

Thus, in practice, through the experiences of the French revolutionary struggle, the Marxian theory on the historical role of the working class had triumphed over other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories.

On this subject, comrade Lenin says:

"The 1848 revolution had sounded a death knell to all the pre-Marxian mushroom theories." (World Proletarian, Communist movement-Lenin, English Edition, p. 168).

Along with the French revolution, the German revolution and the other European bourgeois revolutions have failed owing to the betrayal of the bourgeoisie.

The Communist League as well as Marx and Engels had made serious efforts to make these revolutions successful. With the failure of these revolutions, severe repression was let loose on the activities of the League throughout Europe. On the other hand, factionalism had

increased in the League. A temporary disillusionment had set in among the working class and as a result, the Communist League was wound up in 1852.

Comrades Marx and Engels nevertheless had written many classics which were essential for the working class movement during, this period.

1864-Formation of the First International

The bourgeois democratic revolutions of 1848 were not in vain. The bourgeoisie had gradually captured power. Industrial development had taken place. As a result, the working class had grown in numbers.

The working class in England, France, America and Germany etc., had again got organised to fight. The necessity of an international body of the working class to co-ordinate and take forward these struggles going on in different countries was recognised.

In these conditions, the First International was established in London on 28th September, 1864.

The First International was not a monolithic body based on a single political theory. Those groups which were opposed to Marxism and class struggle were also constituents of this body. During this period, the Marxist theory had fought against all the erroneous socialist theories to gain the leadership of the working class movement.

During the entire period of the First International, Marx and Engels fought against the British socialist theories which advocated building of non-political trade unions, against Blanqui's adventurist theories of conducting armed struggle without any strong trade union movement, against the theories of Proudhon and Lasseley, who advocated that socialism could be established though co-operative societies, and against Bakunin's anarchist theories. On this struggle Marx says,

The whole period of the First International was the period of relentless struggle conducted by the General Council against the conspiracies of the small groups which were against a real trade union movement. (Marx Engles' letters, page 326).

During this period, the First International had made serious efforts to unify the world trade union movement and to educate it on the basis of Marxist ideology.

The First Interational had formulated the policy and tactics of the working class towards bourgeois governments, trade unions, co-operative societies, general elections, women's issue, peasants, problems and national problems.

The First International had placed before the working class of the world-tactics of struggle on immediate issues, the tactics of armed struggle which were necessary for the final revolution of the working class, and the task of establishment of proletarian dictatorship.

It had co-ordinated the trade union movements of different countries and had developed internationalism among them. It had consolidated the small trade union movements of different countries which were scattered into a strong international working class movement and made it a strong and contending force against world capitalism.

1871 Paris Commune:

In 1870, Louis Bonaparte's government was in power in France. The working class was getting ready for another revolutionary struggle. To divert this struggle the government was scheming for another war with Germany on a border dispute. The Bismarck government in Germany was also waiting for such an opportunity. Consequently, on 9th July 1870, war started between these two countries. On 2nd September, 1870, the French armies had surrrendered unconditionally.

On 4th September, a new republican government was established, throwing out the Bonaparte's government in France. In this government also the leadership was that of the bourgeoisie lead by Theiers.

The government of Theiers, instead of continuing the war with Germany, had tried to compromise with the German government. The Paris working class, sensing the betrayal of the government, rebelled in Paris and on March 18, 1871 established the government of Paris Commune under the leadership of the working class.

The armies of Theiers and Bismarck had united and attacked jointly to overthrow the government of Paris Commune.

After three weeks of stiff resistance, the Commune government was defeated. On 28th of May, 1871 Paris Commune was smashed.

Marx had warned the working class even at the time of revolt that the time had not yet come for revolt. Yet, once the Commune was

established, Marx and other leaders of the First International had tried their utmost to make the Commune a success.

Lessons of Paris Commune

Marx drew valuable lessons from the experience of the Paris Commune for the trade union and communist movements of the world.

In France, the process of development of capitalism was not yet completed. That was why, Marx said the Paris Commune had failed. He explained that since the working class had not rallied behind it the French peasantry completely, the Paris Commune had failed. He further explained that as the revolution strated in Paris was not extended at once to other areas, it failed.

Paris Commune had provided the following lessons to the future trade union movement.

- Of all the exploited classes, it is the working class alone that has proved its capability for leadership.

-Without the unity of the workers and peasants no revolution can succeed.

-It has made clear how brutal the ruling classes could be to suppress the revolutions of the exploited people.

-Paris Commune has made clear that the bourgeoisie, being afraid of working class revolution, will be prepared even to sell away their motherland to alien countries.

- The working class could never utilise the old state apparatus for its liberation. It should be smashed completely and the government of proletarian dictatorship should be established.

- Paris Commune was the embryonic form of future proletarian dictatorship.

Though the Paris Commune was overthrown, it was the first ever victory, of the working class of the whole world. It was the first ever revolutionary action that had dealt a strong blow to the world capitalist system. It became a torch-bearer for the century later. The Russian revolution, which had made a breach in the fort of the world capitalist system, had drawn lessons from Paris Commune. *"How ever many mistakes might have been committed, Paris Commune remains a historic blazing torch".* (Lenin)

After the defeat of the Paris Commune, severe repression had been unleashed on the European working class movement. On the other hand, a serious confrontation developed among the constituents of the First International between Bakunin's anarchist theory and Marxist class struggle theory. The First International split into two. It had gradually become weak and in 1875 had come to an end.

Yet the struggles of this period had given the working class the revolutionary consciousness. Foundations were laid for a broad based trade union movement. In an embryonic form, working class parties and Social Democratic parties in different countries have sprouted.

Of all these developments, the most important was that Marx's theory of scientific socialism had triumphed over all other theories and had emerged as the only theory of the working class.

Com. Lenin explains these developments:

Marxist theory, in the modern society, makes the working class conscious and unites it. It makes clear the role of this class. It makes clear that in the process of economic development, the present society will be abolished and in its place a new society would definitely come into existence. But this theory, in the process of its development, have had to conduct serious struggle at each and every step against other opposing theories.

Marxism had not established its position at once. In the first half of century (1840) Marxism has fought with the theories that fundamentally differed with it. In 1840 it has defeated the followers of Hegel, who have clung to philosophical idealism. After that, entering into the economic field by 1850 it has defeated the economic theories of Proudhon. In 1870s Marxism, from the realm of theory, has entered into the realm of practice in the working class. By defeating the theories of Bakunin, it has established its supremacy in practice. By 1890, Marxism has triumphed. The Second International, without any resistance, accepted the orientation of Marxism."

(Working class and communist movement of the world, Lenin, pp 90-91).

2. SECOND STAGE

The period from 1871 Paris Commune to 1905

The First International came into being at the time when bourgeois

democratic revolutions were taking place in Europe. With the 1871 Franco-German war, feudalism had collapsed in Europe and a new era of development of capitalist system had started.

During the period of 1871-1905 capitalism had developed to its zenith very rapidly. More over, by 1900, capitalism had developed into-full fledged imperialism which brought the entire world under its control. With this, gradually the era of downfall of the capitalist system also started.

Compared to the earlier period, the period from 1871-1905 could be said to be a peaceful period. In Europe by 1870, the bourgeois democratic revolutions were completed. In Asia, the bourgeois democratic revolutions were yet to start.

In these peaceful conditions, the Second International was formed in 1889 to lead the world trade union movement in the context of these new conditions.

During this period, the Marxist socialist theories were extensively propagated in the working class. On an independent basis, the socialist parties were formed in different countries. Utilising the bourgeois Parliamentary system, the socialist parties developed. They had established their own papers. They had developed broad mass based trade unions and cooperative institutions. In many countries they had conducted militant strikes. To put it in a nutshell, during this period the trade union movement had developed into a mighty force. On this basis the socialist parties in various countries had developed into peoples' parties. Throughout this entire period, the German working class and the German socialist party had provided leadership to the Second International..

But during this period, a bad trend also had entered the trade union movement.

The bourgeoisie, from their super profits accruing mainly from the exploitation of their colonies, had been able to distance the upper strata of the working class by giving higher wages and turning it into its faithful agent. This upper strata, while remaining in the working class, had set out to divert it from the revolutionary path into refomist methods.

But these reformists in the working class could not put up open struggle against Marxism. As by that time Marxism had been accepted

as the sole theory of the working class, these revisionists while accepting Marxism theoretically, had resorted in practice to take the path of opportunism. Seeing the development of capitalism at that time they had argued that socialism could be achieved without working class struggles.

We have to carefully observe the various trends introduced by revisionism in various fields.

It had refuted Marxism in philosophy and made attempts to introduce bourgeois philosophy in its place.

-In the field of economics, the revisionists had introduced formulations opposed to basic Marxist tenets. They had refuted the theory of concentration of capital. They had started an argument that this does not hold good in agriculture. They had argued that the economic crises which are natural in the capitalist economy were gradually declining, and with the establishment of monopoly concerns the crises would eventually disappear. They had said that gradually the intensity of class antagonisms would be lessened.

On the political plane they had rejected the theory of class struggle. They had argued that as the opinion of the majority people would prevail in the bourgeois democracy, the idea that government is a symbol of class rule became obsolete. They had said that socialism can be achieved through parliament. They had said that the working class should not refuse to form a united front with the progressive bourgeois reformists.

That was why throughout the period of Second International, the international working class movement was divided between the genuine revolutionary Marxists and the pseudo Marxists. For the revisionists, all the leaders who were in responsible positions in the mass organisations and in parliament have become the main activists.

At this juncture, Lenin took the responsibility of opposing and resisting the revisionist path and safeguarding the purity of Marxism.

3. THIRD STAGE

From 1905 to 1917 Revolution

Lenin had torn into pieces the argument of the revisionists that Capitalism would be peacefully transformed into socialism. The peace that was visible in the capitalism, Lenin had said, was only ephemeral,

Lenin further said that as capitalism had developed into imperialism, very soon class struggles and national struggles would definitely get intensified.

As Lenin predicted, the peace that was visible in the capitalist world was very soon shattered. Russia-Japan War in 1905, Russian revolution in 1905, and afterwards the bourgeois democratic revolutions in Turkey, Russia and China had shaken the capitalist society. Commenting on the significance of these developments, Lenin says:

"80 crores of Asian people coming into the struggle front for the same ideals for which the European working class is fighting is a fact that should not discourage us but instead enthuse us. The Asian revolutions also are confirming the uselessness of bourgeois liberal theories. They are making clear the independent role of the democratic minded people, and the difference between the working class and various types of bourgeois leaders. Even after the experience gained in both Asia and Europe, if anyone even now talks about classless politics and classless socialism, he should be put in a cage, beside the Australian Kangaroo and exhibited."

New Strategy: New Tactics

At the outset of this revolutionary phase Lenin arrived on to the scene of the international working class movement. He tore into pieces the arguments of the revisionists in the working class movement. By creatively developing the basic tenets of Marxism and applying them to imperialist stage, he had placed before the workers of the world a new strategy and new tactics necessary for the success of the proletarian revolutions.

Marx and Engels belonged to the period of developing capitalism. Lenin belonged to the imperialist stage and the era of revolutions. It was the responsibility of Lenin to implement Marxist tenets by applying them to the imperialist stage.

Marx had said that *the proletarian revolutions would come first in the countries where capitalism is highly developed. Marx could see proletarian dictatorship in an embryonic form in Paris Commune. It was the task of Lenin to formulate the strategy and tactics to achieve proletarian dictatorship, establish it and build socialism. Marx had created the scientific theoretical base for the proletarian*

revolution, Lenin had to develop it creatively and successfully complete the proletarian revolution,

Stalin had said about Lenin's theories:

Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Marx and Engels pursued their activities in the pre-revolutionary period (we have the proletarian revolution in mind), when developed imperialism did not yet exist, in the period of the proletarians' preparation for revolution, in the period when the proletarian revolution was not yet an immediate practical inevitability. But Lenin, the disciple of Marx and Engels, pursued his activities in the period of developed imperialism, in the period of the unfolding proletarian revolution, when the proletarian revolution had already triumphed in one country, had smashed bourgeois democracy and had ushered in the era of proletarian democracy, the era of the Soviets ...

(Problems of Leninism: Stalin-- page 3)

Against Kautsky and such other revisionists, Lenin had forged the organisation of a new Communist Party, which had complete unity, from top to bottom. He had formulated a principle that the working class should convert the imperialist war into a civil war.

He had analysed and asserted that Tsarist Russia was the weakest link in the world imperialist chain and hence the revolution would be successful there and he had utilised his time and energy to this end.

1905 Russian Revolution

As Lenin predicted, the bourgeois demorcratic revolution that had come in Russia in 1905, had shaken the capitalist society. It had cautioned that the time for socialist revolutions had come.

In order to divert the rising tide of people's discontent, the Tsar had. entered into war with Japan on the Manchurian issue. In this war the armies of the Tsar had met with ignoble defeat. This war had contributed to the 1905 revolution in Russia. Under the leadership of Com. Lenin, the Bolsheviks led this revolution.

Owing to the intensification of struggle between Mensheviks who reflected the revisionist trends, and the Bolsheviks, who were

the followers of Lenin and who were the strict adherents of basic Marxist tenets, the Russian Social Democratic Party split into two in 1903 itself. Under the leadership of Com. Lenin, the Bolsheviks had started to function as a separate party.

Two Tactics

In the revolution of 1905, the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks had adopted two mutually opposed strategies and tactics.

-The Mensheviks had argued that since it was a bourgeois revolu tion, it should develop under the leadership of bourgeoisie and the working class should assist the bourgeoisie to overthrow the Tsarist government. The Bolsheviks had rejected this. They had said that this revolution could be successful only under the leadership of the working class.

-In the eyes of Mensheviks peasantry was not a revolutionary class. But the Bolsheviks were of the opinion that unless the unity of workers and peasants was achieved under the leadership of working class, the revolution could not succeed.

-Mensheviks had argued that after the success of bourgeois democratic revolution, for the full development of capitalism, the capitalist class, under the leadership of bourgeoisie should be given the necessary time. The Bolsheviks, while rejecting this, said that after the success of the bourgeois revolution, the struggle to achieve the socialist revolution should be launched immediately.

-When the Tsar, with a view to divert the revolution, had promised to form a parliament, the Mensheviks had argued that they should accept it and work in it. The Bolsheviks had rejected it and said that the Tsar should be overthrown through armed struggle.

On 9th January 1905 (bloody Sunday), when thousands of workers under the leadership of an archbishop went in a procession to submit a memorandum on their demands, the Tzar's troops ruthlessly opened fire on them. This incident triggered the 1905 revolution.

It gradually spread to all important towns. In many towns. the workers went on political strikes. The marines of the ship "Potemkin" had rebelled. From towns the revolution had spread to all the villages. The peasantry had started occupying the lands of the landlords. In December, 1905, the working class of Moscow had rebelled. Street fighting took place and barricades were erected. But this revolt was ruthlessly suppressed. Thus, with this, the 1905 revolution was finished.

After this, the Tsar had resorted to barbaric repression to crush the Russian revolution. The Bolsheviks, through guerilla struggle, tried to safe- guard the revolution.

Reasons for the defeat

-Strong unity of workers and peasants was not achieved. Majority of the peasants were still having illusions on the Tsar.

-Though there were some revolts in the army, the majority of the army stood by the Tsar.

-Also, the entire working class had not come into the revolution at one time.

-The working class was divided between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Mensheviks had watered down the revolutionary struggle.

-The peace treaty between Russia and Japan, had helped the Tsar to brace himself internally.

-The difference of opinions between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks on the forms of struggle, on tactics and strategy in Russia which came to the fore had started in the Second International also.

The internal contradictions in the imperialist system had become acute. The clash between the camps of imperialist countries for the re-division of the world had become intense. Consequently, in 1914, the First World War started between the two camps of imperialist powers i.e, Germany and its allies, and Britain and its allies.

As a result, the ideological differences in the Second International had come out as three distinct trends.

-Rightist group which constituted the majority-supported the reactionary governments.

-Centrist group-Kautsky and his followers-in practice helped the rightist group.

-Radical group-Lenin and his followers-said that the imperialist war should be converted into a civil war and worked for the overthrow of the capitalist government in their country.

With the outbreak of the first world war, the rightist group and the centrist group in the Second International which hitherto remained hidden, came out openly and in the name of defending their countries, started to support the imperialist war governments.

Lenin had rejected this policy and gave a call to convert the imperialist war into a civil war. He had said that throwing out the war governments and establishing the proletarian governments by the working class alone would pave way for world peace.

And with this, Com. Lenin and his followers came out of the Second International, which sold itself out to the capitalist class, and started separately organising revolutionary communist parties based on Marxist ideology.

November 7th, 1917 - Russian Revolution

In Russia, the Bolsheviks had launched serious efforts to turn the imperialist war into a civil war and overthrow the Tsar from power.

In February, 1917, the Tsar was thrown out of power. Under the leadership of bourgeoisie, the new government was formed.

This revolution was conducted against the feudal class represented by the Tsar. This revolution was conducted by the industrial capitalist class, working class, agricultural labourers and the peasantry.

Since the leadership of this revolution was in the hands of the bourgeoisie, power had passed into their hands. But at all places local soviets have been formed. As a result dual authority had come into existence in the country. In these soviets also, Mensheviks were in majority. The extremely petty bourgeois atmosphere existing in the country at that time, was responsible for this.

Lenin had cautioned the working class that the government formed in February was a bourgeois government, and that it was a government which would continue the war and not end it and hence the working class should not co-operate with it. He said that the working class should rally agricultural labourers, the poor and the middle peasantry and the middle classes under its leadership and overthrow the bourgeois government. He had said that the socialist revolution should be achieved. Learning from their own experiences, the majority of the working class, peasantry, army and the majority of the soviets had swung toward Bolsheviks.

On 7th November, 1917, the socialist revolution in Russia was successful. For the first time in history, the government of the proletarian dictatorship was established

Reasons for the success of the revolution

The Russian bourgeoisie had become weak financially as well as politically. Since it continued the policy of war it had lost the sympathy of majority people.

-The working class which had revolutionary consciousness had lead the revolution. It was able to rally around it majority of the agricultural labourers and poor peasantry.

-The iron disciplined Bolshevik Party had come forward as the leader of the working class.

-The world situation-with the imperialist countries fighting against one another contributed to the success of socialist revolution in Russia.

4. FOURTH STAGE

The period from 1917 Russian revolution to 1949 Chinese revolution

Though the proletarian revolution was successful in Russia; owing to the betrayal of revisionists and due to lack of strong communist movements, the proletarian revolutions had failed in the West European Countries.

As a result of the First World War and due to the establishment of socialist government, capitalism had entered into a stage of general crisis. This had made even more acute, all the contradictions in capitalism. To resolve the contradictions among the imperialists and to get out of the general crisis engulfing the entire capitalist system, the imperialists had resorted to attack on Soviet Russia.

The internal reactionary forces in Russia, with the help of the international imperialists, had set out to overthrow the Soviet socialist government.

In these conditions, it became imperative to save Soviet Union, its socialist government, both from the internal and the international reactionary forces and build socialist society.

While protecting the socialist government it had become necessary to spread throughout the world the revolutionary message of Soviet Union and also provide necessary theoretical, political and practical leadership to the international working class movement.

It had become necessary to provide leadership to the world communist movement, and help build strong communist parties.

Proletarian revolutions broke out in Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary etc, but owing to the betrayal of revisionists, those revolutions could not succeed.

In such a revolutionary situation, in the year 1919, the Third International was established to fulfill the above tasks.

The Third International had made serious efforts to build up communist parties based on Marxist ideology in different countries. It had provided necessary theoretical and organisational experience for 'fulfilling this task. At this stage, one left deviation section among the communists- when the revolutionary conditions were at a low ebb- argued that communists should not participate in trade union activities and in the parliament. Lenin has criticised this line very severely. During this stage, in colonial and in semi-colonial countries, communist parties have been formed and were functioning. National liberation struggles started sprouting. The communist parties in these countries had set out to intensify the national liberation struggles. In this effort, the Communist Party of China had achieved glorious successes and had emerged as a strong force.

The death of comrade Lenin occurred in 1924. Under the leadership of comrade Stalin, the Third International carried out these international tasks.

The thesis (on Colonial Countries) of the 6th Congress held in 1928, was of much help for developing the international communist movement.

The failure of all the West European revolutions in the post-First World War, gave time for capitalism to brace itself. With this, the bourgeois politicians and the revisionists have once again started an argument that there will be no more crisis in the capitalism and that the atmosphere for gradual development of capitalism has been created.

The Sixth Congress of the Third International held in 1928 has flayed all these wrong theories. In has cautioned that the imperialism has entered into the crisis and that crisis and revolutions and inevitable and ultimately capitalism will crumble. It has formulated relevant tactics for the world communist parties. Similarly, it has reviewed the situation in colonial countries and has formulated tactics for communist parties for furthering national struggles.

It had pointed out the different types of crises the capitalist system was undergoing while the socialist society in Soviet Russia was developing without any crisis. At this stage, three special events should be mentioned.

-In the Soviet Union, defeating the theories of Trotsky and Bukharin, the programme of five year plans for building socialist society was started under the leadership of com. Stalin.

-In western Europe, the working class had resorted to widespread struggle against the ill-effects of the economic crisis.

-In China, opposing the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek, under the leadership of the Communist Party, Libertated Area was formed in southern China and the armed struggle was started. When the Liberated Area in southern China could not be defended, the Red Army in 1934, under the leadership of Communist Party, undertook a long march of 6000 miles, reached northern China, formed a Liberated Area and started its struggle.

Fascism

The crisis that started in 1929, had intensified the revolutionary situation in Germany. The Communist Party made serious efforts to divert the working class into the revolutionarty struggles. But majority of the working class was still under the influence of social democrats who, at each and every step, watered down the working class struggle and compromised with the bourgeoisie. The capitalist class helped the fascist clique of Hitler, dissolved the parliament and brought Hitler to power on 30th January, 1933.

The fascist government of Hitler had suppressed the democratic, working class and the communist movements in Germany and sent thousands of people to gallows. The government itself set on fire parliament building and foisted a conspiracy case on com. Dimitrov and other communist leaders. The worldwide agitation compelled the government to release com. Dimitrov.

Fight against fascism

All the imperialists of the world had conspired to incite the fascist governments of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japan governments to attack Russia.

In 1931, Japan had declared war on Manchuria and occupied it. In 1935, Italy declared war on Abyssynia.

Hitler had intensified the preparations for a new war with deadly weapons. The governments of England, France and America had helped him in his attempts.

The world communist movement had taken up the task of rallying and preparing for struggles all the democratic forces against the growing fascism and against the new war efforts.

The 7th Congress of the Third International held in 1935 had made clear the class character of fascism and gave a call to unite all the democratic forces and to resist through united front tactics the war efforts.

In response to this call the communist parties of different countries had set to the building up of a strong democratic movement. Of this, the following historic events are worth mentioning.

-In 1936, in France, all the democratic forces have joined hands and a popular front government was formed. The communist party extended support to this government.

-In 1936, in Spain, a republican government was formed by all the democratic parties including the communist party. General Franco had declared a revolt to overthrow this government. The governments of Hitler and Mussolini stood in support of him. In the name of neutrality, the governments of France, England and America had betrayed the Spanish Republican government. The Soviet government and the international communist movement alone stood in support of the Spanish Republican government. The Spanish republic put up a lone, heroic fight but in vain. General Franco had come into power.

-The Chinese Communist Party had built up a powerful movement in the entire country demanding the cessation of civil war waged by the Kuomingtang Party against it and resisting the Japanese agression unitedly. Kuomingtang Party was compelled to accept to resist the Japanese agression together with the Communist Party.

-The fifth-columnists in Russia who were conspiring to disrupt the building up of socialist society and to pull it down , were wiped out by the Communist Party.

SECOND WORLD WAR

As a result of the contradiction between the imperialist camps second World War broke out in 1939. Since the European countries did not put up a united resistance to the war efforts of the fascist governments, Soviet Russia had reached a no-war-pact with Germany.

The Soviet Union had foiled the conspiracies of the imperialists who had desired to incite Hilter to attack Soviet Russia. Hitler had declared war on the other imperialist powers. With a short time he had occupied the entire Europe. The Soviet Union had liberated the eastern region of Poland, Basarenia region, and Latwia countries. It had strengthened its western frontiers. In 1940, Hitler declared war on Soviet Russia. England and America could not but join hands with Soviet Russia against Hitler.

The heroic resistance of Soviet people, the resistance of the people of Europe and the unity between America, England and the Soviet Russia had led to the defeat of Germany in 1944, and in 1945 of Japan. With the defeat of the fascist governments, the East European countries had taken to the path of socialism. In western Europe a strong communist movement had emerged.

With the defeat of fascist governments and with the weakening of the imperialist countries, imperialism as a whole was relatively weakened.

In 1949, under the leadership of the Communist Party, 70 crore Chinese people have overthrown the Chiang Kai-shek government and had hoisted the red flag.

In totality, what were the victories achieved in this period ?

-In Soviet Russia the socialist society was successfully established. On the basis of collective system, agriculture was reconstructed. Soviet Union had emerged as a strong force.

-In various countries, strong communist parties, with broad mass base were formed.

-East European countries have taken to the socialist path.

-70 crore Chinese people had taken to the socialist path.

-World socialist system with 100 crores people had come into existence. During this period, in all the successes achieved by the

international communist movement, Com. Stalin had played a major role.

5. FIFTH STAGE

The post- 1949 Chinese revolution period

The defeat of fascist governments and the success of Soviet Union in the second World War, East European countries taking to the path of socialism, and the severe weakening of US & British imperialists-all these had weakened the imperialist system as a whole. National liberation struggles had surged forward.

The Chinese people under the leadership of Communist Party achieved complete success in the armed revolutionary struggle they were waging for 28 years. This victory achieved by China had led to the establishment of the communist governments in North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba.

The importance of Chinese revolution

Chinese revolution was the first revolution that had come in colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Russian revolution had shaken the foundations of the world capitalist system. It had made the first breach. The Chinese revolution had struck a heavy blow to the imperialist system. Its backbone was shattered. It will inevitably crumble and ultimately no knight errant can save it from the doom.

-The Chinese revolution was one that took place in a country of 70 crores people. With it a socialist world of 100 crores had come into being. The socialist world, which could develop very rapidly and stand on par with the capitalist world in all the fields has appeared on the world arena.

-Chinese revolution was a revolution, which had shown the path of liberation to the people of backward colonial and semi-colonial countries. It was a revolution, which proved that the exploited people with revolutionary spirit, by following the people's war path and by conducting a protracted struggle against the imperialists with all their deadly weapons, and their puppets, can achieve their liberation.

-It was a revolution, which had given a new struggle form- initially liberating the villages and gradually liberating the towns-to the exploited people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

It was a revolution, which had in practice, by implementing diligently Lenin's formulation on the conditions under which to unite with and to fight against national bourgeoisie in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

It was a revolution, which had given to the world the New Democratic Revolution-a new form of the proletarian dictatorship government in backward countries.

It was a revolution, which has shown in practice how the socialist society should be established in the backward countries by smashing the existing exploiting system.

Present Situation

With 1/3rd of the world transforming into socialist system, developing strong movements of working class and communist parties, and surging movements of national liberation struggles-all these have contributed to the complete weakening of imperialist system and its sliding down into a permanent crisis.

In such a situation the imperialism has no alternative except to get along by transforming the government into military apparatus and resort to aggressive wars. With the faster pace of the disintegration of imperialism, the national liberation movements surged. They are taking the form of armed struggle and also the role of the communist parties in these struggles is increasing

The weakened imperialist countries are unable to suppress these movements. That is why in the post-second World War conditions, many old colonial and semi-colonial countries have been able to achieve their independence. India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Algeria, Egypt, other Arab countries and many African countries have declared their independence.

American imperialism has come forward as a champion, to prop up the collapsing imperialist system. It has established hundreds of military bases and piled them up with deadly destructive weapons against national liberation struggles and against the socialist countries. It has set out to acquire financial control over the under-developed countries as well as weak capitalist countries. In the countries where the forces of the people are strong enough, it is inciting civil wars. In some cases, it is directly resorting to armed intervention and drenching

the national liberation movements in blood. The naked atrocities of American imperialism in South Vietnam, Congo, Dominican Republic, Ghana and Indonesia etc. are before us.

The national liberation movements and the communist parties are marching ahead resisting the deadly weapons of American imperialism-the common enemy of the people of the world.

SPLIT IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

In such an auspicious situation, the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, held in 1956, has sown confusion in the world communist movement. The 20th Congress of the Soviet Party had made brand new formulations that there are conditions where war can be permanently put off even while the imperialism exists; that socialism can be established through parliamentary means without the necessity of armed revolt; that Stalin had behaved like a dictator destroying the socialist democracy.

In order to rectify the revisionist trends implicit in these brand new formulations and to safeguard the purity of the basic Marxist tenets, efforts were made by the Conference of the International Communist Parties, held in 1957, and the conference of 81 communist parties held in 1960.

After reviewing the present day world conditions, they tried to formulate new strategy and tactics necessary for the world communist movement. But they are in vain as serious differences have come forward in the world communist movement on various problems related to today's strategy and tactics.

These difference of opinions are nothing but the struggle going on between the modern revisionist principles and Marxist-Leninist principles. We should carefully examine the long history of the world working class movement and the communist movement, the experiences they have provided in different stages, the various problems confronting the communist movement today and the solutions offered and the lessons they teach us.

Lessons

In the development of the proletarian revolutionary movement, by conducting serious struggle against capitalism only, the working

class movement was able to develop from one stage to a higher stage. In all the stages-1871-1905-1917-1949 only by conducting bitter struggles against the capitalist system the working class communist movements were able to develop.

While conducting these serious struggles, many opportunist and revisionist trends latent in the communist movement had come out openly. Only since Marxism had fought bitter struggles against these alien trends and defeated them, the communist movement was able to advance.

That was why Engels said thus:

"Working class movement will definitely develop in different stages. At every stage one section the movement will try to go ahead. The rest refuses to join with it. That is why among different sections, a life and death struggle ensues. and a higher level of working class unity and development will be achieved".

The revisionist trends that arise every now and then in the communist movement have their roots in the objective conditions of those countries and in some characteristic features of the economic development of the capitalist countries.

Lenin had made clear that revisionism would often rises its ugly head in the working class movement due to the following factors.

New generations of cadres from different classes joining the movement. Progressive and reactionary trends manifest at different stages of the development of capitalism will give rise to the revisionist trends in the working class movement. In the backward countries, due to the uneven development of capitalism, some sections in the working class movement will be affected easily by revisionist trends.

The two tactics adopted by the bourgeoisie to suppress the working class movement, in some cases giving some perks to the workers and some times severe repression, will develop revisionist and adventurist trends in the working class movement. In the capitalist society people from middle classes and peasantry will be joining the ranks of the working class. They give rise to revisionist trends in the working class movements. Objective conditions in the capitalist society often give rise to revisionist deviations in the communist movement and therefore Marxists had to conduct serious struggles against all such alien trends. That was way continuous ideological struggle had

to be conducted by Marx against Bakunin's theories during First International, by Lenin against the theories of Kautsky during Second International and by Stalin against Trotsky's and Tito's theories during the Third International.

Today also it has become necessary for the Marxists-Leninists to fight against the modern revisionists to protect the Marxist theory of class struggle,

2. The centre of contradictions of the world capitalist imperialist system often changed from one country to another. As a result, the centre of world working class movement also changed.

In 1830, Chartist movement in England, 1848-71 revolutionary movements in France, the 1871-1905 working class movement in Germany, since 1905 to the later period of Second World War, the Russian working class-like this, at different stages, the leadership had been changing from one country to another.

Lenin had cautioned that the revolutionary centre also would change.

In the different stages of 19th centuary, just as the leadership of the working class movement belonged for some time to Britain, and later to the German working class, the leadership of the international working class movement has come to the Russian working class. But undoubtedly this leadership will remain in their hands only for a short period. (International working class and communist movement, Lenin, p. 292).

Due to complete weakening of imperialism after the Second World War, the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries are in the upsurge.

They are fighting against the attempts of the American imperialists to drench these movements in blood and suppress them. Thus it appears that the centre of revolutionary movements has shifted to Asia, Africa, and Latin America region. But the international revisionist leadership of today is refusing to see this reality. By counterposing the fundamental contradiction between the socialist and capitalist systems to today's contradiction between national liberation movements and the imperialism, it is refusing to recognise the key role of the national liberation struggle in fighting imperialism.

The post-Second World War, especially post-Chinese revolution world history is the history of the struggle between the national liberation struggles and the imperialism. The national liberation struggles going on even today are making it clear that the centre of the contradictions of imperialism has shifted to Asia, Africa and Latin America region.

3. The ideological and political struggle between Marxists and revisionists at different stages have steeled Marxism and broadened it. In the struggle conducted at various stages, in the beginning, Marxists were in minority organisationally, compared to revisionists. But by bitter struggles Marxism defeated revisionism and was victorious. At various stages, Marxism, than revisionism, was able to adopt the correct strategy and tactics suitable to that particular stage and defeat revisionism and march ahead. In this struggle conducted at different stages, the Marxists had taken an uncompromising stand with revisionists. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin while conducting struggle against revisionists, never went for opportunistic unity with them. While stating that unity with revisionists is impossible, Lenin says:

Leaving the theories aside and getting down into the mud-pond along with the revisionists cannot be called as unity. It means the working class joining the national bourgeoisie. It means bringing a division in the international working class movement.

He has stated further:

"Without making a clean break with the revisionists and without exposing their hollowness, unity of the working class and socialism cannot be achieved nationally as well as internationally".

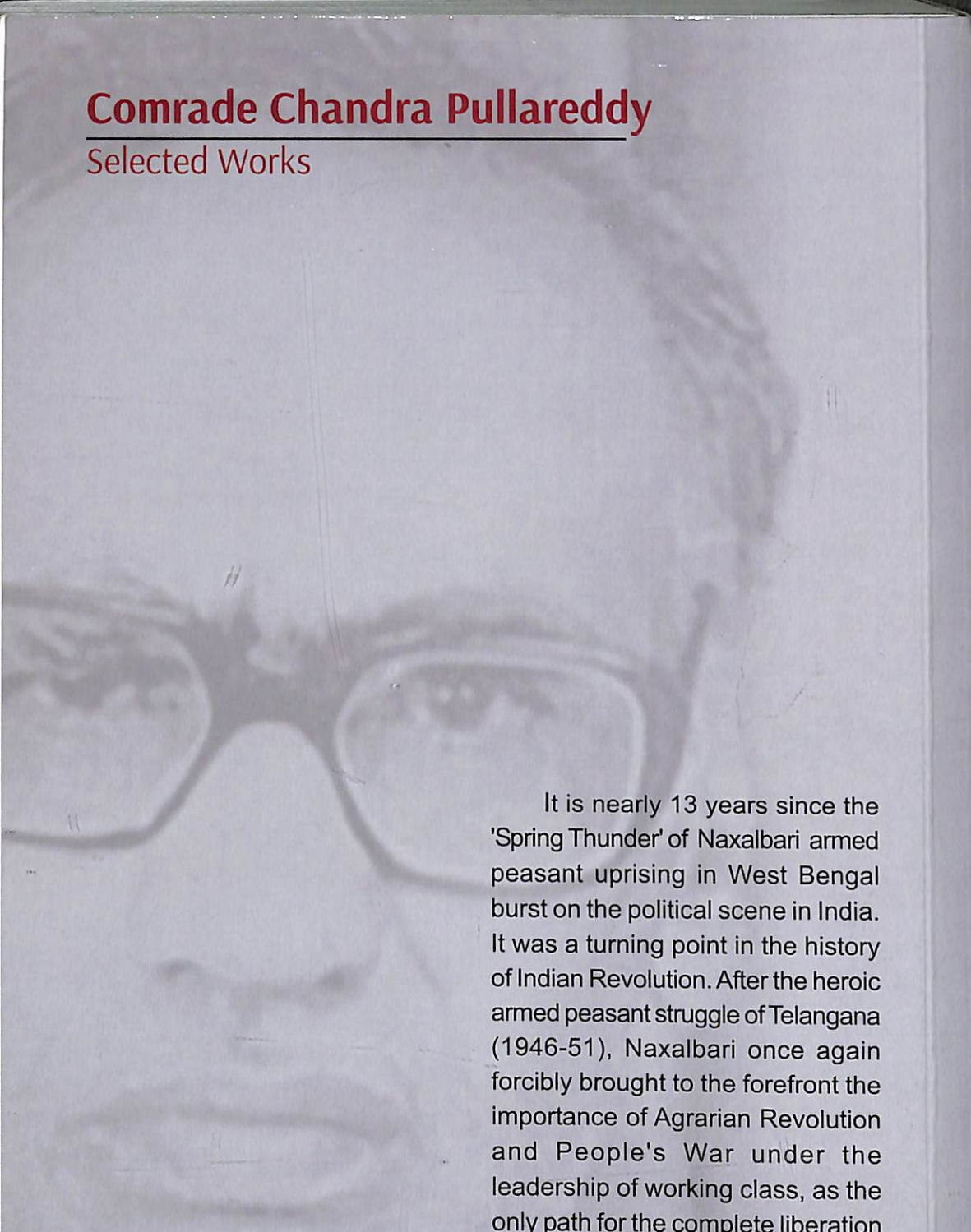
This is the contradiction betwen Marxists and revisionists in the international communist movement today. Serious struggle is going on between these two trends on the role of national liberation struggles, ways of revolutionary transformation, peaceful co-existance, war, peace and many other issues. In this struggle also Marxism will definitely defeat revisionism and achieve complete victory.

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Comrade Chandra Pullareddy

Selected Works



It is nearly 13 years since the 'Spring Thunder' of Naxalbari armed peasant uprising in West Bengal burst on the political scene in India. It was a turning point in the history of Indian Revolution. After the heroic armed peasant struggle of Telangana (1946-51), Naxalbari once again forcibly brought to the forefront the importance of Agrarian Revolution and People's War under the leadership of working class, as the only path for the complete liberation of our people and the establishment of People's Democracy.

CPI (ML) NEW DEMOCRACY
Central Committee