

# *the Comrade*

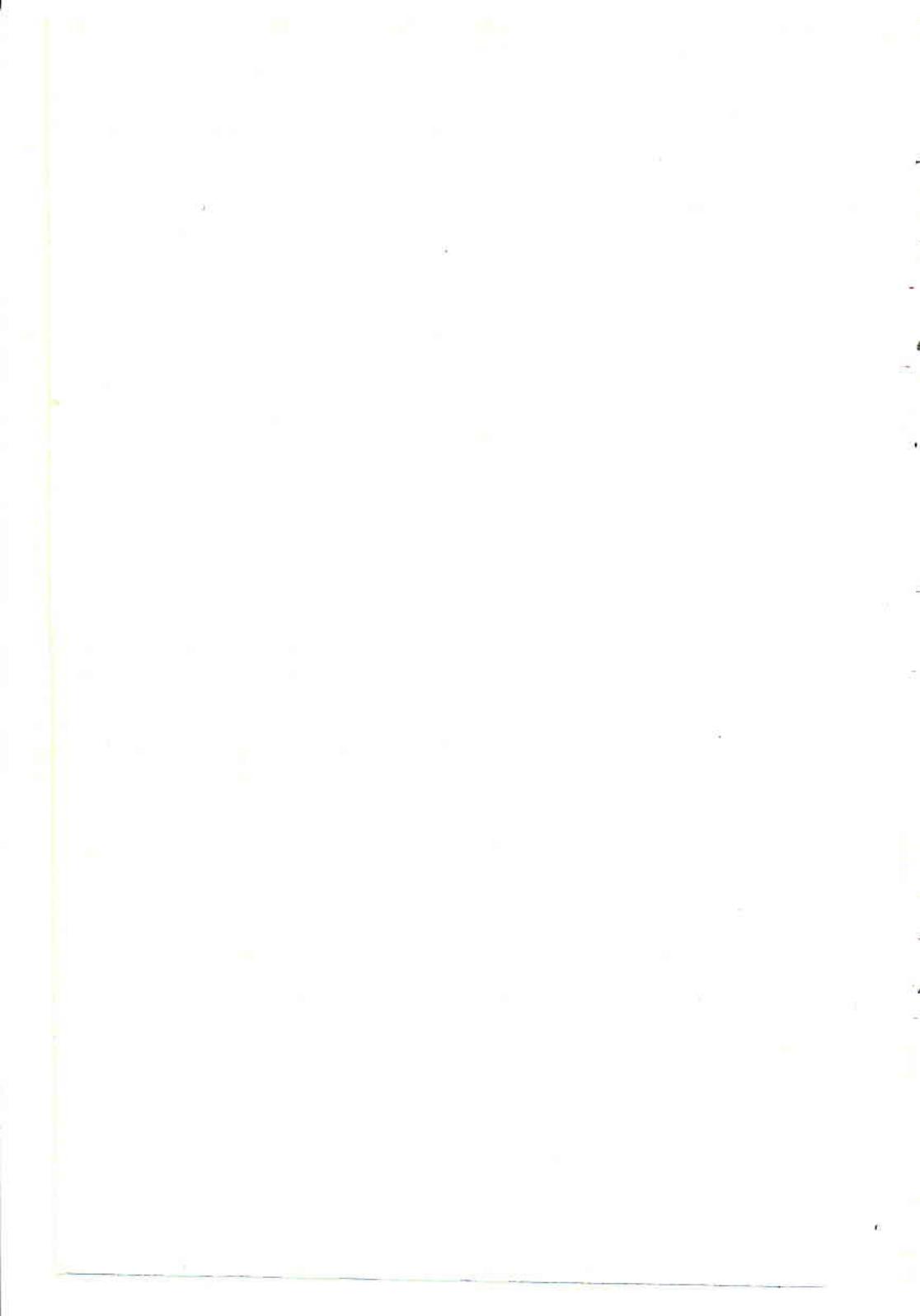
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*ORGAN OF THE C.P.R.C.I. (ML)*

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# **CPRCI (ML) CONCLUDES ITS REGULAR CONFERENCE VERDICT IN FAVOR OF PARTY RE-ORGANIZATION AS THE PRINCIPAL TASK OF THE IMMEDIATE PHASE**

The CPRCI (ML) has successfully concluded its first regular conference process in recent period. The process has played a very significant and meaningful role, in enhancing the political awareness, clarity and concern of the ranks regarding the issues under discussion. It has armed the organization with improved grasp of immediate direction to further proceed for line implementation.

The CPRCI (ML) had come into existence in August, 1994, as a result of the merger of four communist revolutionary organisations namely, CCRI; CPI (ML)-CT; CUCI (ML); and MLOC. It was the outcome and culmination of a five year long process of bilateral and multilateral discussions. The final leg of this unification process was completed through the inaugural conference of the CPRCI (ML) in 1995. The conference had improved and adopted the Basic Documents viz. "The Programme for People's Democratic Revolution in India"; The Path of the Indian Revolution; and Organizational Line-Constitution of the CPRCI(ML).

The CPRCI (ML) had viewed the unification as "a consolidation of the proletarian trend" in the communist revolutionary movement and "an advance towards the re-organization of the communist party of India". The ideological-political-organizational line of the C.P.R.C.I.M.L. reflected continuation and improvement of the basically correct proletarian line that had been there in the communist revolutionary camp. The basically correct line had been in existence as diametrically opposed to revisionism of all hues and as distinct from wrong trends. Declaring its commitment "to strive for accomplishing the pressing task of re-organization of the Party", the CPRCI (ML), however, had qualified the "existing status" of its line along with its "existing status" as party organization. It had also stated "process of development" of both (see, From Pages of Organizational-Line, elsewhere in this issue).

Thus the pressing task of party re-organisation continued to be

the fundamental agenda for the CPRCI (ML) but it required a specific response in the given conditions of this period. From this flowed the following:

(i) The reconstruction, integration, and preparation of party organisation for proper implementation of the line and, in turn, utilising the experience of revolutionary practice to develop party organisation and to develop the basis for further unification of communist revolutionary forces; (ii) the central Plan to set the immediate common frame and priorities for this; (iii) the training of forces for the correct orientation in the method of integrated party work (for building the party such that as a core it could build the mass revolutionary movement); (iv) the political grasp, among cadre, of the objective political situation (in the world, in the country, and in the revolutionary camp) - hence, the international and national political Resolution for this whole period to politically ideologically underpin the Plan direction and set the common frame for integrating the party organization; (v) further, for carrying the organisation through all of this, the central force of the organisation- the Central Committee- to get shaped as a team in the course of providing essential leadership to the all-India organisation.

That was the CPRCI's general conception of how the all-India organisation must proceed.

The unified CPRCI had noted in its basic documents that the task of party re-organization needed further qualitative development of line to provide sufficient basis for party re-organization. On the other side, in its plan document, it had put the observation that, both the development of the revolutionary movement under its leadership as well as the strength of the unified party organization lag behind the available level of its line development. The gap needed to be covered through vigorous implementation of line to facilitate its further development as well as improving the method of line implementation so that it may help better cultivation of party forces particularly the layer of cadres from among the advanced sections of struggling masses.

In process of application and implementation of its line the CPRCI (ML) brought a series of policy documents which contributed in further concretizing and strengthening its ideological-political unity. The most prominent among these was the political resolution which continued to serve as a common reference point along with the basic

documents, all through, including the process of the recent regular conference. In spite of its glaring achievements in taking and projecting correct ideological political stands (including on some complicated and confusing phenomenon with a potential to derail the CR forces ) and its encouraging initial bearings on class struggle, in revolutionary movement building areas, the unified organization, in process of line implementation, found, beyond expectation, the presence of long term and deep rooted objective and subjective factors, negatively affecting its efficacy as a conscious instrument of unified and systematic line implementation. The grappling for analyzing and addressing these factors contributed in step by step emergence of much required integral operational (political-organizational) orientation frame for immediate practice. The operational orientation frame- with work plan document as first stepping stone and the plenum documents as culmination- brought to limelight the spheres demanding correction regarding operational-orientation. It was noted that, above all the bearing of the pressing party re-organization task on the overall practice is faint, that the practice of revolutionary mass movement building and party building is not satisfactorily being geared towards the re-organization of the party. The lack of due emphasis on party building was not only restricting its efficacy as leading instrument of revolutionary class struggle (with agrarian revolutionary movement as axis) but also the process of its moulding and rectification as a worthy building block of the party to be re-organized. The frame emphasised that the weak bearing of party re-organization task on practice lends a qualitatively higher dimension to even the otherwise weaker grasp and implementation of the method of integrated party work. The pressing task of re-organization also lends a special significance to the review task which even otherwise has a backseat in the line implementation cycle of the ongoing practice. It means that the review task also need to be geared towards the party re-organization task through its contribution in enriching and developing the line basis. The peculiar highlight of the culminated orientation frame i.e. the placing of the pressing re-organizing task as the defining task of the phase added new dimensions also to a number of required improvements in practical orientation of political-organizational practice. These included improvements in spheres like method of leadership, role and operation of central committee as single policy making body and the

primary body of CCMs, role and concept of the CC centre as ideological-political core and the standing wing of the CC and placing of ideological political work in CC's overall deliberations etc.

After inaugural conference in 1995, the unified CPRCI passed through three all India processes and gatherings to discuss the problems of its practice. It held a special conference in 1999 on the basis of participation of the entire membership. An all India representative meet was organised in 2001 which was attended by elected representatives from the states. There was an all India plenum in 2001, with greater voting power to delegates from the states to comfortably overrule or replace the CC if they so wished. The plenum documents, though viewed insufficient as the requisite basis for a regular review conference by the CC, were presented and accepted as the basis and kernel of the review.

The process of recent regular conference was a new and different experience because of the debate on two parallel documents, within the frame of the same basic line, the first exercise of its kind in life of the unified CPRCI (ML), ever since the inaugural conference. Both the documents criticised each other within the common frame of unity on the basic line distinct from the wrong trends within the communist revolutionary camp. The entire central committee including protagonists of both the documents adopted a course, rare in the CR camp, to jointly locate the spheres of commonality as well as the differences in both the documents and thus determine the overall nature of the differences. The outcome was a joint document from the CC, on "commonality and differences" which was explained to and discussed by the entire membership along with the two parallel documents for the regular conference. The CC document presented the issue before the whole organization in context of the overall situation in the communist revolutionary camp:

"In the process of summing up our practice two major contending views have emerged within the CC. The two documents for regular conference are in the hands of the ranks. Differing views is a normal part of the organizational life of any CR organization. Moreover, inner organization struggle is an essential instrument for consolidation, establishment, improvement and development of correct line.

"In our divided CR camp, the two line struggle generally takes the shape of inter-organization struggle. However there are also

inner-organizational struggles within the CR organizations. They have frequently led to demarcations, splits and reorganizations.

CR organizations might face two qualitatively different types of inner-organization struggle. Some organizations face two-line struggle proper i.e. struggle over differences on the basic line itself. Others may face struggle on important differences within the frame of the same basic line. To properly respond to the situation of inner-organization struggle, it is important to ascertain the nature and sphere of the differences. It becomes more significant in the present situation of our CR camp. Unprincipled unity as well as unnecessary and premature split, have been occurring too frequently in the CR camp. Along with other factors, the lack of proper and/or common assessment about the nature and sphere of unity as well as differences has had its own share of contribution to this. It is also equally necessary that these differences are resolved according to the inner-party struggle principle of unity-struggle-unity (as contained in our Basic Documents)."

(From "A general statement  
on commonality and differences")

In above context, the CC shared following common observation regarding the concrete case of CPRCI (ML):

"In our concrete case it is necessary to duly appreciate the existing unity on basic line. While not overlooking the bearing of the differences on the orientation of the practice of that line, the CC is still of the view that the two views are contending within the common frame of our Line (the correct trend in the communist revolutionary camp) and that the positions taken are not beyond it. The common frame of the basic line is reflected in both the documents. Neither of the documents crosses, challenges, or questions the frame of basic line. This is true in spite of the fact that each document claims to identify the inconsistencies and dilutions in the other document in relation to elements of basic line. The Basic Documents and the preceding Unity Resolution continue to be the commonly accepted frame of reference for debating these respective positions.

After CPRCI unification, the further unity on the basic line has reflected itself in its translation into applied line through subsequent documents and writings. The political resolution is particularly significant among these. With the political resolution the unity on basic line acquired further concrete expression in the form of a broadly common understanding about the contemporary world

situation, the national situation, and the situation of the communist revolutionary camp (international as well as national). It gave a common frame for practice by identifying the tasks on the different fronts and in the different spheres (including the ideological-political tasks). This further concrete applied manifestation of unity on the basic line is intact in the documentary presentations of both the views. Both the documents broadly recognize the validity of the ideological-political positions of the political resolution and the following positions of the CC on subsequent developments. Both the documents broadly reflect the major bench-marks of demarcation from right and left trends in the analysis of contemporary developments and the resultant immediate trajectory of related practice."

The CC Document concretely cited the commonly accepted cardinal positions of political resolution and the associated following writings.

The second part of the CC document highlighted with a focus the joint version about the concrete spheres of difference regarding various issues.

Such an effort was expected to be helpful not only for the ranks to better relate with and participate in the conference process but also for the central leadership itself to assess and address the differences concretely for extending the commonality in a process. It actually served as an additional reference to form a view regarding the positions further crystallizing in the process of unfolding discussions.

After several rounds of deliberations and the verdict of general bodies, and then, the state conferences; the process culminated in deliberations and final verdict of the four day central delegate conference. The central conference was attended by the delegates from Punjab, Orissa, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan. The CCMs participated as ex. officio delegates.

The conference opening took place with hoisting and saluting the red flag, followed by the recitation of the International. The flag was unfurled by a veteran delegate, peculiar because of his zealous participation in Srikakulam movement. It was followed by a silent standing tribute to the departed and martyred comrades belonging to the CR camp and the revolutionary movement. On the background wall to the red flag in the conference hall, there were photographs of our five great teachers.

After an introduction of delegates and the announcement of

house constitution by the secretary, the election of presidium for regulating the conference proceedings took place. The panel was proposed by the secretary on behalf of the outgoing central leading body. The steering committee constituted by the CC from within itself, for guiding the conference process, was announced in the house. Making necessary consultations with the steering committee, the presidium judiciously exercised its organizational authority to regulate the conference proceedings.

There were three agenda items before the conference:

1. Discussion and verdict in favor of one of the two documents as the official document of the organization.

2. The election of the new central leading body and the decision about its designation.

3. The resolution on recent significant political developments.

The deliberations regarding first agenda item were completed in five rounds. In the first round the protagonists of both the documents introduced the respective documents and emphasized their specific significant concerns. In the second round the delegates expressed their views regarding different issues and arguments in both the documents. The opportunity to comment on the views expressed by other delegates was provided in the third round. The maximum time allotted to each delegate was equal with a slight margin for extension. However, there were two exceptions.

The delegates participated in deliberations actively and with keen interest. Irrespective of the views for or against any of the documents, the tendency to listen each other with concern and the urge for unity of the organization were strongly reflected. The delegates provided flavour of their own experiences, feelings and sentiments to the argumentation about the documents.

In the fourth round, the protagonists of both the documents clarified and answered the points raised by the delegates during discussion.

The last round was to seek and announce the verdict of the house regarding the documents. The conference decided to basically uphold one of the documents with majority vote. Consequently, the presidium announced its newly acquired status as the Conference Document and operational orientation contained in the document the official policy of the whole organization.

As stated earlier, the second agenda item contained two parts.

The first was to decide about the designation of the new central leading body to be elected by the conference. The second part of the agenda was the election of the new central leading body. The presidium announced a break so that the outgoing CC as well as the delegates may discuss mutually to decide about moving any panels for electing new central leadership.

After the break, the secretary of the outgoing CC presented its unanimous proposal regarding both parts of the agenda item. Regarding designation of the new central leading body, it was purposed that the supreme leading body between the two regular conferences should be called central leading committee (CLC). It is because at the present level of development of our organization as well as all the layers of leadership, the supreme leading body can not yet perform like a central committee as demanded by our organizational line. It is also because a period is required for the central leading team to be equal to the criteria of the distinct role of central committee demanded by the understanding of the present conference.

The conference unanimously decided to name the central leading body as the central leading committee till the situation is changed.

The panel for electing the central leading committee was presented by the secretary of the outgoing CC. It had been decided unanimously by the CC. It was based on the assessment about requirements for providing central guidance in implementing the verdict of the central conference as well as the available margins for deployment of cadres in central leading role. The next consideration was to ensure the due presence of different view currents in the central committee itself. No other panel was proposed by any delegate. The house elected the panel proposed by the outgoing CC with unanimous vote. Following that the secretary of the outgoing CC, announced the unanimous decision of newly elected central leading committee to elect com. Ankur as secretary of the CPRCI (ML) for the new term. He also announced that after the verdict of the central conference regarding the future course, the whole organization will move unitedly to implement the decided course.

The agenda item concluded in the last was the resolution regarding current developments in national political life, the implications of these developments for the democratic revolutionary

movement and the proper class response to these developments on part of the people's forces. The house unanimously approved the content with suggestions to improve and authorised the CLC to finalize and release the resolution.

The secretary, in his address to the house emphasized that the organization has finally decided the question of operational orientation frame, through the process of the regular conference. The implication of the verdict of the conference for all of us is to gear the whole organization for vehement and unified implementation of the conference direction. Only such an implementation will help in concretely assessing the efficacy of our integral operational orientation frame, on the basis of practice and improve with open mind. Only such a course is the way to bridge the gaps in understanding within the frame of our basic line. We are now in a better situation to define and address the spheres and nature of differences and proceed for better political unity through struggle and collective experience. Through the conference process, we have achieved relative political clarity about the differing views. But the conference process has also triggered an objective process of evolution and crystallization of views. Although, the main focus, now, will be to implement the conference verdict, the CLC will look for the suitable forms and mechanism to facilitate the inner party exchange of views in above context, for achieving better political unity.

The end note of the conference was the recitation of the International with a resolve to go ahead for united implementation of our line according to the verdict of the conference.

Later the central leading committee, in a communication to the ranks, expressed its satisfaction regarding outcome of the conference process in following words:

“Comrades, in spite of the unusual and painful delay in holding our regular conference (which remained significant and crucial subject of the conference deliberations), finally, the successful completion of the conference process is an achievement ***in given situation***. The notable positive aspect lies in the fact that we have passed through an experience of inner party struggle within the frame of our basic line, irrespective of the bearings of the differences on our practical orientation. We are in process of learning to take the differences within the frame of our basic line as a normal phenomenon of the organizational life of a CR organization. It is the

presence, not the absence of differences in a CR organization, which underlines the significance of democratic centralism and provides a test-ground to judge the actual state of affairs regarding the practice of democratic centralism. So, the overall experience of successful conclusion of the conference in context of the emergence of differing views should be taken as a positive witness in favour of our practice of democratic centralism. It is true, in spite of the challenging task of overcoming the present limitations regarding the content of our practice of democratic centralism.”(Emphasis in the original)

“The final outcome of the conference process is heartening; above all, because of the conference verdict regarding “intermediate objectives for the current phase of development of the revolutionary movement” and the placing of party re-organization task as the principal task of the present phase. The conference document in its chapter **“Regarding broad contours of the plan direction”** says:

“The essence of intermediate objectives for the current phase of development of the revolutionary movement can be stated in a nutshell as follows:

- To lay the material foundation for providing unified all India leadership to the revolutionary movement by reorganizing the communist Party of India on the qualitatively developed basis of unity on the basic line of the Indian revolution.

- To lay the foundation for initiating the armed struggle for seizure of power through building the agrarian revolutionary movement to the level of forcible seizure of land.

- To lay the foundation of the united front of the revolutionary classes around the axis of worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat.

**All these tasks are inter-related, with each having the bearing on the other two. Overall, the current phase is defined by the task of re-organization of the party which is to be addressed as the principal task. It is the key link to remove the bottlenecks for advance of the revolutionary movement.”**(Emphasis added)

“Let us all proceed collectively with unity of will to carry forward the conference direction in practice.”



*[from Organizational Line of CPRCI(ML)]*

## EXISTING STATUS AND PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PARTY-ORGANIZATION AND ITS LINE

The C.P.R.C.I.-M.L., having a basically correct proletarian revolutionary line and committed to its practice in leading the class-struggle, is essentially of Party character. It is not the whole Party, but is part or component of the Party that is being re-organized. In association with all other party-forces (presently organized under different names), it is committed to strive for accomplishing the pressing task of re-organization of the Party. Such a development as the re-organization of the full fledged Party will not be a matter of just quantitative growth. That will be a qualitative development of the line and standards of maintaining party principles of functioning, spirit and discipline as well as wholeness of the proletarian leadership provided to the revolutionary movement of India.

The ideological-political-organizational line of the C.P.R.C.I.-M.L. is a continuation and improvement of the basically correct proletarian revolutionary line that has been there (as diametrically opposed to revisionism of all hues and as distinct from wrong trends) in the communist revolutionary camp. This line has been and is still being practiced by more than one Organization (as also by some sections within the Organizations following wrong trends), with varying degrees of its articulation and consistency. However, the overall development of this line is still inadequate and uneven. While it provides a basic frame of approach to any problem, many aspects of it are yet to be sufficiently developed and explained. That is required in order to solve some of the major problems being faced in the sphere of mass revolutionary practice and political-ideological struggle and in order to establish the line extensively among the communist revolutionary ranks and to the possible extent among the struggling masses of the people, for the all-round development of the revolutionary movement and re-organization of the Party.

Such development and establishment of the basic proletarian revolutionary line, invariably proceeds by means of ideological struggle against contemporary opportunist trends, combined with class struggle against adversary class forces. Also, it proceeds by means of the collective effort and ideological-political struggle within the Organization for resolving the concrete problems confronting the revolutionary movement. In all this, unified and systematic implementation of the line is the key. For effective implementation of the line and its development on that basis (through the

summation of experience of that practice), continuous efforts for applying and concretizing the basic line to the specificities of the objective situation and of the revolutionary movement in different regions in different periods, are a pressing need. However, in this endeavor, strict adherence to the strategic and tactical orientation of the basic line and effective struggle against the preponderant pragmatic tendencies are obligatory. Studying, summing up and assimilating of experience must embrace the experiences of the past revolutionary struggles as well. These experiences are not limited to one or two states or some struggles, however important they may be. These include all struggles throughout India.

Even so, to begin with, the experiences of prominent struggles in particular the peasant struggles which developed to the level of armed agrarian revolutionary movements like the Telangana, the Naxalbari and the Srikakulam struggles must be properly summed up and assimilated.

In this way, the process of development and establishment of the correct line and leadership has to be carried forward. In the immediate context, the process is targeted upon enabling the Party to exercise unified leadership over various revolutionary struggles led by communist revolutionary forces, in other words, upon attaining reliable ideological-political basis of accomplishing the task of re-organization<sup>o</sup> of the Party. In the long-term context, the process has to be carried on progressively to develop the political authority of the Party in the Indian Revolution.\*

The present Constitution will come into force immediately and all provisions are applicable to the present phase of the Organization as well barring those, which are substituted by or qualified with provisions given in brackets, and cannot be implemented as long as the Organization functions as a "part of the Party and not the Party."

This Constitution will be a draft to be finalized in the Party Congress for re-organizing the Party. The Constitution thus finalized will reflect the experiences of the intervening period. Therefore it can be justifiably expected that the present Draft Constitution serves the need of the hour for consolidation and extension of the present party-organization as well as reorganization of the Party.

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\* Actually, the authority of a leadership in the Party and the authority of the Party in the revolution are in a sense, manifestations of the authority of the proletarian revolutionary line within the Party and within the revolution respectively. In both cases, the authority rests on the basic consistency of their role in inheriting, defending, developing and materializing the proletarian revolutionary line.

# Some Glimpses of Approach

## Agrarian Revolutionary Movement and Party Re-organization

### The Inter-relationship

(I)

#### *A Chapter from CPRCI(ML) conference Document*

According to our Unity Resolution and basic documents the contradiction between feudalism and broad masses of people is one of the basic social contradictions. The other basic social contradiction is the contradiction between the imperialism and the oppressed Indian people. Therefore, national liberation from imperialism and democratic emancipation from feudalism- involving the abolition of the neo-colonial and feudal relations of production are the basic tasks of the Indian revolution at the present stage of India's social development. According to our understanding, feudalism is the main social base of imperialist oppression. Feudal monopoly of land is the economic basis of all undemocratic social and political authority of feudal forces principally the landlord classes. From such recognition flows the strategic concept of agrarian revolution as the main content and axis of the People's Democratic Revolution. It reflects the line of advance of the Indian Revolution in context of its present **stage** as a whole. As stated in the unity resolution; the strategic concept will remain the same throughout the present **stage of revolution**.

The unity resolution states that the strategic concept finds its concrete expression in the general tactical concept of agrarian revolutionary movement as the axis of people's democratic revolutionary movement (PDRM). This general tactical concept reflects the line of the concrete advance of Indian revolution in the context of its **present phase**. The phase is objectively determined by the fact that the contradiction between feudalism and broad masses of people is not only a basic contradiction but **the principle contradiction** also. The principal contradiction of the phase determines that "the development of the class struggle in general, is going to be ultimately conditioned by the development of the agrarian revolutionary movement, that is, the development of anti-feudal struggles of the peasantry led by the proletariat on the basis of the agrarian revolutionary programme, and imbued with; revolutionary

political consciousness" (Path, Unity Resolution). Our unity resolution also emphasize that "the anti feudal struggle of the peasantry is to be viewed as part of the anti-feudal struggle of all revolutionary classes."

The above stated general tactical concept demands that the concrete plan of tasks and policies of communist revolutionary forces, "must give conscious expression to the objective logic of the unfolding of the principal contradiction by making the requirements of building up the agrarian revolutionary movement as their central reference point. Doing so would have bearing particularly on the scheme for deployment of the Party forces and resources; on the orientation of the political work on other fronts, particularly the workers' front, who are to be made to acquire the realization and capability of discharging their leadership responsibilities towards the peasantry. ..."

The principal task of reorganization of the party in present reorganization phase is to be viewed not in isolation but in context of above stated imperatives of the general tactical concept. As already stated in the document), "in overall context" the present Party reorganization phase of communist revolutionary movement of India "can be said sub phase of the agrarian phase of Indian revolution. It has its specificities and peculiarities, differentiating it from the following (higher) sub-phases." (Page 107)

The imperatives of the general tactical concept stated in UR and basic documents and the centrality as well as the principality of the Party reorganization task, throughout the present re-organization phase, are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the very centrality as well as the principality of Party re-organization task means that task is essential for translating the general tactical concept of ARM as axis of PDRM into practice. That is because, "the **conscious expression** to the objective logic of the unfolding of the principal contradiction" and, "the requirements of building up the agrarian revolutionary movement" demand proletarian leadership. As stated in our Path document (part-2), the working class can exercise its leadership over the PDR, "**primarily** through the organization of its political vanguard i.e. the Communist Party." (Page 24, Emphasis added)

Further, "grooming the working class" for exercising its leadership role in all the forms (primary as well as secondary practical as cited in Path-2), is "strategic task" of **the Party** (page 25). That is

why, the Path document (part-2) **emphasizes that "In all the facets and phases of this process of building the agrarian revolutionary movement and revolutionary organization of the rural people, the proletarian vanguard organization plays the crucial role."**(Path page 41). It is well established that PDRM is distinct as PDRM just because of the presence of the vanguard leadership. The corollary is that in absence of the vanguard leadership, the realization of agrarian revolutionary movement as axis of PDRM has no scope. It is destined to remain confined in general (bourgeois) democratic boundaries. The weakness of the Party Vanguard also means dilution **of PDRM** content and relatively free scope for bourgeois democratic colouring of the axis.

In any case the plan of tasks and policies of the CR forces must reflect "the correct tactical orientation." It must give conscious expression to the objective logic of the principal contradiction. It must also address and identify the immediate stepping stones reflecting the requirements of the general central reference point of building the agrarian revolutionary movement.

For giving conscious expression to the objective logic of principal contradiction, we are to identify the imperatives for addressing and promoting the people's aspect of this contradiction. Our tasks and policies like concentration in basic classes particularly peasantry, composite character of RMM in our leadership, concentration of forces in selected pockets, self defence instruments for protecting class struggle particularly the ARM, action programs for advance of RMM particularly the peasant movement with AARM perspective, creation and promotion of party nucleus in instruments of RMM, promotion of organizational base of the mass movement etc. reflect such imperatives. Needless to say, the state of the vanguard instrument has crucial bearing on objective logic of unfolding of the principal contradiction. The very growth of the aspect of broad masses of people remains headless in absence of the Party. It suffers in case of less than minimum necessary efficacy of the leading party instrument.

**The above stated flows from our conception of "the crux of providing effective leadership to the" PDR in India as stated in our Path document. It demands successful tackling of the three "basic problems or the strategic tasks", the three magic weapons, of the Indian revolution viz the Party, the United Front and the Armed Struggle. The state of the Peoples' aspect in the**

***principal contradiction is reflected in state of all the three magic weapons, in concrete process of class struggle. The reflection in its inter-relation and wholeness is the prism of the peoples' aspect in principal contradiction.***

According to Path, "the leadership of the Party "as the chief expression of the hegemony of the Proletariat" is "an indispensable requirement of the Indian revolution" and hence of the ARM too. That is why the path document takes the political development of the Party not as concern of the proletariat, solely, but "objectively the revolutionary concern of the Indian people". The path views development of party as "the general problem of the Indian revolution." No doubt "the problem of Indian revolution" in present pre party phase is expressing itself in a concentrated way and the task of re-organization is addressed to the "revolutionary concern of the Indian people" particularly the ARM. The ARM simply cannot afford to be devoid of this concern. The concrete advance of ARM towards floating the magic weapon of armed struggle is organically linked with the state of other magic weapons i.e. the united front and the party. At present there is task of shaping our organization, the part of the party, as worthy leading instrument of class struggle with agrarian focus and there is task of its shaping as building block of the party to be re-organized. Both of these are not contradictory but complementary. Only a worthy leading instrument can be a worthy building block. The process of their development must be conceived to ultimately culminate in qualitative advance of PDRM under unified party leadership of the re-organized party.

Prospects of building in our concrete experience the available ARM suffered to an extent particularly in one of the major revolutionary movement building areas because the crucial requirement of effectively operative vanguard instrument could not be fulfilled. The RMM here, due to deficiencies in method of implementing the line, in a unified and systematic way, instead of providing nourishment for growth of the vanguard instrument, consumed its energies. The lack of united front aspect i.e. the presence of all revolutionary classes in the struggle also indicated the limitation in matter of its advance.

The overall experience of vanguard role regarding the class struggle under our leadership, as factually substantiated in previous pages, has strikingly brought to light the significance of the method in building the ARM. It has also underlined the significance of creating

and building the party forces, sufficiently strengthened and equipped for the job. Our practice again validates the significance of IPW. But we are to think beyond the general relevance of the IPW concept. We are to focus on the particularity of its operation in the re-organization phase.

We must keep in mind the present bearing of the delay in re-organizing the party on meeting the requirements of the central reference point by the CR forces. The re-organization means the necessary qualitative leap in addressing these requirements. The qualitative jump in growth of ARM as axis of PDRM is integrally related with strategic leadership of the party. And the strategic leadership, theoretical as well as practical, is all India by nature. So the significance of re-organization task as the central as well as the principal task of the present pre-party phase flows from the appreciation of the most crucial requirement for qualitative advance in building and leading the ARM.

So, the role of the principal task lies in removing the principal deficiency in providing leadership to ARM and its real conversion into axis of the PDRM. It is the immediate principal route of "concrete advance" of the movement in context of the principal contradiction.

As mentioned above our unity resolution emphasizes the bearing of CRP on deployment of party forces and orientation on other fronts. It particularly emphasizes the bearing on workers' front keeping in view the significance of proletarian leadership for ARM. It further connects the issue with re-organization of the party, "Besides, political work on workers front has a special significance **at the present phase** of the re-organization of the party." (Emphasis added) In this way the unity resolution indicates the common chord between the task of building ARM and re-organizing the party. It also underlines the special immediate bearing of "**the present phase**" on the general tactical course of the whole agrarian phase of the PDRM.

The general limitation in responding to the objective logic of the specific principal contradiction, in most of the countries, is noted in the political resolution as well as the commonality document. It is said in the commonality document, "**However, there is an abnormal gap between the objective situation and the state of subjective forces. The most important manifestation of this gap is the inability of communist revolutionary forces in most countries to consummate the process of party re-organization in their own countries.**" (Emphasis added)

To take the task of filling this **“abnormal gap”** and mitigating **“the most important manifestation of this gap”** by consummating **“the process of party re-organization”**, as the principal task is the evident imperative of providing conscious expression to the objective logic of the unfolding of the principal contradiction. The twin tasks of Party building and RMM building (with ARM as axis) are to serve the general tactical course of the present agrarian phase of PDRM. Their immediate gearing towards Party Re-organization task does not contradict with immediate reflection of this general tactical course in practice. On the contrary, it is to ensure the overall particularity of this reflection in practice in the present phase of re-organization.

The emphasis on significance of the principal contradiction is good in any case. But we must go beyond its general significance as highlighted in unity resolution and our basic documents. We have achieved an advance in application of line regarding the principal contradiction through political resolution. We have analyzed the present state of this contradiction in context of the globalization offensive. Our observations are significant in context of giving conscious expression to the objective logic of the unfolding of the principal contradiction. The grasp and bearing of these observations on our practice is a significant reference point for evaluating our practice. That is why it is first among the major reference points for evaluating our bearing on the process of class struggle, in the second document. The document has tried to identify the objective and subjective factors and phenomenon asserting to color and distort the conscious expression of the principal contradiction. It has also tried to discuss our response to these in practice.

.....

The presentation ..... that the plenum documents delink the PRO task from ARM is wrong. The inter-relationship is presented in one of the Plenum documents as follows:

The communist revolutionary party (the most advanced proletarian, consistent, comprehensive -thinking revolutionary force of the people) capable of leading the people towards real democracy and socialism was all the more urgently needed. This also meant preparation of the revolutionary force for grasping and bringing about armed struggle and protracted people's war. ***This meant at present mental, political and technical preparation of the revolutionary force for self defense of the movement, particularly the revolutionary peasant movement.*** In the absence of a

revolutionary communist Party of India, a polarization of the communist revolutionary force, and struggle for the establishment of the correct political tactical line, were also urgent and necessary. Active ideological struggle within the organization too would thus be required. (From: the states' review document, Emphasis added).

**The above stated flows from our conception of "the crux of providing effective leadership to ..." PDR in India as stated in our Path document. It demands successful tackling of the three "basic problems or the strategic tasks", the three magic weapons, of the Indian revolution---viz the Party, the United Front and the Armed Struggle. The state of the Peoples' aspect in the principal contradiction is reflected in state of all the three magic weapons, in concrete process of class struggle. The reflection in its inter-relation and wholeness is the prism of the peoples' aspect in principal contradiction.**

According to Path, "the leadership of the Party "as the chief expression of the hegemony of the Proletariat" is "an indispensable requirement of the Indian revolution" and hence of the ARM too. That is why the path document takes the political development of the Party not as concern of the proletariat, solely, but "objectively the revolutionary concern of the Indian people". The path views **development** of party as "the general problem of the Indian revolution." No doubt "the problem of Indian revolution" in present pre party phase is expressing itself in a concentrated way and the task of re-organization is addressed to the "revolutionary concern of the Indian people" particularly the ARM. The ARM simply cannot afford to be devoid of this concern. The concrete advance of ARM towards floating the magic weapon of armed struggle is organically linked with the state of other magic weapons i.e. the united front and the party. At present there is task of shaping our organization, the part of the party, as worthy leading instrument of class struggle with agrarian focus and there is task of its shaping as building block of the party to be re-organized. Both of these are not contradictory but complementary. Only a worthy leading instrument can be a worthy building block. The process of their development must be conceived to ultimately culminate in qualitative advance of PDRM under unified party leadership of the re-organized party.

So, the task of PRO is not out of the strategic purview of the Indian revolution and the general tactical conception of ARM as the

axis of PDRM. All tasks related to PRO are to be pursued not to dilute but to serve this conception.

(2)

### ***FROM OTHER PAGES OF THE CONFERENCE DOCUMENT***

The basis of re-organization of party as a qualitatively higher instrument of leadership of proletariat for new democratic revolution remained to be created through providing sufficient theoretical basis to address some very significant issues of Indian revolution as well as for confronting the confusion on some theoretical and ideological issues of international line.

At the same time the basis of unity among more sections of CRs was to be achieved through ideological political struggle against wrong trends and relative establishment and development of correct proletarian line through practice. It demanded vigorous implementation of our line, ***the crux of which is the advancement of new democratic revolutionary movement, with agrarian revolutionary movement as its axis. The task of establishment and development of line, through practice, called for special emphasis on summing up the experience of implementation, with line as a sufficiently conscious instrument and a reference point.*** (Emphasis added)

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We were to face the challenge of marching ahead in a definite way to fulfill the crucial and pressing task of reorganization of the Party. For, we were to proceed to ***qualitatively*** transform our party organization into a building block of the Party which entails the ***development/enrichment of line*** and ***standards of maintaining Party principles*** - of functioning, spirit and discipline as well as the ***wholeness of proletarian leadership*** provided to the revolutionary movement of India. As a part of this transformation, we were to ***set right*** some cardinal organizational principles and concepts ***through example*** of our party organization's practice and ideological struggle ..... ***The other aspect of serious challenge was (1) to lay ground for the building of agrarian revolutionary movement to the level of initiating the peasant armed struggle against Indian state, and (2) to lay the foundation of united front of Revolutionary classes around the axis of worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of proletariat.*** (Emphasis original)

wherever not stated otherwise)

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Some observations of political resolution were pre-mentioned in plan document itself. These are elsewhere listed in this document also. However, three crucial things, additional in political resolution were particularly significant as components of applied line for the period. One is the observation that the globalization offensive is intensifying the principal contradiction i.e. between feudalism and broad masses of the people more than the contradiction between imperialism and broad masses of people. The grasp of this observation was significant because of its bearings on our conscious intervention in class struggle process and our tactical trajectory during the specific period. Its implications for class polarization on peasants' front were important because of their bearing on immediate tactics in sphere of agrarian revolutionary movement. Thus, it was expected to contribute in specifying and enhancing the direction of our path, for guiding immediate practice. The observation also implied bearings on our ideological political struggle with other CR and ex-CR forces.

The second crucial observation was about the enhanced need of projecting the revolutionary alternative and its central position in all immediate practical work; the importance of taking it as the thrust behind all popular activity in the period ahead and specific bearing of this task on work among basic classes, particularly the industrial proletariat, agriculture labor and poor peasantry. The observation was already there in plan document. So it may not be called "additional" in literal sense. But additional emphasis on the task as "thrust behind all activity" and its "central position" in all immediate practical work, provided more crystallized expression to plan understanding about significance of the task.

The third and most crucial was the identification of the party reorganization as leading core of the revolutionary alternative as central task in pre-party phase. As a corollary the political resolution stressed the crucial significance of party building task not only in reference to party reorganization but also indicated its immediate practical indispensability for class struggle. The valuable insight was that preserving fruits of even immediate struggle activity hinge on presence of party nucleus in struggling masses, particularly the proletariat and the basic layers of peasantry.

The presentation of these three major observations *in their*

*interrelationship* laid bare the significance of two more aspects of immediate work orientation. One is the concentration of work in small chosen pockets. The other is molding and rectification of party organization as a fitting leading instrument of revolutionary alternative. The resolution emphasized locating the aspects of work, style and consciousness coming into the way of rectification and molding of party organization as a living force of revolutionary alternative. Thus, the proper linkage of building agrarian revolutionary movement, building the party and projecting the revolutionary alternative in immediate practice got highlighted and emphasized. It also got presented in its proper relationship with orientation of concentrated and focused work. (Emphasis added)

Any attempt at exploration and summing up of our class struggle practice must include the verification of our applied line in practice. It also includes assessing and bridging the gap between applied line and its implementation. Further, we are to re-evaluate and bridge any gaps between our basic line and its manifestation in applied line. Finally, we are to draw conclusions about results and validity of our basic line and need for any improvements.

***The attempt in this document particularly tries to take-care of two crucial aspects. One is the direction of our path about plan of tasks in sphere of class struggle. We are to judge to which extent the implementation of our applied line was instrumental in facilitating the proper unfolding process of principal contradiction. It demands to keep in mind the immediate imperatives of the direction for our applied line.*** The other particular aspect is, to which extent our intervention in class struggle provided the basis for strengthening its own leading instrument i.e. the party organization. The other aspect of the same is that to which extent it got benefit from the strengths of leading instrument or suffered because of its weaknesses. ***In other words, how far our class struggle practice provided nourishment for its own indispensable care taker and to which extent the class struggle practice was geared towards the central and defining task of the phase i.e. the reorganization of the party.*** There is an attempt in this document to place various aspects of our line and practice in sphere of class struggle in this context. (Emphasis added)

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***The observation in the political resolution was significant because of providing definiteness about the immediate***

*contours and trajectory of the principal contradiction.* The general impression in CR camp was that because of the new globalization offensive the principal contradiction with feudalism is going to be reduced to secondary status or at least the contradiction with imperialism is going to acquire equal level of intensification with it. On the contrary, the political resolution correctly stated that as a result of globalization phenomenon the contradiction with feudalism is acquiring intensity with more force than the intensity of contradiction with imperialism. This observation guarded against deceptive influence of globalization phenomenon on thinking and consequently the immediate tactical steps of communist revolutionaries in relation to class struggle. (Emphasis added).

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Our leading committee in the state, from the very beginning, moved in direction of shifting the focus of work from intermediate classes to rural basic masses. The most urgent task in its plan was making foothold in peasantry particularly the agriculture labor. In its first plan document of December 1994, it noted with concern that the revolutionary democratic movement in Punjab was lagging much behind an effective level of strength and the state of affairs was a cause of "worry". The course chalked out to bridge this gap was in line with the imperatives of giving "conscious expression to the objective logic of the unfolding of the principal contradiction" in given concrete situation. The LC decided as follows:

- "In mass political sphere of work, the work among rural basic classes will be the main focus of attention."
  - "From among the rural basic classes, the first and foremost deployment of energies will be for organizing the agricultural laborers as a direction."
  - "The task requires shifting of major part of party activist force towards rural work."
  - "As a supplementary aspect (of the task) we shall give importance to workers, loading-unloading workers and rickshaw pullers with rural backgrounds, in our work in cities and towns."
  - "For implementing our strategic direction, we shall currently move in direction of building areas of concentrated work, with rural basic masses as the main focus of our work."
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The campaign-plan included focused pre-education and preparation of party ranks for addressing the land issue. The LC

prepared and released two documents for the purpose..... The attempt was and is significant because of its consistency over a long period of time. It continues to serve in laying basis for giving **proper** conscious expression to the objective logic of unfolding principal contradiction. The particularity lies in helping to understand and grasp the point that the aspect of the contradiction opposite to feudalism is the aspect of broad masses of people. **For giving proper conscious expression to unfolding principal contradiction in immediate plan of tasks as well as immediate tactics, the aspect must not be taken as reduced to peasantry.** The more harmful beyond doubt is further reduction of this aspect to mere agricultural labor layer of the peasantry. The alertness about this aspect, manifested in the steps of our leading committee in the state, while implementing the applied line, was helpful in better intervention in class struggle process, in context of intensifying principal contradiction. It played role in guarding against various elements of camouflage inherent in the phenomenon. These elements belong to various factors. One is the somewhat clouding impact of globalization phenomenon. The second is the traditional cast division in peasantry asserting to cloud the principal aspect of common class interest against the common enemy. The third is the complicated interplay of the principal contradiction with its twin basic contradiction i.e. the contradiction between imperialism and the people of country. The intensification of the latter, at least to some extent, provides scope for feudal penetration in anti imperialist struggles of the peasantry and to use it for making a dent in anti feudal unity of different layers of peasantry. Such a penetration is also instrumental in misdirecting the peasant struggles on sectarian lines and giving antagonistic twist against fraternal classes and sections. (E.A.)

This effort over a period of time was later supplemented with a directional document which tried to pinpoint the trajectory of class struggle in context of globalization offensive and intensifying principal contradiction. **It particularly emphasized and addressed the aspect of Polarization in peoples' struggle movement because of the objective strains of growing basic contradictions, particularly the principal contradiction.** Such an education and guidance was helpful for providing better leadership to the class struggle. It was also instrumental in providing basis for struggle against practice of wrong and alien trends which is more or less

rooted in undermining the weight age of intensifying principal contradiction. .... In the area of sharp contradiction with landlords, the mass organization faced and successfully repelled the counter offensive by the landlords. It was in forms like beating the activists, organizing goonda attacks, police torture in custody and registering false police cases. .... After failure of these moves they chose to try the stick after the carrot. The weapons like Nakabandis and social boycott were used. Caste-chauvinism was brought into play to curtail and cripple the peoples' aspect of principal contradiction. It was through parallel polarization of peasantry on non-class and caste lines in favor of landlords. To handle the situation properly the concerned region committee had to make efforts in helping overcome the narrow caste-coloring of growing class assertion among agricultural laborers. On the other side it had to guide a campaign among upper cast owner peasantry to win over or at least neutralize some sections. .... However, the experience became another witness to the correctness of building simultaneous organizations of agriculture labor and owner peasantry in a single village to effectively tackle the overlapping caste factor and making a way for proper and ultimately full expression of principal contradiction. The struggle was successful ultimately not only in gaining sympathy of significant sections of owner peasantry but also in making and using the cracks in landlord camp. The humiliating retreat of landlord camp had a pushing effect on moral and self confidence of agriculture laborers in the area.

The most significant struggle in early years of the mass organization was the struggle against brutal murder of two agriculture laborers by a landlord. Some other just loving forces were also participant in this struggle but the role of our forces was distinct and glaring. This struggle also successfully repelled the dividing tactics of landlord lobby using the caste prejudices. The struggle also defeated the moves of left trend of the CR camp. It proved the efficacy of the line of revolutionary mass resistance. ... The landlord was put behind bars as a result of prolonged struggle and could not get bail for a fairly long period. ***The struggle experience, again, became a witness to existence of crude forms of semi-feudal exploitation, domination and oppression, resembling land-slavery in some aspects.... The point was highlighted in context of struggle with various wrong trends.....***

The further fallouts of struggle and related developments

were significant for projecting the demarcation with wrong trends. The landlord, later while on bail, was assassinated by a left line group. ....The left adventurous action was followed by an ideological political attack against our line. ....The following developments brought to light the mixture of rightist elements in practice of left adventurous line. *It betrayed a high level of cooperation, bordering collaboration, with a section of landlords and clouding the real contours of principal contradiction.* ... The debate writing from our side covered the comprehensive explanation of our path bringing to light that how the immediate controversy has its roots and immediate concrete expression of two parallel general tactical lines for Indian revolution. ....

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The partial review emphasized two more points. One was the significance of initiative and leading role of agriculture labor in creating the political organizational basis of agriculture labor-peasant alliance. The other was significance of properly addressing the phenomenon of growing dalit consciousness to boost its positive aspect and providing the necessary revolutionary political direction, so that the phenomenon may not overlap the objective principal contradiction because of lack of proper direction. It stressed the need of joint activities of agricultural laborers and owner peasantry in suitable forms.

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However, the two most significant deep rooted factors playing role in expansioncontraction phenomenon were the lack of due concentration and focus *to the required extent* and lack of solid foundation to be provided by strengthening political organizational work backbone. The fluidity and uncertainty about number of whole timer revolutionary mass activists on the front was mainly related to this factor.

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The LC noted with satisfaction that as a result of conscious struggle the union ultimately got distinctly dominated by poor and middle peasants. It was first time that the demands of these peasant layers were prominently placed in demand charter of the union. *The most glaring manifestation of advance was crucial element of anti feudal edge. It was distinctly reflected through prominent placing of debt problem, particularly against shackles of private money lending in demands as part of alternative action*

**program. (The hub of previous action program of union had been the linking of prices of agriculture commodities with price index, a manifestation of rich peasant-landlord domination on the union. To be more exact it manifested the domination of these classes on the overall peasant movement in the state. It was, because the mass organization under discussion was most prominent organization with social base among peasant masses.)**

**This was, in a certain sense, a milestone achievement. It sizably weakened a major factor blocking the proper manifestation of principle contradiction in field of class struggle.**

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**The LC review while noting the significant advance in relation to owner peasant masses assessed it in frame of perspective of building revolutionary agrarian movement.** It re-emphasized and reminded the ranks that the purpose of work in the economist reformist platform was, to acquire necessary minimum mass base and activist force, for introducing and implementing the alternative struggle line and more significantly an action program with revolutionary elements. The way to build an independent revolutionary peasant mass organization depended upon successful and careful implementation of alternative action program elements. It pointed out the four alternative policy pillars of the reorganized mass organization which paved the way for its conversion into an instrument of revolutionary peasant work. These policy pillars were related with action program, parliamentary elections, united activities and the struggle pattern. The LC correctly stated that the unfolding process of alternative policy frame cannot be but uneven. But in areas with effective party force, the process of introducing and establishing revolutionary features was surely going to speed up.

The protected, heroic and complicated ..... struggle was significant for verification of different aspects of our line. During and after conclusion of the struggle the LC and concerned RC highlighted the related elements of line in contrast to contending lines. The analysis of contradictions of Indian society in our basic line and its concrete and dynamic reflection in applied line was duly referred as source of the strength, underlying our many current tactics during the struggle. **It was pointed out, how the devaluation of intensifying principle contradiction was a running thread in major wrong**

*tactical responses of wrong trends. How the devaluation of the contradiction led to the conceptual devaluation of the struggle to a mere anti repression struggle, overlooking the underlying resentment of peasantry against unbearable semi-feudal exploitation. How the tactic of united activity of the mass organization with ruling class political parties indicated a tendency to avoid or reject the imperatives of principle contradiction. How such devaluation led to underassessment of struggle potential and rightist tactics in relation to forms of struggle. How, the factor was contributory to a tendency of soft corner towards usurious commission agents and the rural landlord moneylenders.*

In the overall review of the front in 2002, the LC again returned to the topic on the basis of relatively accumulated experience of many struggles. It pointed out how the issues related to semi-feudal exploitation asserted themselves in spite of the forceful countermoves of collaborationist and wrong leaderships. How the natural logic of principle contradictions compelled even such leaderships for a lip service to these issues. How the regional sectarian and communal diversionary issues appeared losing their currency among struggling peasant masses. How our conscious proper intervention in class struggle proved instrumental in largely influencing and changing the overall scenario of the peasant struggles. The review duly appreciated that the distinct feature of the popularity of peasant organization was its establishment as an organization confronting the mighty state and money lenders on the popular debt issue. The issue was prominently instrumental in changing the complexion of the mass base and organizational structure of the mass organization. Mainly rooted in poor and middle peasants, the mass organization was now being represented by leaderships at different levels dominated by these layers.

*The struggle against wrong trends, on question of responding the principal contradiction, also addressed the complicated inter play of the two basic contradictions. The significant issue of debate was question of making a dent in stagnation of peasant movement and the mass organization. The response of wrong trends to temporary stagnation betrayed a lack of grasp about the concrete unfolding of the non-principal basic contradiction. It also betrayed a lack of immediate focus for making a way to effective anti-imperialist struggles. The*

manifestation of this underlying difference on applied line was expressed in over emphasis on general agitation and propaganda activities. The over emphasis tended to cripple the necessary margins for concrete immediate struggle against the immediate sharp manifestations of imperialist plunder. The emerging burning issues called for forceful struggles demanding stamina and energy to persist in such a situation. The imposing propaganda campaigns, amounted to forced diversion from real struggle. The second but more significant issue was addressing the concrete sharp immediate manifestations of increasing burden of semi-feudal exploitation. It was the ultimate consequence of globalization offensive.

***And this debate was ultimately settled through practice.*** It was because of the conscious direction taken that the temporary stagnation faded away with speed. It faded away in spite of heavy odds created by collaborationist leadership of the mass organization as well as the wrong trends of CR camp. ***The process of, more or less all round advance of peasant movement proved the correctness of our analysis and practice through the prism of class struggle.***

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***Some famous and popular struggles, later, emerged as further pillars of crucial and demarcating firm direction of building agrarian revolutionary movement.*** .....The overall experience of many struggles of peasantry against money lenders and Land Mafia ..... provided some valuable insights and observations. The demands of response to principal contradiction were also "Principal" in nature! The powerful semi-feudal sharks, generally reacted ferociously, used armed gangsters, planned murderous attacks, tried to launch counter mobilization and slender campaigns. Their backing by state was relatively naked, defense of their class interests more active and vulnerability to their class-pressure more glaring. In association with general phenomenon of reducing political camouflage of autocratic state, the experience underlined the crucially conditional nature of the transitory tactical margins for our forces. .... (Emphasis added throughout)

.....Thus, the experience of practice brings to more sharp- light, the necessity of ***sufficiently concentrated work and strong party nucleus*** to meet the challenges of class struggle. Both these aspects are interdependent and complimentary. The lesson written on the wall, to read and grasp, is that over expansion of the mass work and

the imperatives of self defense of class struggle are mutually exclusive.)

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The exposure of land-speculation was noted as a positive aspect of our overall propaganda during the struggle by LC. Its significance was because of exposing pre-capitalist content of seemingly capitalistic economic offensive.

The voice of agricultural laborers in movement of peasantry acquired relatively better placing in this period. The two tactics adopted by LC helped this modest advance.

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Our state unit also passed through an experience of artful combination of unity and struggle on agricultural laborers front. It was in relation to sectarian twist to issues of agricultural laborers by CPI ML liberation forces, in frame of parliamentary revisionist politics. .... The complications emerged when issue of claim on reserved panchayat land lease rights for dalit peasantry was misdirected against middle and poor peasantry. On one side, it flared up contradiction among different layers of peasantry on cast lines. On the other side, it provided opportunity and excuses for the state to make dalit peasantry the singled out target of repression.

The situation seemed to be grave with potentially harming the process of unity of peasantry against landlord class. Naturally it was to cloud and distort the expression of principle contradiction.

Our forces .... actively intervened in the situation.

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***Another significant aspect demanding attention was to create mass base in industrial workers, situated in centers surrounded by rural pockets of peasant movement. (Some crucial public sector industries were significant from this angle) The efforts and energy devoted to workers struggles at different places in different forms was not small in given situation. But, it lacked live consciousness about the systematic efforts with an angle to prepare the industrial workers for leading the agrarian movement. The objective scope for the task has increased in our work pockets with increasing number of new contract workers from peasant families. The significance of creating at least one other center of industrial workers under our influence was noted in LC plan, but only from angle of maintaining continuity in case of some major setback to the work in already existing center.***

***However, the new LC plan after latest state conference has put the task in better perspective. (E.A.)***

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The most crucial observation was that the further real advancement of class struggle to higher levels called for further raising the level of struggle capacity. The growing discontentment among people can be further translated into developed militant features only by consolidation of leading cores of class struggle. The demarcation from economist-reformist forces will remain in narrow confines of militant or non militant forms of struggles, if the struggle consciousness is not revolutionized towards important and basic issues. ***The LC noted that the entrenchment of revolutionary direction in mass organization demanded to speed up the activities of revolutionary political front. It is to project the agrarian revolutionary program and politics in forms intelligible to peasantry. But the most crucial task for further immediate strengthening of class struggle is cultivating and developing the party forces.***

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***In terms of unfolding of the principal contradiction the struggle sharply brought to light the operation of the aspect of feudalism in its interconnections as a system. It provided much favorable basis for highlighting and promoting the much required political expression to the contradiction. In relation to the other aspect of the contradiction, the struggle had touched the underlying feeling of the adivasis for their right to land and jungle. The LC..... appreciatively made all possible efforts for conscious political expression to this contradiction. (Page-90) (E.A. throughout)***

The LC self critically noted in above frame: "even after waging two glorious and militant struggles, party had remained incapable in instituting even a semblance of party structure or in undertaking any party activities.....Hence, instead of an integrated and balanced development..... a relatively unbalanced or lopsided growth of the two was going on.....***This chasm was widening every day.***" (Emphasis added)

The LC commented in its review report that even the gains of another successful struggle against timber mafia could not be consolidated for want of a proper instrument for that

*The document\* reflected the understanding that the objective pressure for major struggles is not a negative phenomenon in itself. On the contrary, it indicated the scope and opportunities for building armed agrarian revolutionary movement. The significant thing is to respond in a conscious and planned manner, with a focus on creating and consolidating the very instrument to realize the potential for the purpose: "In this we start with the knowledge that in an area like .... the other objective pressure for major mass struggles will always be there and naturally so. It is that which gives scope for political expectations that the organized mass revolutionary movement, organized under the strategic leadership of the party, can go on most directly here towards armed struggle. Indeed by that stage the strategic leadership of the party would be operating through the instrument of progressively consolidated power of the tribal peasantry and the increased revolutionary grasp and capacities and prestige of the party organization. And that will not remain the job of local organization alone." (EA)*

*Thus the document properly combined the party re-organization task with the task of building agrarian revolutionary leadership. The position was in line with significance of building nucleus of local party leadership as an instrument of exercising party leadership in the movement as conceived in Mao-Se-Tung Thought and explained by CPC under his leadership.*

The central placing of party reorganization in present phase of communist revolutionary movement of India was unanimous position of the central plenum. In overall context this phase can be said a sub-phase of the agrarian phase of the Indian revolution. It has its specificities and particularities, differentiating it from the following (higher) sub-phases. The plenum document correctly stated that, "in the Indian context, the party building aspect has acquired a special significance." It is because of the pressing task of the "re-organization of the communist party of India which is the **defining task** of the present phase in the communist revolutionary movement in India". Moreover, it is an "**overarching task**" which has a bearing on the "**central pivot of our whole work orientation**". It "governs the **whole work of our party organization in the context of the**

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*\*One of the plenum documents known as "States' Review"*

**present phase**". Both the task of party building and the task of revolutionary mass movement building **"are geared, in particular towards the accomplishment of this task"** and are **"conditioned and circumscribed"** by it. In context of the whole phase **"this task remains the principal task"**. This pressing task needs to be addressed **uninterruptedly whatever the specific situation of the party forces and the revolutionary movement.**" (Emphasis added throughout).

Much was needed to be done to ensure "working with orientation required by our political organizational and tactical line". **The efficacy of tactical line implementation was particularly getting affected to one or the other extent due to weak bearing of organizational line orientation on tactical line orientation. This particular factor was coming into the way of promoting the live consciousness of tactical line. It was also affecting the live consciousness of overall practice of line.** The unified and systematic Implementation of line depended upon such a live consciousness. The entrenchment of such a live consciousness in practice called for promotion of necessary political-organizational processes. The weaker the processes, lesser the efficacy of party organization as fitting leading instrument of class struggle. (E. A)

This general truth was getting manifested with particular force in our concrete case. At the specific juncture of plan unfolding process, it was particularly crucial to learn to intervene and lead the class struggle in a way that the affectivity of the leading instrument acquires the minimum necessary efficacy as soon as possible.

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Overall, at almost all places the spontaneous pressures more or less tended to dampen the role of party organization as leading instrument of class struggle and push it towards appendage position in relation to class struggle. The pressures made inroads through subjective consciousness at least to some extent.

The plan document was concerned about our foothold among basic classes. The task was given due placing and taken as a more pertinent reference point for locating move mental tasks. .... But, the particular direction, for major or minor revolutionary movement building areas, further demand pin pointing of the essential requirements, to be met, in a process. From this angle particularly significant is the proper emphasis on ensuring worker peasant alliance direction as core of united front in pockets and achieving due

combination of rural work and city work in a process. It should be kept in mind that revolutionary movement building areas is yet a relative term in our concrete situation. ***It underlines the significance of filling the essential gaps in the areas marked as revolutionary movement building areas. Except getting necessary approach and base among all united front classes, the task prominently demands cultivation of party forces.***

The above said has also some relation with particular preparation of industrial working class for its leading role in agrarian revolution. The May Day publications of one of the Leading Committee manifested vigilance about this aspect particularly in its mass political paper. It propagated the imperatives of leading role of proletariat in form of mass version of our position in the Path document. This aspect is needed to be promoted as a regular feature of our work in industrial workers everywhere. But more necessary is the further concrete extension of these imperatives as part of policy on workers front.

The communist revolutionary party (the most advanced proletarian, consistent, comprehensive - thinking revolutionary force of the people) capable of leading the people towards real democracy and socialism was all the more urgently needed. This also meant preparation of the revolutionary force for grasping and bringing about armed struggle and protracted people's war. ***This meant at present mental, political and technical preparation of the revolutionary force for self defense of the movement, particularly the revolutionary peasant movement.*** In the absence of a revolutionary communist Party of India, a polarization of the communist revolutionary force, and struggle for the establishment of the correct political tactical line, were also urgent and necessary. Active ideological struggle within the organization too would thus be required (From: the states' review document, Emphasis added).

The plenum document explained that the ... major areas selected as revolutionary movement building areas were conceived as focal points of our integrated party work. These were given major importance because they alone offered definite scope for building a ***sustainable revolutionary peasant movement*** and eventually for integrating the whole structure of our political mass work there ***around the axis of the peasant movement.***



*From the Conference Document:*

## *Regarding Broad Contours of the Plan Direction*

(1) Our experience underlines the significance of making a clear distinction between the plan direction and the scheduled targets for a short plan period (say, for one or two years). It also underlines the significance of clearly indicating the living relationship between the two. It is necessary for better grasp of the essence of the plan. From this angle we had been emphasizing the significance of highlighting the intermediate perspective (of our practice) beyond a specific plan period with a view to strengthen the live consciousness of the line in process of its implementation. We must take care to remove the past deficiencies of practice regarding this aspect.

(2) We are to implement the correct concept of the Party organization as the vanguard. It means the whole Party organization is collectively the leadership of class struggle. We should be alert from the wrong concept of CC as the leadership of class struggle which is a source of diversion for the role of CC as leadership of the party. Such a conception also tends to grab the independent jurisdiction of the lower committees and push them aside from their leading role as part of the vanguard.

(3) In view of the directive of our organizational line, our work plan is to be based on the concrete appraisal of the problems and prospects for developing political mass work and political organizational work, the relative significance of the work fronts, the resources available to it and the priorities of the different tasks of the period in their inter-relationship. It should be designed to lend an integral character to the practical conduct of the whole organization (as a concrete manifestation of the integral character of the line of the organization). The work plans of respective state committees should be the application of the all India work plan to the specific conditions and needs of their own fields of work, thus having general as well as specific features.

(4) As an approach, the central plan must be taken as the plan of the whole organization to be further concretized and implemented by all the limbs of the organization in their respective spheres. It applies

to CC as well as the other party bodies. It should constitute an integral frame of practice for the whole organization. It is significant that the plans of the state leading committees should be based on their own sources, resources and capacities. The capacities and energies of the in-charge CCMs should not be counted as part of the material strength of the lower bodies. Guidance, help and assistance should be differentiated from material participation in jobs of the lower committees. The direction should be implemented with a road map approach.

(5) Ultimately, the CC is responsible for ensuring plan implementation. But it is significant to ensure implementation in a proper way. Ideological measures must be included in the category of necessary measures for ensuring plan implementation. The attempts at ensuring must leave a margin for independent jurisdiction of the lower committees in matter of line implementation. It means a margin for making mistakes and learning through practice using their own wisdom and creative ability in grasping and implementing the guidance from above.

(6) The overall gap between need and capacity to address the central tasks as well as the tasks in the states has increased than before. It has further underlined the significance of pruning approach to the extent of a compulsion. So the exact choice and effective attention to priority spheres significant for making a dent should be an important ingredient of the plan approach.

(7) The essence of intermediate objectives for the current phase of development of the revolutionary movement can be stated in a nutshell as follows:

- To lay the material foundation for providing unified all India leadership to the revolutionary movement by reorganizing the communist Party of India on the qualitatively developed basis of unity on the basic line of the Indian revolution.

- To lay the foundation for initiating the armed struggle for seizure of power through building the agrarian revolutionary movement to the level of forcible seizure of land.

- To lay the foundation of the united front of the revolutionary classes around the axis of worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat.

All these tasks are inter-related, with each having the bearing on the other two. Overall, the current phase is defined by the task of re-

organization of the party which is to be addressed as the principal task. It is the key link to remove the bottlenecks for advance of the revolutionary movement. In lack of immediate scope for addressing this task in direct form (the unification), the indirect form ( successful line implementation and party building) is to be emphasised. But it must not be taken as the sole form. The ideological struggle as well as the cooperation within the CR camp should be combined with the indirect form. The aspect of establishment of our line should be combined with the process of assimilation of all the positive wherever it is present in the CR camp.

(8) Our concrete plan of tasks and policies throughout the present phase of the Indian revolution must be imbued with consciousness to take requirements of building agrarian revolutionary movement as central reference point. The present phase of Indian revolution here means the **entire phase** covering the period with contradiction between feudalism and broad masses of the Indian people as the principal contradiction. The current phase of revolutionary movement, the phase of preparation for armed struggle, is part of the long present phase of the Indian revolution. The current phase will culminate in initiation of peoples' armed struggle which is the intermediate perspective. It demands that the anti feudal struggles are to be stabilized as sustained agrarian revolutionary movement. The movement is to be raised to the level of the armed struggle. Further, it is to be sustained and deepened as armed agrarian revolutionary movement as the central reference point for seizure of political power.

The culmination of the current phase in initiation of armed struggle will also mark the beginning of the next phase, i.e. the armed phase for implementing, the seizure and redistribution of the land as well as the seizure of the political power, as immediate action slogans. In the period before the culmination, the slogans are to be popularized through propaganda combined with peoples' action on immediate issues in the same direction but in suitable lower forms of struggle and organization.

Keeping in view the overall level of the revolutionary movement in our leadership, our immediate plan must be addressed to the task of transforming the anti feudal struggles into sustained agrarian revolutionary movement and strengthening the anti feudal edge of the revolutionary movement. This prime move mental task is to be provided a boost by addressing the twin task of projecting the

revolutionary alternative.<sup>1</sup>

That is how the immediate, the intermediate and the long term perspectives of the specific task are to be placed and reflected in plan.

(9) The significance and priority of different fronts and areas should be decided according to the immediate concrete imperatives of the CRP. It means concentration of forces for rural work with central significance to the peasant masses. From among the layers of revolutionary peasantry, the task of bringing agriculture labour on the scene of class struggle as a mighty-social force must be emphasized.<sup>2</sup> Any sections with a scope to shoulder this task also deserve attention from this angle.

Our situation in areas of strategic relevance must be carefully studied to ascertain and respond the scope of concrete advance. At the same time due care and attention should be given to the fronts and areas which may better serve the requirements of getting a foothold in areas of strategic relevance, directly or indirectly. From this point of view the fronts and areas with better scope of serving as nurseries of cadre force must be given due significance in overall attention.

(10) Keeping in view the scarcity of party forces we are to demarcate the areas in our fold between revolutionary movement building areas and the areas of revolutionary propaganda and agitation. Generally the revolutionary movement needs a variety of revolutionary movement building areas in regions of strategic relevance as well as other areas as supportive areas of political base. But in our situation due to limited base and reach of the movement and the party the margins are much narrow. If other factors are the same the areas of strategic relevance with peasant base should be the priority for choice. The overall state of party forces (including scope for deployment from outside) is other significant factor for choice. The work among different classes from united front point of view should also be counted. And last but not least, the scope in some area as nursery of cadres should not be overlooked. With such

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1. *The significance of the task is further underlined in context of the intensified urge for alternative among people and the recent high projection of reactionary agenda by ruling class forces spearheaded by RSS camp.*

2. *Where ever, there is the sizable presence of this layer and the scope to deploy the party forces.*

various factors in mind, in the beginning, the area denoted as the movement building area may have some gaps with a scope to be filled in a process.

From among the revolutionary movement building areas, we should try to mark some area which may probably emerge as an area of special long term significance. It means the area with prospects to be finally placed in the strategic chain of the areas of advance of the revolution.

(11) With a view to provide proletarian leadership to the agrarian revolutionary movement our concrete plans of tasks in different areas must proceed with the conception of simultaneously building the twin strands of worker peasant movement in a single pocket. From this angle, it must proceed with an approach of bridging the distance gap between the respective areas of base among peasant masses and the industrial workers. The selection of areas or industries for intensive work should be determined by two strategic considerations. The first is to develop closer ties with the struggling masses with the peasantry and for making intervention in favour of their agrarian revolutionary movement. Generally the organized sector industries located in rural areas and especially the extremely underdeveloped areas are significant from this angle. Next in importance is the consideration that the industries to be selected should have a crucial role in the smooth running of the whole economic system, providing workers' movement the necessary striking power to deliver incapacitating blows to the system, during unfolding revolutionary offensive. In view of the immediate constraints for deployment, there may be a road map to proceed towards this target through some indirect route.

We need concrete steps to equip our forces on workers' front with the live consciousness of the implications of the proletarian class leadership of the ARM for our work generally as well as in the specific areas. The conception also imply that the overall operation of party forces must be brought in line with the requirements of providing proletarian leadership to the agrarian revolutionary movement from the party platform.

The work in industrial proletariat must be given special placing in view of the principal task of the Party re-organization.

(12) With a view to proceed with united front **approach** from the very beginning; the direction should be taken for achieving composite

character of base among different classes. The conception should have a bearing on deployment of forces as well as on preparing action programs for building the ARM. The latter implies that the action programs should serve as a common chord to draw different classes into an integrated stream of anti feudal struggles. It should be with due alertness about the relative placing of the issues belonging to different classes in anti feudal struggles.

(13) For effectively building and keeping ARM on track, concrete analysis of concrete conditions in specific regions or pockets is necessary. It is necessary for preparing action programs as well as for a concrete approach to specific issues coming into the way of properly building the ARM. The range, priority and depth of the issues regarding such a concrete analysis should be decided with a pruning approach. That should be keeping in view the overall strength and capacity of the CC centre, the strength and capacity of the concerned LC, the integration of party forces with the masses in the specific area, concrete assessment about urgency regarding clarity on the specific issues in terms of positive as well negative fallouts for the movement in terms of quantity and quality and the state of party forces deployed in the area in matter of assimilating and making use of that clarity etc. ***The issues or the aspects of the issues being faced as bottlenecks for the next higher round of concrete advance must be differentiated and picked up for priority attention.***

(14) For effectively building and leading the agrarian revolutionary movement and re-organizing the Party, we are to grasp the inter-relationship between the ARM and the task of party re-organization. The disintegration of the CR forces has largely contributed to the inadequacy of the ARM under proletarian leadership, generally as well as particularly under the leadership of our forces. The re-organization of party with qualitatively developed line, organization and leadership will definitely mark a qualitative jump in the ARM building.

In our practice we are to place the party organization in pivotal role in both the aspects of its work i.e. the building of democratic revolutionary movement with ARM as its axis as well as the task of party building. We are to gear both the aspects of the revolutionary movement building i.e., the revolutionary mass movement building and the party building towards the central task of party re-

organization. Now we are to proceed with determination and concrete course to remove these deficiencies in practice.

The other tasks of the phase to be concretely materialized mainly in process of agrarian revolutionary movement building i.e. the preparation for armed struggle and the task of laying foundations for the united front are also crucial for lending their bearing on shaping and moulding our organization as a worthy building block of the party to be re-organized.

(15) The question of bearing of party re-organization task as an overarching task on our practice needs some clarity in terms of direction as well as the time schedule. The re-organization cannot be achieved without further theoretical development of line. The theoretical development of line has two aspects. One is to be based on summing up of the implementation of line. The other is to be based on study and analysis of the socio-economic conditions of the country and the regions. The earlier plan was based on the observation that the movement as well as the party lags behind the available level of the line. Hence, there was the emphasis on line implementation in terms of immediate plan schedule of two years. The range and quantum of ideological-political tasks was circumscribed in context of the task of further theoretical development of line on the basis of study and analysis of socio-economic conditions. Such a restriction of range and quantum did not mean the reduced placing as such. Later, the plenum documents duly emphasized the significance of summing up from the view of its contribution to further development of line. The next plan direction must take due care of giving proper placing to summing up task in our line implementation cycles. Care should be taken for bearing of re-organization task on our review exercises. We should keep in mind that it is not the building of ARM in itself but the summing up of its experience which is most essential for lending the bearing of ARM on party building and thus making a way for further unifications and re-organization of party on improved line basis.

As far as the present situation is concerned the theoretical aspect based on study and analysis has acquired more significance **than before**. It is both for better leadership to immediate class struggle as well as the contribution to the re-organization task. Even then the line implementation still keeps its claims for more attention as compared to the theoretical development of line as such. It seems so at least for the plan period unless some significant theoretical

challenge comes to fore for immediate attention.<sup>3</sup> It is because of the limited development of the movement and the party as compared to the level of our line. The lack of live consciousness of line in matter of its unified and systematic implementation itself calls for more emphasis on party building as compared to RMM building. The need is further underlined in view of the over arching task of the party re-organization.

(16) Needless to say, the significance of ideological political tasks as well as the political organizational tasks cannot be over emphasized in this context. The line implementation is to be unified and systematic to be sufficiently fruitful. It depends on live consciousness of the integral line particularly its ideological political foundations. Such a live consciousness pre-supposes deep entrenchment of line in conscious practice of party forces. This aspect, underlines the significance of ideological-political tasks.

(17) The peculiar dimension of ideological political tasks i.e. the ideological political struggle against wrong trends is important not only in context of the party re-organization but also in context of immediate line implementation. It is because there is the element of confrontation or co-operation with other CR forces during line implementation in areas of common presence. Another aspect is of winning over the new recruits of CR movement with theoretical leanings and with a potential to develop.

Some organizations competing/co-operating us are all India organizations. The task of their exact characterization is pending. The situation has a bearing on ideological struggle for line implementation as well as the reorganization of the party which need to be addressed.

(18) The significance of ideological political as well as political organizational tasks is further underlined in view of the deficiencies of our party organization as leading instrument of class struggle. These were revealed beyond expectation in our practice. The lack of stress on party's pivotal role in practice left much ground for persistence of these deficiencies. The political organizational tasks are significant for immediate efficacy of party organization in leading the class struggle particularly the ARM. These are significant as well for transforming our organization into the worthy building block of the party to be re-organized.

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3. Here, immediate means within the time range of plan period.

In this context entrenchment of our organizational line is a crucial task from both the aspects. It is crucial for improving the bearing of organizational line orientation on tactical line orientation to improve the efficacy of tactical line implementation. It is necessary to make the Party organization sufficiently effective instrument of leading the class struggle. It is also crucial for establishment of the crucial organizational concepts which stay as distorted largely in communist revolutionary camp. Unity of real understanding within the Party about these concepts is necessary for making our organization the worthy building block of the Party to be re-organized. The entrenchment of organizational line should be taken as the priority aspect of ideological building of the party. Unity of understanding on these concepts within the camp is crucial for unification on the basis of integral line.

The four points underscored by special conference are still relevant for the next plan. These are: the central team function, the development of political organizational self reliance at each level, the political-reporting system as a pillar of two way chain of information and guidance and the necessary frame of criticism and self criticism.

(19) We are to transform, in a process, our method of leadership into the method of general directional guidance known as indirect method of leadership. We are to establish the conception that the issue is in fact connected with the essence/ character of the communist organization we want to develop especially to confront the autocratic state in our semi-feudal semi-colonial country. We want to develop an organization in which cadres are developed through education and training in process of independent practice in frame of the line, policies decisions and instructions from above. We assist by showing how when our cadres are in difficulty and cannot cope, but otherwise by guiding and encouraging them in making use of their own consciousness pointing out the policy elements relevant in their situation. This way we equip them to develop self-reliance at every level. In context of antagonistic anti-people state seeking to crush the democratic and CR forces, it would become easiest to operate independently and better coordinate the secret and open and the OG: because our forces are trained to think and operate independently. Keeping in view that we are moving with intermediate perspective of laying foundations for initiation of armed struggle, the significance of this method is further underlined.

With such maximal self-reliance at every level, the next higher party organization leadership would be freer to focus on its own tasks and duly perform as party leadership.

(20) Our organization is movement oriented, and we form leading committees at various levels according to the political organizational needs of our organization's work at that level. But in forming the committees at any level, if we are not objective in taking into account the political organizational level and capability and level of preparedness of each comrade with whom the committee is to be constituted, then not only will the individual comrade be failing in his responsibility but the performance of the entire committee itself gets affected. No doubt there will be some gap between the levels of different comrades. But such gaps should not be so wide that the committee's performance itself gets affected. In this respect, if the gap is in the political organizational level, it can be overcome in the course of effective functioning. But if there is considerable gap in the levels of preparedness, then the committees functioning itself gets affected. If a committee fails seriously in the discharge of its responsibilities not only does its existence become redundant objectively, but instead of enthusing and guiding the lower ranks, it paralyzes and demoralizes them with a devastating effect on the movement. The higher such a committee is, the greater will be the devastation caused to the entire organization and the movement. Hence the system of organization of effective committees is most crucial for the development of our organization and implementation of our line.

To be able to be really effective, all our leading committees should be committees of professional revolutionaries. But our present organizational level is deficient in this regard. At the same time the needs of leading and coordinating the existing work require the formation of a committee. In such cases, while forming committees in the required area we must have a clear idea about the actual level of that committee, in terms of the level and preparedness of its composition. If this actual level falls short of the requirements of the level at which we are forming the committee, then its actual level should be informed to the ranks even while we may call it the "leading committee" of that level. This is necessary, for the ranks to know what to expect from such a committee, for the higher leadership to know what requirements are needed to guide such a committee, and for the

committee itself to know exactly what tasks it can perform now and how to strive to develop to be able perform all the tasks.

***There should be an outline of concrete stepping stones, in a sequence, for transformation of committees into committees of professional revolutionaries. Our organizational line defines the criteria of a professional revolutionary which should be our reference point.***

***The implementation of criterion must be initiated from the level of CC itself.***

(21) As the direction for coming period, the next plan should emphasize the CC's perennial All India role and essentially ideological political method of leading. The All India CC's wider analytical role of taking an overview of the class forces must get due weight in plan conception. Plan should be essentially guided by the approach stated in CC course document to shape itself as the leading all India team. The essential concepts like the role of CC as primary body of CCMs, the single policy making body, ideological political method of guidance, integrated party work orientation, the centre as standing wing of the CC constituted of the whole time CCMs, the significance of responding the imperatives of the distinct leading post of the CC, the significance of differentiating between the role of in charge CCMs as guides to work in the states and the role as axis of the party work in states, the significance of emphasizing the centralization task as the collective function of CC, particularly the CC centre, the indispensability of developing the leading core of the CC and above all the peculiar significance of ideological work and the edge of ideological work towards party building in role of the CC in this phase of party re-organization etc. should be the reference points to proceed. There should be a planned course for improving the performance of the CC in matter of raising the issues, originating from the executive sphere to ideological political level.

(22) The issue of transforming the party organization into a fitting leading instrument of class struggle demands strenuous efforts from the party organization to put its own house in order. The phenomenon of over dependence on mass organizations for achieving party targets must be curtailed in favor of direct approach to the masses from the party platform through its independent instruments. Such an independent activity, preaching and seeking seizure of power through armed force is not tolerable for any anti-people state, not to

talk of the autocratic state we face. So the Independent party activity is to be promoted mainly through secret and underground channels and structures. The independent party activity is far from becoming our mainstay yet. The task of making it our mainstay demand making illegal, secret and underground activity the main form of our activity. The plan direction must indicate concrete course in this direction.

**(23) *Our experience has further underlined the significance of addressing the task of addressing the task of self defense of the revolutionary democratic movement. The plan must address the concrete requirements of guidance regarding this task in suitable and proper forms.***

(24) Some national and international developments pose a need for policy response and practical response. These requirements must be addressed in the plan. For example, the imperialist offensive in forms of aggression, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in this context and the fascist mobilizations in general and particularly under the banner of National chauvinism combined with Hindu religious chauvinism spearheaded by RSS camp, the rise of intellectual activism against hindutava combine and its bearing on the emerging scenario of national politics, the recent rounds of upper cast mobilizations in different states, the second round of operation green hunt etc. The final picture will emerge while addressing the task of political resolution in a suitable form.

(25) In recent period the phenomenon of resistance to forms of oppression other than class oppression has grown. The phenomenon has its own potential in addition to the role of ruling class manoeuvres. It provides an opportunity to broaden and deepen the democratic revolutionary movement which demands a correct approach for proper realization. At the same time the phenomenon is source of wrong tendencies, debates and confusion in the CR camp. In view of both the aspects the plan should see the scope for addressing the issue at policy level as well as in practice through suitable forms.

(26) In matter of the direction concerning most of the issues stated above, a roadmap approach is a must. This general approach is for taking the achievement of targets as a process through the stepping stones of a concrete plan. It is for ensuring direction with necessary margin for laying foundations of transformation.



# **From Self-Determination to the Distinct Goal of National Liberation**

## **The Pending Political Journey of the Kashmir Movement**

The Kashmir valley is again "on the boil". After unprovoked and planned murder of Hizbul Mujahidin commander Burhan Muzaffar Wani, by the state terrorist forces on July 8, the spontaneous waves of anger and grief have spread far and wide across the valley. Media observers call it a replay, with an unparalleled ferocity of the mass fury faced by the Indian state in 2008 and 2010. People continue to defy curfews and brave bullets as they did in 2008 and 2010, but the scale and intensity of present mass outrage is comparable only with the mass anger expressed in turmoil of late eighties and early nineties. The wave of street 'intifadas' has, this time, directed itself to target anything symbolizing "India". BJP offices, a PDP legislature's house, CRPF posts, police stations, army bunkers and government vehicles have been set ablaze. Even an attempt was made to storm major IAF base. Houses belonging to pro-India parties came under attack. Many villages saw intense protests including an attack on a Special Operation Group (SOG) camp of the Jammu & Kashmir Police.

According to a Frontline report, "The protests were so fiery that even police men who were considered "motivated" and "well-trained" in counter-insurgency had to desert the camps ... these were subsequently razed to the ground by mobs. When a bulldozer was brought in to bring down the camp in Rahmo, the protesters stopped it: they wanted to dismantle it brick by brick with their own hands. There was the same kind of anger in Hassanpora in Bijbehara."

Union home minister Rajnath Singh reported that in first sixteen days of turmoil 2228 state police personnel, 1100 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel and 2259 civilians had been injured. Later the figure of injured security persons, in union ministry reports rose to 4500. The protesters are injured mostly with bullets above the waist. The security forces freely used Israeli-style cartridges called pellets. These are loaded with some five hundred iron-balls. The number of youth admitted with pellet injuries is reported to be in hundreds. Most of them are likely to go blind fully or partially. The rising death toll of civilian protesters has already touched 70 within one and a half month of the agitation. The suppression of media

touched new heights with the ban on communication lines, internet services, social media and news paper publications leading to an embarrassing and pitiable situation of political defense for Mehbooba Mufti.

The might of state armed forces including paramilitary forces remains unable to 'control' the mass fury of the unarmed people who use stones, now popular as "weapon of the unarmed". As a special step after seven weeks of the turmoil, 26 battalions of border security force, with sophisticated military weapons, have joined the 'national battle' against unarmed masses including determined contingents of women and pre-teen street fighters, unarmed or stone-armed, as someone may prefer to call.

The reality about the content of the "Kashmir Problem", as it is called in ruling class language, has come to light with striking clarity in recent decades. The dense flashes of Kashmir phenomenon as a seething cauldron of anger and revolt have repeatedly exposed the crucially depleted political capital and tyrannical face of the Indian autocratic state. As a part of this process, the latest round of turmoil is marked with added political dimensions and implications. It is now being mentioned as "*incipient revolt*", "*virtual revolt*", and even "*a revolt*", by Indian media observers. Some headlines in Indian media serve as flashlights on the content as well as the intensity of the popular feeling in Kashmir. They now point to the Kashmir spectrum as "*Street side Plebiscite*", "*And the streets speak freedom*", "*Wrath of Kashmir*", "*It has never happened before*" "*It is a revolt*" "*A rebellion goes viral*" so on and so forth. The following piece of dialogue from the press under the title "*Bullets can't stop us*" highlights the spirit of young minds in Kashmir:

"We have the capacity to make them surrender", said the 20-year-old boy, Atif Ahmed, in Rahmo, pointing towards a deserted and damaged SOG camp. "Can they come back? No, over our dead bodies." His eyes filled up with anger as he said: "Do you think we are making sacrifices just for fun? No, it is for azadi, and India will have to respond to this. No Omar, no Mehbooba, no Azad can stop us by firing bullets on us, write this if you have the courage." His friend Muneer added: "We are not anti-India, but we hate India for not listening to us and killing us."

"This is the refrain from all other parts of Kashmir where the government forces are struggling to restore peace." (Frontline - August 19, 2016)

The heroic high tide of mass anger and the glorious collective spirit of sacrifice demonstrated by the people of Kashmir are throwing light on its real source of origin. The turmoil is revealing the widespread unflinching urge for "Azadi" as well as the utter hatred for Indian "occupation" at the root of Kashmir movement. The echo of these essential vibrations of the Kashmiri nationality's heart throb is now too powerful to be simply dismissed as 'creation of Pakistan'. Rather, the shock waves of intense mass fury in Kashmir have now caused a dent in ruling class political consensus on the placing and projection of Pakistan factor regarding present Kashmir turmoil. In spite of its common thread of Indian chauvinism, the ruling class response to Kashmir developments betrays cracks and the element of mutual blame game. Due to this factor the ruling class propaganda offensive against Kashmir movement within the frame of common so called national interest has got diffused to an extent. The "failure" in "political solution" to "Kashmir Problem" is now a theme of controversy among ruling class political quarters. Thus, the political strength of Kashmir struggle is being reflected as a reduction of political space for ruling classes in matter of concealing the Kashmir reality from Indian masses. It is yet to be reflected positively in sufficient expression of solidarity from Indian masses.

In recent decades the alienation of Kashmiri people from Indian state has further grown. The new generation born after 1990 is completely alienated. They see the Indian state only through "the barrel of the gun", in words of media. An extensive travel by media persons, in affected areas, mentioned as "resembling battle fields", has lead to the conclusion that such a level of unrest cannot be "Pakistan sponsored". It is beyond doubt that the chain of unarmed mass pouring of people's wrath, yet remains the major form to strike against the mighty "occupation" forces of Indian state. It is the immediate major channel to express the urge for freedom of Kashmir. It is also the essential source-base for recruitment and replenishment of armed groups, fundamentalist or secular nationalist. The presence of armed groups in India-controlled part of Kashmir is now recognized in Indian media as "local" phenomena instead of the export-product of terrorism smuggled from the cross border "enemy" soil.

The recent phase of self-delusion of Indian rulers regarding hardly managed peace in Kashmir has come to an end. It is the logical fate of any temporary round of unjust peace maintained through might of state terrorism. It is the very use of terrorist rod of unjust

peace by the Indian state which is now taking its toll. The murder of Burhan Wani became a trigger for explosion of latent accumulated wrath against state terrorism. The murder was pre-planned at highest levels. It was presented as a catch prize item of state terrorism at display. However, the concrete execution of this specific murder plan and the pattern of its announcement betrayed the bearing of a general policy decision regarding reservation of material incentives for encouraging security forces to operate **only as killers**. The decision had scrapped the earlier provision of bounty for arresting militants. According to the new provision the prize is reserved only for those who kill a militant. This **no killing no prize policy** has led to **commit and claim murder competitions** in security personnel. It was bound to further accumulate the hatred and resentment against the state, as a consequence. Such an accumulated wrath of Kashmiri nationalism has got further intensified due to element of reaction to the recently raised pitch of Hindutava brand of Indian chauvinism and its expression on fascist lines. The plans for setting up sainik colonies and, separate townships for Kashmiri Pandits increased the threat perception about change of demography and the consequences.

On the other side, the response of Modi government has vindicated the real content of Kashmir issue, with the same starkness, from opposite side. It is loud and clear in its message that there will be no compromise on "unity and integrity of India", that nothing beyond the "constitutional framework" is negotiable and "there can be no compromise on national security". That is how the autocratic thrust of "Indian democracy" is being displayed. A central minister has even gone further to call for converting the cross border part of Kashmir into the "tricoloured flag" territory.

So, the condition of Indian rulers for "peace" with Kashmir is to bow down to the roller of Indian autocracy and to surrender the right to self determination. For them any refusal to such surrender is Pakistan sponsored. Any so called national political initiatives or negotiations within this frame are, as in the past, bound to fail in putting an end to the just fury of Kashmiri nationalism.

The largely unarmed turmoil in Kashmir is not non-violent by nature because it is exercising the right to strike for making a dent in the unjust imposed peace and turns to pitched battles in streets. However, the use of state violence to deal with this turmoil is highly out of proportion. Firings and killings are not being used as a last resort. These are being preferred not only as an easier option to

suppress the highly determined unarmed/stone-armed masses, but more than that, as a terrifying display of mighty state power. The state behavior has demonstrated utter disregard for the civilian life in Kashmir. The tendency to kill has a backing of Armed Forces Special Power Act which removes all accountability for such killings. The rulers are not apologetic for the loss of life and blood. The RSS ideologue Ram Madhav has declared in his tweet that the government would "stand firm" on its course to crush the challenge. The rulers continue to use the Pellet guns and refuse to rule out their use even in future. It reveals the reality of panic stricken mind of the rulers and the tyrannical face of Indian state at the same time.

The ruling class opposition is criticising BJP government for responding to Kashmir situation as a mere law and order problem and a mere creation of Pakistan. They also criticise it for dismissing or undermining the aspect of "political solution" to Kashmir issue. There is talk of restricting the operation of AFSPA, a return to the dustbin of past recommendations of interlocutors, bringing past "autonomy" proposals and promises out of dust for revival, reach out to all forces in Kashmir including "separatists", return of some flesh to Skelton of section 370, an all party delegation to Kashmir; so on and so forth. In a nutshell these proposals seek to float a semblance of a frame for "political solution" to Kashmir issue within so called national consensus among Indian ruling classes. But the hollowness of this professed concern for a "political solution" comes to light strikingly when it is observed that the proposals are actually for a "political solution" sans recognition of Kashmiri people's right to self determination.

Such an overall state of poverty regarding political offers is major expression of depleted political capital of Indian state in relation to Kashmir issue. The repetition of hollow phrases like "Insaaniyat, Jamhooriyat and Kashmiriyat" or "mamta and ekta" is a poor concealment to this political poverty. The display of recently opened mouth of Indian state coffers in the name of employment and development in Kashmir also can not compensate this political dearth. It is a fresh trial to the same old "food and salt" formula shamelessly pleaded by Indira Gandhi and Nehru in late forties in her observations about Kashmir. (see page - )The difference is that the level of hatred in Kashmir against any attempt at purchasing its dignity by making clever use of economic sufferings is now much higher. It has come to light in most clear terms even in present turmoil.

Even the attempt at making a semblance of political offensive against Pakistan has betrayed the political bankruptcy of the rulers of both the states. The Kashmir-Baluchistan blame game competition has further exposed their true face on so called principal of "unity and integrity" of a country. "Pakistan has no right to do with Baluchistan and Makbooz Kashmir which India has every right to do with Kashmir" is their bankrupt logic of convenience. Because of the high level of tempos of defiant nationalities in both the countries, the common thread of tyranny and national oppression in behavior of both the states is now coming to sharper light, making it easier for the people on both the sides to recognize them as common enemies.

The other sign of depleted political capital is expressed in crises of usable local stooges to reduce alienation through maintaining semblance of "Kashmir government" in the state. Even the seemingly high sounding past resolutions of Kashmir assembly for restoration of situation as in early fifties could not help saving the credibility of any section of ruling class political leadership from Kashmir. It is because of two reasons. One is the tight political grip of Kashmiri masses on the demand for an end to accession which remains the testing device to verify the Kashmir DNA in any political blood. The other is utter compulsion to gear and steer the bulldozers of tyrannical state power more and more directly from the centre in order to match the mounting wrath of the defiant nationality. The price is exposure of sidelined local leaderships as stooges of Indian state and loss of their use value as an inevitable consequence.

Another dimension of the crisis is that the search for compromisers from within the Kashmir movement, with a capacity to prevail, also remains a very hard job in view of the intensified urge for freedom and raised level of vigilance of people of Kashmir. By taming and converting Sheikh Abdulla into a stooge long ago, the Indian state had imposed a vacuum of leadership on the Kashmir movement.<sup>1</sup> The Kashmir movement could not be able to fully fill this vacuum. The other aspect of the same is that there is no other Sheikh Abdulla to be aimed at and tried as a converted instrument of respite from the wrath of Kashmiri People.

It does not mean that any zigzags and lull-storm cycles for Kashmir movement are now ruled out. What is significant is that the

<sup>1</sup> *Sheikh Abdullah's vision of "independent Kashmir" was also within the frame of world imperialist order. But he was a leader with political weight who retained an influence on Kashmiri people for a long time.*

political management of the crisis is going to be more and more consuming and exhaustive with lesser and quickly fading returns.

The Kashmir movement yet retains its overall spontaneous character and faces a crisis of credible leadership. Even then it has displayed strong elements of consciousness regarding significance of its collective striking power and its target. It has also reflected an element of critical watch and response regarding the advice and steps of any leadership. The dismissal of Geelani's advice for restraint is an example. The positive aspect of spontaneous mass character is its power to ultimately prevail upon the Indian ruling class search for vacillating and compromising elements.

The ongoing turmoil is peculiar because of the juncture of its eruption. Now the alienation of Kashmiri nationality is at an advanced stage. It has completed another round of experience regarding local political stooges of Indian state with Mehbooba as another dummy head of the state after Omar Abdulla. The Kashmiri people are now in a better position to judge, on the basis of experience, the actual relationship of various Indian and international forces with Kashmir movement. The experience of post eighty decades has exposed US imperialism and Pakistani rulers as foes of Kashmir movement. The US imperialism included Kashmir movement in targets of its global "war on terror". The soil of Kashmir demonstrated repeated glimpses of anger against US wars of aggression and the associated crimes. They expressed a feeling of common cause with world forces of resistance against designs of this super monster and its regional bullies like Israel. This positive development has relieved the Kashmir movement to much extent from the burden of confronting the penetration of US imperialism.

In 1992 the Kashmiri nationality, on both sides of the border, experienced true face of Pakistani rulers who did not hesitate even to sprinkle bullets and take lives of Kashmiri people who were marching to cross Indian border as a token of resolve to ultimately realise the dream of united, integrated and independent Kashmir. Then in 2008 they went to the extent of declaring the militants in Indian Kashmir as terrorists. Such demonstrations of hostility have taken their toll by eroding the capacity of Pakistani rulers to hijack or use the Kashmir movement. In 2007, a section of Hurriyat leaders had to face a strike in the valley in protest against their cross border visit for a dialogue with Pakistani rulers. It is in context of such background that the recent

deceptive show of concern by Pakistani rulers for Kashmiri people's right to self determination is not received with expected enthusiasm in Indian Kashmir. The content of their treacherous position had been already revealed as "right to self determination" sans independence. Because of their very placing in present global context of imperialist strategy, they can only seek some favorable settlement with India regarding ultimate division of Kashmir. They are neither for unity of Kashmir nor for independence of any of its parts. So, they have now a much reduced margin and scope to fish in troubled waters of Indian Kashmir.

The Islamic fundamentalist forces in Kashmir are yet in the process of coming out of the shock of this development. The development remains a source of confusion and bewilderment for them. Pakistan no longer remained a promised Islamic dreamland for Kashmiri Muslims in spite of utter hatred for Indian state. Devoid of assured backing from Pakistani state, the Islamic fundamentalist forces are particularly facing a state of flux in mapping their course. Their down tone expressions in the midst of present turmoil might have some relation with this state of flux.

The echo of nationality sentiment, with whatever clouding, remains a counterweight to the rise of Islamic fundamentalist trend in complicated scenario of Kashmir movement. Media quarters now state the "ground realities" as "have gone beyond" manipulation by Pakistan. They say it "political radicalization not necessarily on the basis of religion".

At the same time it remains a counterweight also to the vacillations of the secular nationalist, but essentially reformist, Kashmiri leadership. This leadership is still in a process of digesting the loss of 'support' from its cherished "international community" (essentially US Imperialism). It is a reason for its occasional turning towards false hopes of a "political solution" from Indian or Pakistani rulers. Hoping against hope, it now looks for sympathy to quarters even like Dalai-Lama, misconceived as co-sufferer of similar national oppression. It is in spite of the fact that Dalai-lama enjoys shelter of the tyrannical Indian state and backing of the US imperialist masters, the proven enemies of Kashmiri people.

So, an overall state of flux continues regarding emergence of a stable leadership to advance the Kashmir movement on a definite and sure track to self determination and liberation. The problem is

rooted in spontaneity of the movement which lacks the matching political orientation. The vague notion of independence leaves much ground for confusion in recognizing the friends and foes. The question of independence for Kashmiri nationality is essentially a question of coming out of the neo-colonial grip of imperialist domination and oppression. It is the content of the national liberation. The present Indian as well as Pakistani states act as tools of this domination and oppression. This imperialist domination, with feudalism as its social prop, oppresses the people of all nationalities in India as well as in Pakistan. Both the states are 'national' pillars of world imperialist order and are targets of the struggle for liberation by people of all the nationalities in these countries.

It is significant for Kashmiri people to recognize that the demand for right to self determination, in spite of being a just and very significant democratic demand, is not in itself a program of national liberation. Moreover even the content of self determination lies in exercising the right to build a social order of choice. A new democratic social order free from imperialist and feudal oppression is the common choice, determined objectively, for the people of all nationalities in India and Pakistan. Right to self determination including right to secede for all nationalities is one of the essential ingredients of such an order. An echo of such a common cause in self determination struggle can release the untapped energies and provide a new stamina to Kashmiri movement. The present turmoil is reflecting a significant welcome advance in composition of Kashmir movement. It is the transformation of villages into new emerging cradles of striking power of Kashmiri nationality. The above mentioned echo of the cause of national and social liberation can provide a qualitatively new and higher complexion to this welcome phenomenon. It is necessary to pool and direct the common might of Indian people in solidarity with Kashmiri people to strengthen this echo.

*(August, 2016)*



Whenever there are protests demanding "freedom from India" in her crowded neighbourhood in Srinagar, Firdousi Farooq makes a point of participating, her four-year-old son in tow.

Joining such demonstrations in Indian-administered Kashmir these days is fraught with risks.

Security forces have often fired on stone-pelting protesters, killing over 50 people, mostly teenagers, in the past two months as the valley has been convulsed by what most locals call a fierce peoples' "uprising" against India.

So what makes a mother of three hit the angry streets of Kashmir?

Ms Farooq's eldest son, Wamiq, was killed in January when a tear gas shell fired by the police exploded on his head.

The 14-year-old top-of-the-class student, who loved watching cartoons and dreamed of becoming a doctor, had stepped out for a game of cricket.

The police report describes him as a "miscreant who was part of an unlawful assembly", at which the forces had fired tear gas shells in self-defence. Very few - including his neighbours, lawyers and journalists - believe this.

### ***'Subjugation'***

Sitting in her home in the crowded old city, Ms Farooq says she had decided to hit the streets after her son's "murder".

"Why should I not protest? Why should I not pick up a stone? I am doing this in the honour of my martyred son. I am doing this for azadi (freedom) from subjugation and repression," she says defiantly.

Firdousi Farooq is just another addition to the burgeoning army of women who have been taking part in the protests in Kashmir this summer. You see them on the streets; you see them in the pictures.

Young and old, middle-class and poor, mostly dressed in floral tunics, they defy the armed forces, pelting stones at them, shouting slogans and singing anti-India songs. When night falls, some of them even lead protests with their children.

Out of more than 50 people killed in the latest round of violence, three have been women.

Image caption Ms Farooq joined protests after her son was killed Yasmeen Jan, 25, was standing near a window inside her house in Batamaloo on 6 July, watching a demonstration wind by when she was hit by a bullet allegedly fired by security forces.

"Mummy maey aaw heartas fire" (Mummy, my heart has taken fire), she told her mother, turning away from the window, before collapsing on the floor, dead.

Fifteen-year-old Afroza Teli took a bullet in her head during a protest demonstration in Khrew village in Pulwana district on 1 August. She died later in Srinagar.

Angry Kashmiris set fire to an irrigation office, a revenue office and a court building after her death. A police station and a police vehicle were also set on fire.

Aisha Shiekh, a 55-year-old housewife and resident of Srinagar, was allegedly hit by a stone flung from a sling shot by the security forces when she was walking with her granddaughter to buy milk on 7 August. She died from her wounds a day later.

This is not the first time that women in Kashmir have come out in droves to protest, but their numbers and impact appear to be greater than ever before.

"This time the intensity of protests by women is more. You can also see more women protesting. Women have borne the brunt of the Kashmir conflict, and it is not surprising that they are at the end of their tether," says Kashmiri journalist Afsana Rashid.

### *Rape*

As Bashir Ahmed Dabla, who teaches sociology at Kashmir University says, Kashmir's women have "seen their children husbands and fathers being killed in the conflict, and routinely humiliated by the security forces".

Image caption Women have borne the brunt of the conflict

Studies have shown there are up to 32,000 widows of the two-decade-long conflict in the Kashmir valley, and nearly 100,000 orphans. Another 10,000 men have allegedly disappeared during the conflict, says a rights group.

Then there are some 400 "half-widows", whose husbands disappeared in the custody of troops or police. Women have also been the target of rape by the security forces.

"Women have been compelled to come out and protest because of the injustice and repression," says Professor Dabla.

Parveena Ahangar, a softly spoken housewife turned feisty

activist, has been making a regular trek from her Gangbough residence to the city's downtown every month, to protest against the disappearances during the conflict.

Ms Ahangar's son Javed was 16 when he was picked up by security forces in 1990 from the family home. He never returned.

The indefatigable woman has travelled around the world to highlight her cause, leaving behind her husband, debilitated and out of work after 10 surgeries, and her remaining three children, including a daughter.

"As long as I am alive, my struggle will go on. I want a simple answer from the authorities: Where did these men go?"

The coming out of women in the Muslim-dominated Kashmir valley has been helped by the fact that they have been traditionally freer than their counterparts in many parts of the world.

They have not observed the purdah, or faced religious or cultural segregation from men, say sociologists. Men and women have always worked in the farms together, prayed side by side in mosques and participated in religious congregations.

### *Key role*

They have traditionally played an important role in the neighbourhood citizens' committees, preparing food for their protesting menfolk and taking the injured to hospitals.

Image caption Women have led night protests in Kashmir

The pro-freedom movement has also thrown up a number of women leaders - both fundamentalists and liberals.

"Kashmiri women are among the most politicised women in the subcontinent," says Professor Dabla.

Zaitun Khan, a 20-something homemaker, is one of them - she remembers participating in "peaceful" protests when she was in college, but is now determined to hit the streets to demand freedom.

Her brother Fayaz Ahmed Wani, who worked as a labourer in the floriculture department of the government, was hit by a bullet fired by the forces and killed while on his way to work on 6 July.

Mr Wani was 29, and left behind his wife and two daughters.

"I will go and join the protests now," says Ms Khan.

"He never protested or threw a stone in his life. But he died. How many more men will have to die? I want to go out and protest and demand freedom. Freedom to live."

*(BBC News - 16 August, 2010)*

- "I must have Kashmir." (*Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan*)

- "In discussing future Kashmir, Abdullah was vigorous in restating that in his opinion it should be independent; that overwhelming majority population desired this independence; and that he had reason to believe that some Azad Kashmir leaders desired independence and would be willing to cooperate with leaders of National Confederation [Conference] if there was reasonable chance such cooperation would result in independence. ... Kashmir people had language and cultural background of their own. Their Hindus by custom and tradition widely differed from Hindus of India, and outlook and background; their Muslims also quite different from Muslims of Pakistan. Fact was that population of Kashmir homogeneous in spite of presence of Hindu minority." (*from Talks of Sheikh Abdulla with Loy Henderson, the US Ambassador to India*)

- "We have declared and even if we have not declared, the fact would remain that it is the people of Kashmir who must decide. And I say with all respect to our Constitution that it just does not matter what your Constitution says; if the people of Kashmir do not want it, it will not go there. Because what is the alternative? The alternative is compulsion and coercion, presuming, of course, that the people of Kashmir do not want it. Are we going to coerce and compel them and thereby justify the very charges that are brought by some misguided people outside this country against us? . . . Let us suppose there was a proper plebiscite there and the people of Kashmir said, 'We do not want to be with India.' Well, we are committed to it, we would accept it. It might pain us, but we would not send an army against them; we would accept that however much hurt we might feel about it and we would change our Constitution about it. We do not think that would happen - that is a different matter...

...Do not think you are dealing with a part of UP, Bihar or Gujarat. You are dealing with an area, historically and geographically, and in all manner of things with a certain background. If we bring our local ideas and local prejudices everywhere, we will never consolidate. We have to be men of vision and there has to be a broadminded acceptance of facts in order to integrate really. And real integration comes of the mind and the heart and not of some clause which you may impose on other people."

(*Jawaharlal Nehru's Speech  
in Parliament on June 26th 1956*)

- "From all the information that I have, 95 per cent of Kashmiri Muslims do not wish to be or remain Indian citizens. I doubt therefore the wisdom of trying to 'keep' people by force where they do not wish to stay. This cannot but have serious long-term political consequences, though immediately it may suit policy and please public opinion." (*Jayaprakash Narayan's letter to Nehru, May 1, 1956*)

- "Behind the facade of the constitutional apparatus rests the nitty-gritty of rude fact: the Valley is an occupied territory; remove for a day India's Army and security forces and it is impossible to gauge what might transpire at the next instant. Some of the stone-pelters may nurse illusions about Pakistan, some may think in terms of a sovereign, self-governing Kashmir, but they certainly do not want to be any part of India... the great Indian nation, with its load of civilisation stretching 5,000 years, is extraordinarily mum....

"One is suddenly hit by a fearsome realisation: Indians by and large do not perhaps feel at all, this way or that, about the Valley's people. In other words, the Indian nation is alienated from Kashmir"

(*Ashok Mitra; The Telegraph, August 27, 2010*).

- "If Kashmir remains with India against the will of the State's people it will always find itself in political turmoil." (*Prem Nath Bazaz, a close associate of Sheikh Abdullah in the National Conference, quoted in 1954*)

- "They clearly say that they would not like to remain in India. They would like to go out of India. (*Mir Kasim, ex-CM Kashmir and a central minister in Indira Cabinet, 1992*)

- "... the administration was of the view that the problem could only be solved by 'bringing the people into submission'" (*the Union Minister for Railways, George Fernandes, May 20, 1990*)

- "The issue (in Kashmir) is not lives.... The issue is the durability of the Indian State. And the Indian State cannot be allowed to break at any risk." (*Union Minister for Foreign Affairs, I. K. Gujral, April 22, 1990*)

- "Kashmir is deemed to be of great value to us because we wish to hold it up as an example of our secularism. I wonder if the spokesmen of secularism are aware of the irony of the present situation. The same Kashmir that is supposed to be an example of Indian secularism has occasioned a nasty upsurge of Hindu communalism. It is not easy to discern this process, because it is happening under the cover of nationalism. India being a Hindu-majority country, it is not difficult, as has been remarked by many observers, for Hindu communalism to trot out in the garb of Indian nationalism....

"What is meant by Kashmir being an example of Indian

secularism? It means, I believe, that the people of India have given such proof of their non-communal outlook that the Muslims of Kashmir, even though they are in a majority there, have freely decided to live with India which is a Hindu-majority but a secular country, rather than with Pakistan which is a Muslim-majority but an Islamic State. But suppose we had to keep the Muslims of Kashmir within India by force, would that also be an example of our secularism? The very question exposes its absurdity. And yet, how widespread is the mentality today that in order to defend the secular basis of our nation, we must keep Kashmir, if necessary by force, within the Indian Union!"

*(Jaiparkash Narayan, Hindustan Times, May 15, 1968)*

- "This is the talk of the town. They say that only Sheikh Saheb is confident of winning the plebiscite.... Personally, I feel that all this political talk will count for nothing if the economic situation can be dealt with. Because after all the people are concerned with only [one] thing they want to sell their goods and to have food and salt."

"The Kashmir Government is finding it impossible to collect any revenue this loss will have to be made up by the Indian Govt. Communications with India must improve. It should not take very long to make an all-weather track at the Srinagar Aerodrome. But most important of all and, I feel, the only thing that can save Kashmir for India and the Kashmiris will be an influx of visitors this summer, preferably from Bombay & Ahmedabad, since those are ones [who] buy the most." *(Indira Gandhi's Letter to Nehru from Srinagar, May 14, 1948)*

- "It must be remembered that the people of the Kashmir Valley and round about, though highly gifted in many ways in intelligence, in artisanship, etc. are not what are called a virile people. They are soft and addicted to easy living...." *(Jawahar Lal Nehru Selected Works)*

- "It [Article 370] has been eroded, if I may use the word..."

*(Jawahar Lal Nehru, in Parliament November 27, 1963)*

- "The only avenue of taking the Constitution into Jammu and Kashmir is through the application of the provisions of Article 370.... Article 370 is neither a wall nor a mountain, but that it is a tunnel. It is through this tunnel that a good deal of traffic has already passed and more will." *(Home Minister G.N. Nanda, December 4, 1965)*

***{Most of the above quotes are cited in A.G. Noorani's writings on Kashmir.}***



## *A Brief Report on Solidarity Actions in Punjab*

- by our Correspondent

The reports of solidarity actions in support of the just struggle of the Kashmiri people on the part of communist revolutionary democratic and justice loving people all over India and abroad are pouring in. In Punjab also, such actions have taken place under the leadership of different sections of the revolutionary communist movement. In these solidarity actions, held in different parts of the state and in different forms, considerable number of leading sections, activists and fighters from the ranks of the movement participated. It could be said that almost all the active and struggling sections such as peasants, agricultural laborers, workers, employees, intellectuals, students and youth participated in this activity in one or the other form. It is also worth noting that this entire activity is done in face of the possibility of some kind of disruptionist activity or act pertaining to the blatant attempts on the part of the Indian rulers to flare up the national chauvinistic sentiments on the Kashmir issue. Nevertheless, the response to the solidarity actions has pointed to the possibilities of wider and bigger solidarity actions on the issue. Through this solidarity activity is expressed the common interest of the people struggling against different forms of neo-colonial imperialist and feudal oppression and subjugation. A brief report follows:

**1. Jalandhar:** A convention "In Support of Right to self-determination of Kashmiri people and against the imposition of military regime on Kashmir" was held, by three organizations active in the revolutionary democratic movement of Punjab namely the CPI(ML) New Democracy, Lok Sangram Manch and Inquilabi Kendra Punjab on 03-08-2016. The convention was addressed by three speakers namely com. Darshan Khatkar of CPI(ML)ND, com. Balwant Makhu of LSM and com. Mukhtiar Poohla of IKP. The issue of Kashmir, its historical aspect, the right to self-determination and the struggle for this right were discussed in detail. The CPRCI (ML) sent a letter to the organizers of the convention affirming that it "firmly stands for the cause of this convention" and hailed the endeavor especially because it was undertaken jointly by the three organizations. The letter also stressed the further possibilities of such joint actions of solidarity

on wider scale. (see the letter on next pages) Attended by around 300 people the convention demanded the withdrawal of military forces from Kashmir, and upheld the right to self-determination. After the convention, demonstration in the city was also held.

**2. Bathinda (21/08/2016):** Convention "On Kashmir Issue, State and Democratic Rights" was called by the Association for Democratic Rights (AFDR), Punjab, which was supported by mass organizations. The convention was attended by more than 300 activists and leaders of the supporting organizations and AFDR. It is notable that a variety sections constituted the gathering. For instance around 35 students, one third of whom were Kashmiri students, from Central University attended the convention. Similarly, considerable number of activists of Bharti Kissan Union (Ekta) Ugrahan, Punjab Khet Mazdoor Union (PKMU) and other notable intellectuals of the area participated. The number of the participants would have been more, had the activists of the BKU and PKMU were not to attend the homage ceremony of prominent pro-people literary figure of Gurdial Singh. A known democratic rights activist and intellectual Sh. Gautam Navlakha was to be the chief speaker, but he could not come due to some reasons. Then AFDR's state committee leaders Sh. Nirbhinder Singh and Dr. Parminder Singh one of the founding members of AFDR, erstwhile member of CDRO and member of State Secretariat of AFDR and co-convener of the Front Against Operation Green Hunt presently were the speakers. Sh. N. B. Singh explained the historical background of the Kashmir problem. Dr. Parminder Singh said that Kashmiri people are living in extremely undemocratic conditions and they are being denied even their right to live. They are made to face very inhuman conditions. The expansionist designs of Indian and Pakistani governments have thrown the Kashmiri people in grave peril. Suppressing any nationality against its will in the name of integrity of the country is an anti-democratic approach. The convention demanded that the right to self-determination of the Kashmiri people must be ensured; AFSPA and other black laws should be repealed; restrictions on media should be revoked; attacks on democratic activities and organizations upholding rights of the Kashmiri people should be stopped. Apart from this the convention condemned the communal fascist atmosphere being created against the religious minorities, dalits and adivasis in the country. It is also worth noting that the voluntary services, needed in view of the

possibility of some disruption by Hindu communal forces, were provided and performed to the end by 30 peasant activists of BKU (Ekta) Ugraha and PKMU. After the convention, a demonstration in the city was also held.

**3. Lok Morcha Punjab (03/09/2016):** An area level convention was held, on the call of Lok Morcha Punjab, in Lambi block of Muktsar Distt. Around 250 agricultural laborers, with around 125 women, participated in the gathering. Speaking on the occasion Sh. N. K. Jeet, Lok Morcha Punjab's advisor, brought to light the brutal treatment of the people of Kashmir at the hands of the Indian rulers. Another chief speaker Pavel Kussa, leader of Naujwan Bharat Sabha, spoke about how the struggle of the Kashmiri people for the right to self-determination is actually a part of an unaccomplished struggle for national liberation. The struggle would advance forward towards success by becoming a part of the struggle of the people of India against imperialism, feudalism and comprador capitalism and with the advancement of this struggle. This is the point where the struggle of the people of Kashmir and the people of India become one and this is the reason, he said, why the struggling people of Punjab must express solidarity with, as much strength as possible, with the people of Kashmir.

**4. Rampura (Bathinda):** A convention on the adivasi struggles and democratic rights was held here on 11/08/2016 which was attended by around 200 people. Umar Khalid, the JNU fame student leader, was the main speaker. Speaking on Kashmir he said, "For the last one and half month people of Kashmir have come on the roads against this barbarism, against this suppression and against this propoganda" and again he said, "If we want real independence in India, we should demand that Army should come out of Kashmir .... Aspirations of the Kashmiri people must be brought to the centre-stage..." And ultimately he said, "There is no army in the world which can suppress aspirations of the people ... Kashmiri people are independent as their aspirations are alive. Balwant Makhu of Lok Sangram Manch also spoke on the occasion.

**5. Ludhiana (08/08/2016):** In a convention organized by the AFDR, Punjab and Shaheed Bhagat Singh Vichar Manch, Umar Khalid expressed concerns over the prevailing situation in Jammu and Kashmir, he said: "The people whom we want to turn into slaves by dispatching 8 lakh soldiers, by killing one lakh people, during the

last 20-25 years and making hundreds untraceable, have not become slave, rather their aspirations and sentiments for independence have become stronger." Again he said, "We are supporting Kashmiris for their sake, we are supporting them for our sake, as we know, their right for independence is actually our fight for independence. We Indian would not be independent until they get their right to self-determination, though it may mean their independence from India".

**6. Patiala (04/08/2016):** Punjab Students Union Lalkar held a public meeting in Punjabi University Patiala, one of the main higher education centre) which was attended by 45 students. Before that a limited propoganda campaign was held among the students by pasting 150-200 wall posters in the hostels, library and Arts classes in the university.

**7. Public meetings in schools and colleges:** Punjab Students Union, another student organization active in the state, held public meetings in the following schools and colleges: Barjindra College Faridkot, Govt. College Muktsar, ITI Moga, and government senior secondary schools at Nangal and Takhanwadh in Distt. Moga.

**8. Ludhiana (21/08/2016):** Naujwan Bharat Sabha (Lalkar) held a meeting of youth and workers, which was attended by 15 workers.



# *A Message to the Organizers of the Convention against Brutal Oppression of the People of Kashmir by the Indian Military*

Comrades,

The convention called by you to support the people of Kashmir and to oppose the bloody military offensive by the Indian rulers against the people of Kashmir is an appreciable step. It is rather more commendable that the step is taken jointly by the three revolutionary organizations active in Punjab. Our organization CPRCI(ML) firmly stands for the cause of this convention. We express our solidarity with the people of Kashmir, waging courageous and perilous struggle for their rights and justice against the military oppression by the Indian ruling classes. We send them revolutionary salute. As we share our concerns, through you, with the comrades/friends attending the convention, we want to repeat our firm belief that a possibility of wider response to show solidarity with the people of Kashmir is still present. (Not on the issue of supporting the people of Kashmir alone, but on many other issues pertaining to the revolutionary/pro-people cause). We hope that adopting a principled yet flexible approach, all of us advance further on the path of coordinated/joint endeavors.

The issue of freedom of Kashmir is present since the division of India in 1947. Using the military might, Kashmir was divided and occupied, on the one side by the Indian rulers and on the other side by the Pakistani rulers. The situation has been explosive for about two and half decades. About one hundred thousand people have been killed. The number of those injured, missing and tortured in the police and military camps is far bigger. About seven hundred thousand army personnel are stationed in Indian occupied Kashmir; it's a war like situation there. The rulers strive to suppress people's fury with force of the gun, but it erupts in flames time and again. For around three weeks, the situation is out of control of the army of the Indian rulers. Despite the curfews, the

firings and the ban on internet and newspapers, people come out on the streets in thousands and clash with the army. The widespread participation of people in these protests and clashes is exemplary. Around 50 people have been killed and hundreds are injured, but nothing can stop the rage of the people.

In Punjab as well as in the country and abroad, voice is being raised in support of the people of Kashmir. To encourage this positive response and to lend a hand to the joint endeavor, our Party is at the ready.

We stand by the side of the people of Kashmir in their struggle for freedom and democracy; in their struggle for the right to self-determination of Kashmiri nationality, including the right to secede; in their struggle against the regime of military atrocities by the Indian rulers; in their struggle against the Indian rulers who are maintaining their occupation of Kashmir with the aid of black laws such as AFSPA and others; and we stand against the feudal, comprador Indian rulers.

We stand for the joint endeavor by all the communist revolutionary and revolutionary democratic forces the endeavor to arouse the people of entire India in support of the struggling people of Kashmir; the endeavor through which we can move forward on the path of establishing the unity of the people of entire India, so as to defeat the exploiting, oppressing and imperialist-lackey Indian rulers and abolish this anti-people state.

- Down with the blatant national chauvinism and expansionism of the entire ruling classes and their parties.
- Down with the Indian rulers who are trampling down various nationalities under the name of integrity of India.
- Down with the Indian rulers who are feverishly plundering and oppressing the entire working people all over India.
- Down with the Hindu communal fascist trend of RSS-BJP.
- Long live the democratic unity of all the people against the feudal and comprador-capitalist Indian rulers.

With revolutionary greetings  
PSLC, CPRCI (ML), 03.08.2016

## A Voice of Protest from Manipur

### *The Common Content of "Right" and "Left" "Nationalism"*

Manipur Students Association Delhi representatives were invited and they attended the campaign for the release of the Jawaharlal Nehru University students, removal of sedition charges and revocation of suspension of 8 JNU students, joint protest gathering at Administration block on the 9th of March 2016. The protest demanded the removal of the Registrar and against the bogus enquiry committee....

.... MSAD advisor Seram Rojesh (a PhD candidate of Sociology from the Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University) spoke on behalf of MSAD on the event. He touched on various issues regarding the campaign and the ongoing JNU protests. In the event MSAD expressed its solidarity and saluted the fight against oppression and the freedom to dissent.

It was expressed further that MSAD is critical and also very sceptical about the forms of protest that is emerging out of the discourse on JNU. It was pointed out by him that the Indian state has adopted the strategy of tagging JNU students as anti-nationals. But most JNU students fail to critique the very idea of nation/nationality and nationalism. Instead it was pointed out at the event that the various protests in relation to JNU has seen the constant attempt by the students and others supporters to prove themselves as nationalist with the use of symbols such as the waving of the tricolour flag. A slight touch of humour was put when it was said that it won't be long when we see the days of JNU professors holding a tricolour flag while sitting at a conference trying to prove themselves as nationalists. He lightened up the atmosphere with the crowd laughing together that he was expecting tricolour flags at the event but surprisingly there were not any.

Further the talk went on and he pointed out that Narendra Modi speaks of Kashmir as an integral part of India, so do the JNU intellectuals, students and all alike. So, it appears the left oriented

JNU students and intellectuals are no less than the nationalists. But whether Kashmir or Manipur would be an integral part of India lies with the decision of the people. It was pointed out that there was conversion of the "right" into the "left" and "left" into "right". While members of ABVP resigned on the ground that the BJP has become fascist, the so called "left" are trying to prove themselves as nationalists and it seems they also resigned from the left politics.

He asserted that India is a multi-national state and the ideas of nationalism need a critical look. An absolutely blind faith in the constitution that allows more than 50 years of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act seems to suggest the sorry condition of the intellectuals. He expressed the idea that university students and professors are an elite class and even so more the students and professors of elite universities like JNU and DU. So, he urged the crowd to take this fight beyond JNU and even beyond the University walls, out to the peasants, the poor, the unprivileged, the oppressed.

The idea of absolute belief in the judicial system by JNU student leaders was ridiculed. It was asserted that there was a need for a critique of the judicial system which was seen by him as an elite institution turning a blind eye to the unprivileged; where thousands of prisoners have much less than a trial because they could not afford to fight a case. He said that there has not even been any changes in the structure of state institutions like the police, military, bureaucracy which works on the colonial structure. Further, he says that the transfer of power took place from the British to the Indian elites, that Indian state is a result of the colonial rule and there has not been much change for the oppressed and the unprivileged.

The MSAD advisor further pointed out that while JNU, Hyderabad Central University and Jadavpur University have seen the rise against authoritarianism, we must not forget Manipur University where an army camp stands right in the middle of the university. While the army camp is too much in itself, it is put right behind the women's hostel and army convoys are a regular sight there. So, he expressed the idea that it is not only the physical oppression but also the thought oppression that we must fight; because university where thought formulation in the academia takes place is also under supervision of

the military. The JNU crowd was asked if they are ready to fight for Manipur University as well. The crowd shouted YES!

He said there is no left, right or centre when politicians reach the parliament, there are only nationalists. Many JNU alumni proclaim themselves as "left" but it becomes a different story when they start practicing electoral politics. Therefore, he condemns the attempt to link the JNU issue with electoral politics e.g. the news that JNU leader Kanhaiya will campaign for the Bengal elections for CPI. The hypocrisy of the intellectuals was also put under question. He exclaimed that there are less than 10 scholars in India ready to talk about the history and politics of the turbulent "North east". All intellectuals, he says "left" or "right", be it historians, or social scientists run away from the issue claiming that they are not experts on the "North east"; that it was a subject to be discussed by the military.

The idea of the former speaker at the event, Prabhat Patnaik (the Marxist economist) who claimed that the Indian state was a result of Social Contract was bluntly rejected. Rojesh brought out the idea that the marriage of Manipur and India was a forced marriage and that there was no social contract. It was further reminded that Manipur was the first country in South East Asia to have universal adult franchise and which adopted a popular democratic elected government in 1948 in response to Patnaik's statement that Adult Franchise was enacted for the first time in 1952 inside what we now know as the boundary of the Indian state.

He ended the talk with full support for freedom to dissent and fight against oppression; that the fight must be expanded to all universities and beyond its wall. The talk ended with huge applause by the JNU crowd and shouts of solidarity to "Comrade Rojesh" (to put the word of the JNU crowd).

*(From "Revolutionary Democracy",  
with a change of title)*



## *The Revolutionary Movement of Women: Some Questions Regarding the Orientation*

With the emergence of class society based on private property, the social oppression of women assumed institutional form. The concentrated expression of this social oppression came forth in the form of family oppression exercised through the family institution. The state and the family both came into existence with the birth of class society and became instrumental in protecting the social relations of production based on private property. Family oppression is the reflection, in the family, of the class oppression prevalent in social relations, and it plays the role of consolidating this oppression. For the defense of class oppression, defense of the family oppression is a must and this defense is done in the feudal society, by equipping the head of the family with special powers. These special powers of the feudal head of the family are, actually, the extension as well as the part of the state power -- the protector of the class oppression. All family laws are indeed the extension of the laws of the state and their objective is to protect the family oppression as an indispensable and auxiliary part of the class oppression. (for details see appendix - 1)

The following quote from Marx presents this inter-relationship between the family, society and the state in an appropriate manner:

**"The modern family contains in germ not only slavery (servitus) but also serfdom, since from the beginning it is related to agricultural services. It contains in miniature all the contradictions which later extend throughout society and its state"**

This inter-relationship between the family, the society and the state reveals that the process of abolition of family oppression, in other words the process of women's liberation, is connected with the process of the abolition of class oppression in social relations. The abolition of the feudal domination of the male head of the family is related with the abolition of the oppressive autocratic regime. This task can only be accomplished through revolution. Only by doing so, the revolutionary transformation of the social relations of production can be accomplished. As a result democratization of family relations can be achieved.

## Revolution and the Women's Liberation Movement

Large majority of women are the victims of dual exploitation and oppression in this exploitative and oppressive social system based on private property. This reality constitutes the powerful material basis of their interest in the revolutionary social changes and their participation in revolutionary class struggles and the revolution. Such a participation of the broad masses of women in the revolutionary movement is highly important for its victory. Pointing out this importance of the role of women in the revolution, comrade Stalin says:

"There has not been in the history of mankind a single great movement of the oppressed in which women toilers have not participated. Women toilers, the most oppressed of all the oppressed, have never kept away from the high road of the emancipation movement, and never could have done so. As is known, the movement for the emancipation of the slaves brought to the front hundreds of thousands of great women martyrs and heroines. In the ranks of the fighters for the emancipation of the serfs there were tens of thousands of women toilers. It is not surprising that the revolutionary working-class movement, the mightiest of all the emancipation movements of the oppressed masses, has rallied millions of women toilers to its banner."

*(Stalin, International Women's Day, 1925)*

According to comrade Lenin, "the experience of all liberation movements shows that the success of a revolution depends on how much the women take part in it"

*(Speech at the First All-Russia Congress of Working Women, Nov, 19, 1918)*

Further, according to comrade Lenin, "There can be no real mass movement without women."

*(A Dialogue with Clara Jetkin)*

It is not only that the participation of masses of the women is necessary for the victory of revolutionary liberation movements but the building of the new revolutionary society also would not be possible without them. "Even the building of democracy is impossible, not to speak of socialism", says Lenin. Stressing the importance of the role of women in the task of building socialism in

China, comrade Mao-Tse-Tung said: "The most important thing in the building of a great socialist society is to mobilize the masses of women for productive activity"

This importance of the role of women in revolution as well as in the building of revolutionary social system sets forth the importance of work by the proletarian party among the women and enjoins upon it to exert required attention and strength for the task of drawing the large masses of the women in the revolutionary movement. The proletarian party's work amongst women is not an occasional activity but is its inseparable and constant part. According to Lenin to develop and conduct mass movement among the women "is an important part of entire Party activity, indeed, a half of general Party work." And it is an "obligatory responsibility" seeking party's "continuous attention".

There exists a strong material basis for the participation of women in the Indian revolution as well. With the transformation of India's social system from feudal to semi-feudal, semi-colonial system, the patriarchal feudal family system has also cracked. Feudal family relations, have, to some extent, weakened. Limited capitalist elements have entered the family relations. Joint family system has also got weakened. With the entry of the middle-class women in the sphere of education and employment, feudal family and social restrictions and prohibitions have cracked. In the bourgeois and petty bourgeois families, the boys and girls are being consulted to some extent in the affairs of their marriages etc. Relatively tolerant attitude is being adopted towards widow-marriages. However, the Indian family system, as a whole, remains un-democratic as it is based on the feudal domination of male head of the family. This feudal domination continues to remain basically intact not only on the strength of semi-feudal relations of production, feudal value-system, deep rooted sentiments and traditions, but also on the strength of the laws of the state despite their hypocritical democratic and progressive pretence.

On the whole, the status of the women in the Indian society is that of a slave of the slaves. The abundance of numerous social evils like dowry-system, feticide, laudation of self-immolating widows etc. presents the picture of social scorn towards the women. Despite the noisy clamor about the so-called progressive property laws, even today there is no social recognition to the woman's share in the family

property and she continues to remain property-less. Even today, it is not possible for the women to pursue her independent will, violating the family will, and she has to pay a heavy social price for doing so. Further, there exists a social sanction for male family violence in relation to a major section of the women and it is only against very crude and heart-rending expressions that some social reaction is seen. Indian state, instead of being a secular and democratic, is an all-religious autocratic state. Therefore the family laws imposed by it have got a deep religious impact, that make all talk of equality of all citizens before the law useless -- especially in the context of women.

Thus, the strategic target of the women's movement in India is semi-feudal, semi-colonial social system and the autocratic state representing it. Only with the creation of a new democratic state and social economic system by overthrowing the above state, a basic change in the current social status of women would take place. It is only the people's democratic social economic system that will pave the way for complete emancipation of women by creating the basis for the advance towards socialist and communist society. So the revolutionary women's movement to be built in India is to become the contingent of people's democratic revolution, with the agrarian revolution as its axis.

### **The Relation between Revolutionary Class Struggle and Women's Liberation Movement**

According to Marxist-Leninist outlook, class struggle in a class society plays the role of the motive force of social development. The social changes, as a result of this class struggle, basically influence the social fate of every section. The social fate of women as a social section, which becomes half of the population, is also basically determined by the results of class struggle. It is through revolutionary class struggle that the class rule as upholder of male-slavery is overthrown. Thus, **under every social structure the struggle for women liberation actually happens to be the struggle for re-determining the social status and role of women in the context of social changes occurring as a result of revolutionary class struggle.**

This decisive and basic role of class struggle enjoins upon the women's liberation movement to identify the class political forces struggling for revolutionary social changes compatible with the

interests of women to establish fighting-unity with them.

Under every exploitative and oppressive social system based on private property, the fate of women as an oppressed social section is connected with the oppressed revolutionary classes. In our semi-feudal, semi-colonial social system, the collective fate of women is connected with working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. The common interest in overthrowing the semi-feudal, semi-colonial social system and the autocratic state representing it, forms the basis of fighting-unity between the struggle for the liberation of these classes and the struggle for women's liberation. The advancement of the revolutionary struggle for women's liberation basically accords with the interests and the class struggle of these classes and, on the other hand, **women's liberation movement thrives on the advancement of revolutionary struggle of these classes.**<sup>1</sup>

Contrary to it, in every social system the interest of dominant reactionary ruling classes lies in the defense of established social system, in other words, in keeping the social position of women intact. That is why these classes are enemies of the struggle for women's liberation. It is necessary for the movement for women's liberation to identify these classes and their representative political forces and to struggle against these. In our semi-feudal, semi-colonial social system feudalism and comprador bourgeoisie are such classes whose interest lies in maintaining anti-woman social conditions. These parasite classes are nourished on the backwardness of productive system. They block the participation of women in social labor and thus are responsible for perpetuating them as domestic slaves. Without overthrowing these classes and the political power

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<sup>1</sup> *As women themselves are half of these classes, the struggle of these classes draw these women in the arena of class struggle, arouse within them the feeling of their collective existence and their strength; and also erode the anti-women social prejudices. Thus, the advancement of revolutionary class struggles paves the way for the advancement of women's liberation movement against male oppression. Apart from it, a strong revolutionary class movement provides a supporting prop to the women's movement against the attacks of enemy forces. In the conditions of the weakness or absence of revolutionary class movement and struggle, the women's movements has to face a more unfavorable social atmosphere and confront it in the conditions of relative isolation.*

protecting them through people's democratic revolution, advance towards the target of women's liberation is not possible.

From the above deliberations, it becomes clear that for the sake of successfully accomplishing the special task of struggle for social liberation of women as a special oppressed social section, it is necessary for the movement of women's liberation that it should take the task of struggle for overthrowing the present semi-feudal, semi-colonial system as its general task. As the special task of women's liberation can be accomplished only as the part of revolutionary social change as a whole in comrade Lenin's words:

"The communist women's movement must itself be a mass movement, a part of the general mass movement. Not only of the proletariat, but of all the exploited and oppressed, all the victims of capitalism or any other mastery."

The objective basic commonness of the interests of revolutionary class movement and the movement for women's rights does not mean that there is no contradiction between these. Along with being common (men and women) victims of the political, economic and cultural oppression, women are victims of the male oppression too. As a result, there exists an objective contradiction between the men as the instrument of this oppression and women as the victims of this oppression. This contradiction always remains in operation in secret or open form and in low or high pitch. How this contradiction is examined and tackled has serious implications for the revolutionary class movement. There is danger of two wrong tendencies in viewing, comprehending and tackling this contradiction. The first tendency is to tackle it by considering it as main, basic or antagonistic contradiction. This trend disrupts the revolutionary class struggles and leads them astray. The next trend cherishes the illusion of getting this contradiction automatically solved with the resolution of major class contradictions. Drawing a line of demarcation with both of these trends, the approach of considering and tackling it in the context of basic class contradictions and keeping it subordinate to these should be adopted. But carrying it out in practice is a difficult and complicated task.

The realization of this commonness of objective interests in the subjective activity of the revolutionary class movement and women's rights movement depends on the level of subjective awareness

regarding this commonness. In the preliminary conditions, owing to the feebleness of this awareness, contradictions may emerge between the requirements of the movement of women's rights and the revolutionary class movement. The objective basis for this lies in the fact that the movement for women's rights may become a challenge to the special male rights and in turn may give rise to male reaction; and the men connected with revolutionary classes may be able to realize it only by passing through a phase of revolutionary class struggle as to how their special male rights become an impediment in the course of the struggles for their own class interests. Similarly, without going through a definite process of class struggle, it is not possible for masses of the women to recognize the commonness between their own class interests and their interests as women. Thus, in the preliminary conditions, the sharp challenge given to male rights on the part of the movement for women's rights gives rise to counter reaction from the masses of men. In the conditions of low level of awareness, with the taking up of these issues by masses of women from the anti male stance, the possibility of such a reaction further increases. Such contradictions do expend much of the energy of the revolutionary class movement, divert its attention from the requirements of class struggle and cause erosion to it.

Therefore, for the sake of successfully tackling this mutual contradiction of the requirements of the struggle on the issues of women's rights and on the class issues, it is necessary for our activists to remain vigilant while taking up the issues of women's rights. It does not mean that we should not launch struggle on the issues of women's rights under the pretext of damage to the revolutionary class movement. Doing so would be abstaining from the special democratic task of struggle against male-oppression in the name of requirements of revolutionary class movement. However we must keep this in mind that the struggle for women's rights does not damage the class struggle. Therefore, we should avoid raising such issues as are likely to give rise to counter widespread reactions from the masses of men. We should take up and raise such issues, in support of which some sections of the masses of men might be made agreeable or at least neutral. In issues such as arising from the sphere of family relations emotional element plays a special role

which enhances the above danger. While providing correct direction to the rightful anger of women against male oppression, our activists should try to prevent it from conflicting with the interests of the entire revolutionary democratic movement.

### **Proletarian Class Angle in the Women's Liberation Movement**

This mutual relation between the entire revolutionary social movement and the women's liberation movement provides the basis for determining the place and role of women from different classes in the revolutionary movement of women's liberation. There is no basic contradiction between the class destiny of women related to subservient classes and their fate as women. The struggle for people's democratic revolutionary movement, apart from being their need as an oppressed social section, is also their class need. This basic compatibility of their class interests and their interests as women makes them capable of determinedly fighting in the struggle for revolutionary social change. That is why during the stage of people's democratic revolution, women related with laboring classes have a basic role in the developing revolutionary women's movement. Owing to the revolutionary class potential and revolutionary class qualities of these women, they become the best and largest source of combatants for revolutionary women's movement. Agrarian revolution being the axis of this revolution, the role of agricultural laborer and peasant women in the revolutionary women's movement becomes more important. (It is only the agrarian revolutionary movement which by destroying the domination of feudal classes not only creates favorable conditions for women's liberation but brings forth a major change in the social status of women by way of ending special male property rights through the re-division of land according to the slogan of land to the tiller).<sup>2</sup>

Though there is no basic contradiction between the objective class interests of the women related to the middle classes and their interests as women, but the social status of these women becomes for them a reason for blurring the recognition of their class interests and their interests as women. In the case of these women the pinch of class oppression remains weak as compared to the women of basic

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<sup>2</sup>*During the agrarian revolution in China, land was distributed to each individual tiller instead of the male family head.*

classes, but because of getting relatively more opportunities of education and employment, they become relatively more aware regarding their rights as women. In the preliminary conditions, owing to relatively better economic status the absence of social status and respect equal to men irks them more than the class oppression. In the conditions of the weakness of revolutionary class movement, the slogan of liberation from male oppression attracts them and occupies their minds more than the slogans of liberation from class oppression. Being victims of the rebellious tendency to get instant freedom from male oppression, these women provide a fertile ground for the expansion of bourgeois feminist trend.

The class status of these women affects their fighting capacity and their revolutionary awareness. Owing to their relatively comfortable life their capacity to perseveringly fight against the established social system happens to be weak as compared to the women of other classes. The illusionary pro-women reforms by the autocratic state may influence these women to some extent. Because of these reasons, the importance of vigorous ideological efforts for making these women a conscious part of the revolutionary women's movement gets enhanced. Apart from it, the expansion of revolutionary women's movement among the women of basic classes becomes a check on the subjectivity of the masses of these women and becomes helpful for their role in the revolutionary women's movement.

There exists a contradiction between the class interests of the women of reactionary classes and their interests as women. As a part of a specific oppressed social section their interests are objectively compatible with the revolutionary struggle of subservient classes, but being related to oppressor ruling classes, revolutionary social change conflicts with their class interests. As the role of any section is basically determined by its class interests, the women related to the reactionary (ruling) classes could not become a part of revolutionary women's movement, collectively. Although, the possibility of participation from among them, on the individual plane, could not be ruled out.

The above said determines the criterion for the validity of women's movement for the Party of the proletariat. Only such a women's movement deserves the attention and support of the

proletarian Party which promotes the participation of vast masses of women into the struggle for the revolutionary change by making these women conscious and getting them organized, and which draws them into the arena of revolutionary struggle. Only such a women's movement can develop as a real revolutionary movement for women's emancipation which makes the most revolutionary (that is the laboring) layers of the vast masses of the women as its pivot. It is even more true in the present globalization context. (see Appendix-3)

### **Women's Organization, Demands and Struggle**

The question of building of a mass organization of women had been at one time an issue of sharp discussion within the World Communist Revolutionary Movement. Comrade Lenin had to give a hard ideological struggle against trends negating the indispensable need and importance of a separate mass organization of the women. However, the revolutions in Russia and China and the experience of struggle for building socialism in these countries has confirmed the validity of separate mass organization of the women and has proven the special importance of its role. Today the question of building of a separate organization is no more a controversial issue in the communist revolutionary movement. (See appendix - 2).

We should make the above discussed orientation of the women's movement as the basis for addressing the task of building a revolutionary organization of the women. That orientation clearly implies that the bastions of women's movement and organization, should be the same classes and sections that are, or could become, the bastion of revolutionary class struggles. The relation of fighting unity between class struggles and women's movement demands that women's movement should remain directed towards becoming mainly the movement of laboring women especially rural and these women should be made the mainstay of the women's organization.

The fact that women's liberation is possible, primarily, through revolutionary social change to be brought as a result of class struggle, does not lessen the importance of struggle on the specific demands and issues of women, rather makes them obligatory. These struggles become the medium of drawing the vast sections of women into the arenas of struggle against the reactionary social system. These struggles provide the opportunity to the broad masses of the women, through the practical experience of struggle for their interests, to

comprehend the relation of these interests with the established social system and various class political forces and become the medium of making them conscious about the need of revolutionary social change. Without combining with the practical experience of such struggles, the slogan of overthrowing the established social system remains an abstract slogan for the women. Apart from it, these struggles become a weapon in the hands of proletarian Party for confronting the bourgeois feminist trend by exposing its limitations and by refuting, through practical experience, the illusionary conceptions spread by this trend.

One important aspect of the approach of the proletarian Party regarding such struggles for the demands and issues of women is that the relative importance of such struggles is determined in the context of the contemporary interests and needs of the entire revolutionary movement. For the proletarian Party the struggle on those demands/issues of women is more important which are more important in the context of advancing contemporary revolutionary movement.

For the sake of making the struggles on women's issues as effective and purposeful, it should be the conscious effort of the party of the proletariat that these struggles be combined with the struggles of the subservient classes to be fought on their partial class interests. While organizing struggles on the concrete issues of male oppression, the relation of these struggles with the indispensable participation of women in revolutionary class struggle should be projected so that the masses of men of the subservient classes may realize the validity of supporting such struggles. For this, the importance of this indispensable participation must be made manifest on the bases of the practical experience of revolutionary class struggle. Without making the mobilization of women in class struggles and the mobilization for struggles on the women issues complementary to each other, a real and effective revolutionary women's movement could not be built.

### **Some Diversionary Trends**

The proletarian ideological conception regarding the exploitation, oppression, and the conditions of subservience of women rooted in the socio-economic system based on private property, not only becomes the basis of relationship of women's

movement with the revolutionary class struggle, but also becomes the basis of drawing a clear-cut and indelible line of demarcation of the proletarian stance from the bourgeois trend of nari mukti (women emancipation). This bourgeois trend stands for building a women's movement as an independent and self-sufficient women's movement, isolated from revolutionary class struggle. Man being head of the family, this trend makes man the strategic target of women's movement, because this trend, instead of considering the man-dominated social system based on private property as the basic reason for the exploitation and oppression of women, considers the male chauvinism of men and his resultant attitude and behavior towards women as responsible for it. That is why the women's movement under its leadership considers its main contradiction with man and not with ruling classes. So, according to this trend women's emancipation means emancipation from man, not from the man-dominated social system.

If any section of the male family-heads, on the individual plane, corrects its attitude and behavior towards women, even then there would not be any major change in the socially determined anti-women unequal labor-division, because as it is mentioned earlier, for such a change role of the family institution as an economic unit of society will have to be abolished and this can be done through requisite basic changes in the relations of production which can be made at a specific stage of social development.

While concentrating the edge of its attack on men, the bourgeois feminist trend creates the illusion that status of man and woman in the family can come at par without basic revolutionary social changes having taken place and spreads the unreal thinking (perception) of ending the role of this institution as an instrument of exploitation and oppression even before the requisite objective conditions have come into existence. Thus, this trend by making non-antagonistic contradiction between men and women of subservient classes as antagonist one hurts the revolutionary movement as well as the women liberation movement. Apart from it, this trend, instead of pointing out any real solutions to the problem of exploitation and oppression of women being perpetrated through the family, plays the diversionary role of pushing the women activists towards individualistic thinking and activity by presenting the unrealistic

solutions like not getting married or not giving birth to children etc.

The representatives of this trend should be separated from the women-leaders or organizations who do not have any affection for women's interests and who have become active only to use it deliberately for the support of some section of the ruling classes. Our relations with such women-leaders or organizations in both ideological and political spheres is that of enemies. The representatives of the above mentioned (feminist) trend, on the subjective plane, struggle to liberate women from exploitation and oppression. But their ideological stance is such which ultimately goes against the interests of women and hurts the cause of women's liberation. Therefore with the representatives of this trend we would adopt the stance of collaborating with them in the political sphere and give uncompromising struggle in the ideological sphere. Collaborating in the political sphere in joint activities does not mean that there would not be any debate or struggle on our part with their representatives. Rather, within the frame of mutual collaboration the debate and sort of struggle between both the sides is quite natural for the sake of keeping every women struggle directed in accordance with its own ideological understanding. Further, without putting up struggle in practical field and without utilizing it as the material for the ideological struggle, it is not possible for the party of the proletariat to get its ideological orientation established. What is important here is that this struggle should be conducted in the political sphere in accordance with the needs of mutual collaboration.

The task of building a revolutionary women's movement is to confront the legalist reformist trend also. This trend negates the need of the basic revolutionary social change for the sake of women's liberation and tries to keep the women's movement within the narrow confines of struggle for pro-woman reforms within the current semi-feudal, semi-colonial framework. This trend spreads this illusion among the women that present social conditions can be changed, even within the current system, by getting changes made in the laws of the state.

Regarding the question of struggle for women's rights this trend not only stands for limiting the women's struggles within the legal forms, but also keeps main reliance on the laws, bodies and institutions of the established social system, instead of struggle.

For the sake of building revolutionary movement of the women this trend needs to be refuted through relentless struggle.

In the conditions in which the issues regarding pro-women reforms might have become the issues of active public concern and we might be struggling for these, in those situations a joint activity with representatives of this trend in the sphere of struggle for pro-women reforms could not be ruled out. However, the purpose of this activity should be to win over the masses of women under the influence of this trend to the correct revolutionary line for women's liberation and to expose this trend.

There is an alien trend which tries to tie women's movement with the ruling class politics and to make it an instrument for it. It tries to impose the issues of the concerns of ruling classes on the women's movement and projects the women's issues from the standpoint of the ruling classes. Instead of adopting a true democratic stance, this trend adopts an opportunist stance on the issues of women's rights and projects one or the other issue keeping in mind the narrow interests of one or the other section of ruling classes. The women wings of various ruling class political parties are the main instruments of this trend. The tendency in the revolutionary movement which allows the ruling class parties to infiltrate the struggles on women's issues happen to be objectively helpful in this purpose. It takes the form of joint activities of mass organizations with ruling class political parties on such issues.



## ***Appendix 1: Historical Background***

### **Family institution - An Instrument of Women's Slavery**

Family came into existence with the genesis of private property. Blood relation is its natural basis and private property is the economic basis. The division of labor that came into existence within the womb of ancient communist society became the basis of preliminary division of property -- first in the society and then in the family. Jobs like the maintenance of the house and cooking etc. being the responsibility of women, the related utensils/articles came to be considered her entitlement. While gathering and fetching food from outside being the responsibility of men, instruments like the spear, arrow, bow, axe etc. were considered man's entitlements. The level of

productive forces being too low, man's labor could not have been considered superior to women's labor. Possessed with the capacity to gather hardly sufficient food and owner of preliminary instruments of prey it was not possible for the man that he could have challenged the respectful status of women in the family and the society. When with the development of productive forces, the human labor started producing excess of the need, social importance of men's labor and the properties under his entitlements got increased. As compared to the huntsman as owner merely of the instruments for hunting, the livestock of the herd's man was far bigger, important and sharply developing a wealth which demanded engaging extra man power for its maintenance and development. This extra man power was provided by the mutual wars among the tribes when the tradition of putting defeated men to work by making them slaves came into existence -- replacing the tradition of making them part of the tribe or killing them. With this began the system of buying and selling of slaves in exchange for the animal. Arriving at this stage of social development, man as owner of animal and the slaves, became far powerful as compare to woman. As compared to his activity in social production the importance of domestic labor of women got reduced to trifling. At this stage of social development, with coming into existence of new relations of production, it became possible for man to challenge the traditional domestic hegemony of women, to destroy this hegemony and turn the woman into a domestic slave by depriving her of all the rights. Prior to the emergence of private property and the institution of family based on it, women's activity of cooking and rearing of children etc. had been a social activity performed at the tribal-level but now, with turning of this activity into a domestic activity to be performed at the family level, situation got created for confining her within the walls of the house. Although the division of labor made during the ancient communist society remained unchanged, but with the change in the division of labor in the society and with the establishment of new relations of production, man-woman relation within the family and society got overturned. Now with the change in the division of labor and its character in the society, the character of the division of work existing earlier between man and woman got changed. It got changed into unequal division of labor and became an instrument of oppression of woman by man.

With the emergence of private property and its importance, emerged the question of its heirs. As man was the owner of property,

there arose the need for identification of his heirs and out of this need a monogamous system of family got established. Thus, the natural objective of perpetuating the human race got mixed up with the economic objective of producing heirs of property.

Thus, the process of woman's slavery is linked with the emergence and establishment of family institution as an economic unit of society, owing to the changes in the relations of social production. Along with the changes in the relations of production in the society, changes have also been going on in the family institution as well. The form of family system in every social order has mainly been determined through the needs of the role to be played by the family as an economic unit of society under its specific system of production. Patriarchal family system got established as a specific form of family system that was to become the foundation of feudal economy. Under the feudal economy, family remained connected with agricultural services from the very beginning. For the sake of making it work as the foundation for the well-being of the feudal relations of production, strengthening the hegemony and power of male head of the family in the family institution became particularly necessary. To protect the family property from getting scattered, making family-head as sole owner of property and entrusting him with absolute and complete rights for its buying and selling was essential. For the sake of protecting the labor power of the family from getting scattered and effectively utilizing it in the productive activity, giving him the right to have control over the family members was a must. Special rights and powers of the head of the family in the slave society had significance in the context of the family of the slave owner. Even so, slave families being directly under the control of slave owner, putting into use the labor power of the slave family was not a problem and there was hardly any difference, in the slave family, in the status of 'head of the family' and others. However the families of share-cropper or small-producer serfs in the feudal society not being direct slaves of the landlord, it was necessary that the responsibility of controlling the labor power of the family and putting it into use as well as the related rights and powers be given to the male head-of-the-family. Thus, equipping the father and husband with special male-rights and that way particularly strengthening the status of the male family-head, happened to be a special requirement of feudal social system.

As the family institution was to play role as an economic unit of

society, the tasks, such as education and marriages of the children, also were mainly determined from the point of view of the economic interests of the family. Because the purpose of giving education to the children is training them as heirs to the private property of the male father, the right to take decisions about it, in the feudal society, is vested in the hands of the male head of the family. Similarly, as the marriage, in the feudal society, has economic significance, through which the family loses or gains a worker in the form of a married woman, that is why, according to established customs of feudal society, will of the concerned boy or girl does not have any say in the matter and the decision regarding their marriage is taken by their parents.<sup>3</sup>

The powers of the male family head in the feudal family institution are used most of all to suppress the rights of women. Keeping the women confined within the walls of the house is considered to be the essential moral duty and right of the male head of the family. All sorts of oppression and repression are considered justifiable for keeping women away from all types of activity outside the house.

Above deliberations make it clear that rebuilding of family relations on democratic lines by abolishing the feudal hegemony of male head of the family is a must for the social emancipation of women. For this type of democratization of the family relations, such basic changes in the relations of production are essential that render the role of family institution as an economic unit of the society worthless.

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<sup>3</sup>Primary purpose of the state institution is the defense of the contemporary relations of production and the social system based on it. Family institution plays a supporting role for the state institution by way of working as the foundation for the defense of such relations. In fact all the family laws are the extension of the laws of the state. In feudal system it is the responsibility of the family-head that he should ensure that its members behave as the faithful citizens of the state and the ruling classes and he should use his special rights for the purpose. The value-system of feudal society prompts the family members to obey the head-of-the-family, as it prompts the people to obey the king. Head-of-the-family has the right to punish family members who violate his orders as the state has the right to punish members of the society violating orders of the state. It is because of these mutual relations of the state and the family that the King is given the status of father in the feudal institutions.

## Capitalist System and Woman's Position

Establishment of capitalist relations of production strikes a powerful blow to feudal hegemony of male head-of-the-family. Requirements of the capitalist economy ask for freeing the labor-power from the bondages of feudal family so as to pave the way for its entry into the open market. Requirements of capitalist industrial production call for loosening the grip of family bondages of women and making them participate in social productive activity. Emerging capitalism challenges the feudal hegemony in every sphere of life including family and democratizes the society. Building of secular and democratic bourgeois state strikes a severe blow to the traditional intervention of state and religion in the family life. Newly born capitalism brings forth concepts of equality and individual freedom for all its citizens and erodes concepts connected with feudal hegemony. In the progressive phases of its rise, capitalism launches all-round attack against the anti-progressive feudal-values and sentiments, and roots out anti-women feudal prejudices.

Nevertheless, the process of democratization of family relations could not be completed under the capitalist system. Capitalist relations of production being based on private property and profit could not become the medium for development of productive forces beyond a certain extent. Consequently, their role in promoting participation of women in social production remains limited. Furthermore, capitalist economy owing to its inherent contradictions remains victim of stagnation and crises. Arriving at its highest stage (monopoly capitalism), it loses its progressive traits and becomes anti-progress. Unemployment becomes a serious problem, and participation of women in social production gets blocked or eroded. For the participation of women in social labor, freeing them from the domestic labor is essential. It is possible only through socialization of domestic labor. In the capitalist economy based on private profit, it can be done only to a limited extent. Apart from it, even under capitalism man's dominant position as owner of property continues to exist. Social evil like the prostitution not only continues under capitalism, rather it flourishes. Exhibition of women's bodies becomes a major medium of capitalist advertisement for the sale of commodities.

## **Socialist System and Family Institution**

So, the social emancipation of women through democratization of family relations is possible only under communist society. In this society, family institution's role as an economic unit of society ceases to exist. Under the socialist society, marching towards communism, man's special status as male head-of-the-family and as owner of property gets swept away through the socialization of property. With the socialization of domestic-labor, conditions on a wide scale are created for the women to participate in social labor. The social productive activity made for the needs of social progress and well-being, instead of private profit under socialist economy creates demand on large scale for women to participate in social production. The labor activity of individuals, instead of being determined by the family institution, starts getting determined by social institutions based on the large-scale participation and common will of the masses. Thus, the material basis for all rights of male family-head for controlling the property or labor-power of the family gets abolished. Under the socialist system advancing step by step towards communism, it is not only that every member of the family individually gets payment for his/her labor, rather the share in it of the consumer needs being directly provided by the productive institutions based on social ownership, goes on increasing. Thus, advance is made towards abolishing the role of the family institution, not only as a unit determining the productive activity, but also as a unit determining the consumer activity of its members. With the abolition of such a role of the family as an institution, it gets transformed into a pure form of collective life of its members and there remains no basis for the exploitation of any family member by the other.

## **Appendix-2**

### **The Question of Mass Organization of Women**

The question of separate mass organizations of women has also remained an issue of debate within the communist movement. Whereas the dogmatist and sectarian sections within the communist ranks have been negating the importance of struggle on partial issues of women as well as the importance of special organizational mechanism in the party for the work among women, they have also been negating the importance of separate mass organization of women. Oppression on women being rooted in the male-dominated class society, the struggle on specific issues of women as well as the

mass organization instrumental in such struggles seemed to these sections as unnecessary. Not only unnecessary but seemed to them as manifestation of narrow feminism. Refuting this wrong view Lenin emphasized that building of party organization or class organization alone is insufficient for the sake of drawing broad sections of women into revolutionary movement and for giving an appropriate response to real and special democratic task of struggle against male-oppression. Pointing out the limitations of drawing women in revolutionary struggle only through party organization or trade union organizations, comrade Lenin said:

"..... Why have we never had as many women as men in the Party .... Why is the number of women workers organised in trade unions so small? Facts give food for thought. The rejection of the necessity for separate bodies for our work among the women masses is a conception allied to those of our highly principled and most radical friends of the Communist Labour Party. According to them there must be only one form of organisation, workers' unions. I know them. Many revolutionary but confused minds appeal to principle 'whenever ideas are lacking'. That is, when the mind is closed to the sober facts, which must be considered. How do such guardians of 'pure principle' square their ideas with the necessities of the revolutionary policy historically forced upon us? All that sort of talk breaks down before inexorable necessity....."

(A Dialogue with Clara Zetkin)

The validity of the policy of building separate women organization based on the recognition of concrete implications of the specific reality of male-oppression in class society, was corroborated not only by the experience of Russian and Chinese revolutions, but also by the experience of class struggle and struggle against male-chauvinism during the building of socialist society and the transitional period in these countries.

So, the question of building or not building of the separate mass organization of women is not a real point of demarcation between the communist approach and narrow feminist approach. It is the question of orientation of the women's organization, which on the question of organization becomes real point of demarcation between these two approaches.

Whereas it is important on the question of women's movement and organization to be built during the stage of new democratic

revolution that broad masses of laboring women should become the mainstay of the movement and organization, it is also important that women related to all of the subservient classes become the part of this movement and organization. Therefore the women organization to be built happens to be the common platform of the women related to different subservient classes.

.....

The task of preparing basis for building of women's movement is not the task of our women activists alone. The advancement towards this goal depends on the combined efforts of all of our activists. All of our activists should not only be helpful in every possible and proper way in the efforts of the women activists for this purpose, but the efforts for making the masses of women take to the revolutionary activity should also be an inalienable and constant part of their own activity. The class/sectional organizations under our leadership should not only make vigorous efforts for activating the women of the concerned classes/sections on the collective demands of these sections, but should also give due place in their class/sectional struggles to the problems of women of the concerned class/section and should give fight against the male-chauvinist trends becoming impediments in doing so. Apart from this, as a part of the general task of expansion of revolutionary democratic consciousness and movement these organizations should not miss exhibiting their due concern and activity regarding the issues of democratic rights of women. Our party activists in their entire dealings should adopt a democratic attitude towards women. In their domestic family life they should behave with their women on the basis of equality. While tackling disputes in family life they should strictly avoid exercising male domineering attitude, rather should adopt persuasive methods - should avoid using harsh words and abusive language. Beating, slapping or thrashing wives should be considered for our activists as prohibited. All party activists should bring such matters in the notice of concerned party bodies. Even non-party women related to our activists may bring such issues in our notice.

At some times, such issues of dispute may arise in the family life which, not being properly solved, can become the cause for mutual bitterness and irritation. Party activists should keep this in mind that difference of outlook or understanding regarding the concerned issues might be underlying in such cases. Solving such issues through threatening language or drubbing might not only be counter-

productive, but also is incompatible with communist revolutionary character. Being developed and conscious revolutionary personalities, party activists are expected to remain calm in tense situations and not forsake democratic outlook and behavior. At the time of division of family properties, our activists should not only uphold women family members' right to properties they should also demand, on their initiative, that they be given that right. There should be no contradiction in the position of our activists - as taken in the family and as taken outside the family.

### **Appendix - 3:**

## ***Globalization and Revolutionary Movement of Women***

### ***[From Political Resolution of CPRCI (ML), 1997]***

The unconstrained exploitation that "globalization" sanctions is leaving no scope for women to submit to it in normal routine ways. It is, thus, objectively propelling women into resistance in extraordinary numbers. As they face the State's open partisanship with their oppressors, women are being increasingly drawn into the political arena.

As domestic workers within their families and as victims of patriarchal values, women of the vast toiling masses are bearing most of all the crushing physical burden of rapidly sliding living standards. They are sharing the havoc wreaked on their loved ones by job losses and utter uncertainty, uprooting from homes and displacement, and hunger following steep price increases in staple foods.

Women who work outside the domestic arena are facing the worst consequences, within their class, of the general degradation of labour power: On the one hand, they are the first targets for deprivation of permanency, facilities and security at the workplace. On the other, women's ever-ready cheaper and more exploitable labour is enabling employers to pit them in competition with men workers, further pulling down overall wage levels and security.

As the role of violence in the settling of social and class issues is heightening, and as their men folk are becoming targets of the increasing violence, women are becoming indirect victims of it. Moreover, women, too, more and more are becoming direct victims of such violence. In particular, the communal fascistic policies, in relation to women, of the ruling classes and their gangs have been

further eroding women's social position. The unimaginable atrocities on women, especially of the religious minorities by Hindu communal fascists, during the series of communal carnages of this period; the tormenting and abuse of women by the Khalistani and State terrorists; and the targetting of women of Kashmir and the North-East by the armed forces; these are all outstanding examples of this.

The cultural onslaught on women is cumulatively fierce in this period from both the feudal and the imperialist planes. Television serials have officially been dinning in the most reactionary interpretations of the Sita-Savitri-Draupadi stereotypes as ideals upon Indian women. Massive and unremitting consumerist advertising through all the media, and multi-crore beauty contests and rewards, are promoting the most insulting practices about the "necessity" of women's "physical charms and desirability". The other face of this is that women's worse-than-ever economic position is exposing them more than ever to sexual use and oppression, including prostitution.

The social cultural impact of "beauty consumerism" is felt primarily by the urban intermediate sections who are now beginning in small numbers to protest against such degradation. The suffering women of the toiling classes are finding vent in sporadic but powerful actions. ....

So militant and receptive to democratic mobilisation are the broad masses of women showing themselves to be, that the ruling classes are having to resort to their pet offering of reservations for women--from in panchayats to parliament; and state governments have been drafting special "policies for women" to mislead them with crooked promises for their betterment.

In this period the women are a potent force for revolution. Revolutionaries must give particular attention to methods for mobilising them not only on their own questions but for various general political and cultural aspects of the mass revolutionary movement. Beyond this, communist revolutionaries must develop the more advanced among them as proletarian forces, striving organisationally to free them from helpless dependence for social security and respectability on established social institutions such as the family.

Punjab:

## *Increasing Tempo of Struggle on Peasant Issues*

A Correspondent from the Peasant Front

Seven peasant organizations of Punjab are locked in a stiff fight with the government of Punjab over the issues of peasant indebtedness, suicides, land reforms and employment etc. It can but be a tough fight as the issues involved contained in themselves a basic clash of class interests and concerns of both the sides.

Experience of class struggle in general and that of recent peasant struggles in Punjab shows that the rulers of the time adopt, from the very beginning, an indifferent, intolerant and inimical attitude to such struggles and try to nip them in the bud, because these struggle are ultimately directed against feudalism, usury and imperialism and tend to move in the direction contrary to the direction of their cherished model of development. For instance, in the end of the year 2004, peeved at the failure of his government to execute a land attachment, despite the deployment of police force of seven districts, in face of stiff, massive and militant resistance by the Bhartiya Kissan Union (Ekta) Ugrahan, the then CM Capt. Amarinder Singh launched a reign of terror for months together to suppress this militant mass organization. Similarly, later on in March 2013, the Badal government initiated a month long suppression campaign against the same organization simply in the name of preventing it from holding a peaceful sit-in demonstration in front of the district courts of Bathinda over the basic issues of the peasantry such as indebtedness, suicides and land reforms etc.

On the contrary, the same experience also corroborates that such issues being so closely related the basic interests of overwhelming majority of the peasantry (including almost all of agricultural laborers) it is not so easy for the rulers to browbeat or subdue them if the organization leading them treads cautiously; applies mass line correctly; prepares the whole organization politically, organizationally and mentally; never feels satisfied with the already mobilized masses and reaches out to newer and newer sections, especially the concerned ones; makes them conscious of their rights; raises the tempo of movement through a process of mobilizations and agitational actions in-between; and puts pressure on the government in advantageous situation on the basis of fully mobilized forces. It is the pattern depending on which the BKU (Ekta)

Ugrahan achieved so many successes on the question of indebtedness, land attachments (including some prestigious ones) and acquisition of land etc. It is the same pattern basing on which it has pressurized the Badal government to concede 2 lacs as compensation to the aggrieved families in the cases of suicides, along with a government job to one member of such families; it was pressurized to get the survey of suicide cases conducted through universities. To include suicides of agricultural laborers in such a survey (whom nobody was ready till then to consider neither the government nor the university intellectuals; to give compensation to the families of those who committed suicide not because of debt but because of economic distress. No doubt the callous reactionary government did not implement for years its own official orders. So, it was again in February 2014 that basing on the above mentioned pattern, the BKU (Ekta) Ugrahan and Punjab Khet Mazdoor Union, with full preparations and mobilization, organized a sit-in for six long days and nights and then in a decisive action on seventh morning, whole of the secretariat of Distt. Bathinda was totally blocked (which encompasses the offices of DC, ADC, IG, DIG and SSP). None was allowed to enter these offices. So the DC had to declare a holiday for the employees of these offices, and consequently major portion of the demands was accepted; 96 crore rupees had to be distributed in cash within two days to 4800 aggrieved families; letters to the DCs were issued for sorting out the anomalies of the survey as well as the cases of those who committed suicide because of economic distress; 150 plots were handed over to the agricultural laborers immediately while letters for thousands of others were issued (though the government later backed out on the pretext of code of conduct) and so many other demands of the lower peasants and agricultural workers were conceded.

Seen in the above mentioned experience and pattern of the peasant struggles, the present struggle action to launch a permanent morcha (agitation) at the Matka chowk in Chandigarh (starting from 5th of September) should not be considered as an isolated action but should be considered as part and parcel of the previous mass actions which were organized as a build up for the decisive action over these issues. We mention some such important mass actions here which reveal both of the above mentioned aspects the out and out callous, indifferent and obstinate attitude of the state government as well as the sound basis for the decisive action.

The first among such actions was the five day long regular sit-ins in front of the DC offices of 12 districts organized by BKU (Ekta) Ugrahan. Thousands of peasants (almost 15 thousand each day) along with women sat before the DC offices shouting slogans for their demands but none took note of that; not to speak of state government calling them for talks even the lower officers did not bother. Second such action was caused by whitefly attack on cotton, damaging 80-85 percent of the crop and consequently devastating the economy of the peasants especially of those who had taken land on rent. As a result there was a new spurt in the phenomenon of suicides. From eight to ten thousands of peasants (nearly half of them women) full of rage and anger participated daily in this action organized by eight peasant organizations with the support of seven agricultural laborers organizations from 17th to 28th of September in front of the DC office in Bathinda. But none took note of it. Then they took this sit-in to all districts of the State. In which thousands participated daily for six days. Even then none took note of it. It has become clear that pesticides supplied were spurious. It was also known that the companies have bribed the ministers and the agriculture officers but nothing much was done. The peasants, under the leadership of 8 peasant and 4 agri-labor organizations, then resorted to rail action. They blocked the rail traffic throughout Punjab that remained blocked for six long days. On last day of the jam, more than 25 thousand of peasants and agriculture laborers participated in this action. For five days, none took note of this action which even had dislocated 188 trains and caused loss of 1 thousand millions to the Railways. On the sixth day, leaders of the agitation were called for talks by the CM, but only to tell: "Coffers of the state are empty we cannot do more than what we had done." The only achievement was the allotment of 64.5 crores to the agricultural laborers for loss of their employment. But that too was given out of the 640 crores already allotted to peasants under the pressure of the agitation. (Before that the government had allotted a meagre sum of only 10 crores for the purpose.) Any how the meagre compensation allotted to agricultural laborers has political importance of its own as it is for the second time in the recent history of peasant struggles in Punjab that agricultural laborers were considered part of the peasantry. (The first instance being the Gobindpura village where more than 125 agricultural laborer families were given 3 lacs each as compensation for the acquisition of peasants' land for the Peona Power Thermal Plant.

One of the most important mass-action that was totally ignored by the state government and its administration was the mass sit-in at Bathinda under the leadership of BKU (Ekta) Ugrahan. In the weather in which it was difficult to come out of room and in so busy a season of paddy transplantation in which it was hardly possible to spare anyone from the family for this sit-in, it was for 50 long days that one thousand to 17-18 hundred of agitators (one third of them being women) participated in the action. The transportation expenditure for which amounted to more than a lac daily. But none took notice of such a massive and prolonged action. But on the last day, when the Union wanted to hold a state level gathering to announce the next programme of action, large contingents of police force were deployed to prevent them from coming to the stage. Despite the restrictions and barricades more than thousand peasants reached the city and 7 thousand came on to the roads and, despite the police raids on their houses and arrests of more than thousand activist, roads were blocked at about half a dozen places which were cleared only when all the arrested were got released.

No doubt, the experience of this major mass struggle has exposed the utterly callous, indifferent and highly adamant of the Badal government towards the demands of the masses of the peasants (including the agricultural laborers). On the other hand the experience of these struggles has laid a sound favorable ground for the next decisive actions of theirs, by making them clear:

- that nothing else but the anti-people, anti-national policies of the state and their cherished model of development are responsible for the destitution and suicides of the peasants and agricultural laborers.

- that the devastation caused by the white fly attack on the cotton crop was not as much a natural calamity as it was a man-made calamity caused by the high corruption of the state government and its agriculture department.

- that real character and role of the Badal government is totally anti-peasant, anti-people and not that of a Panthak government or a pro-peasant government as it likes itself to be called.

- that no other parliamentary political party can serve their interests as all of these are faithful to the same corporate model of development and they implement it enthusiastically.

- that only solution to their problems, lies in the organized and mobilized strength of the masses along with the fighting unity with

other laboring classes and sections.

- that the communal and other diversionary moves of the ruling classes are only meant for weakening and breaking the class unity of the people and should be fought back basing on the class unity.

- that the parliamentary elections create illusions and confusions regarding their demands and divert their attention from their real demands. Hence, the need to focus on the basic demands.

- that there exists no real democracy for the peasants and agricultural laborers they snatch it at their will. Only democracy for them is which they attain through struggle.

These powerful struggles have toned up and strengthened the concerned organizations with highly raised mobilizations; with outstretched reach to newer and newer villages and newer and newer sections; with ever-growing participation of women and youth in such struggles; with enhanced level of peasant labor unity; with new waves of activists leading teams and speakers; with highly enhanced faith in the leadership of the struggles and ultimately with the robust mood of the masses as a result of the enlivened hopes of newer victories.

All these factors constitute the solid favorable basis for the next decisive stages of the struggle especially so when the political credibility of the Badal government is at the lowest ebb, when it stands extremely alienated from among the people; having no justification or plausible explanation for its present role and attitude towards the struggles, and when it stands awfully cornered not only by the massive militant struggles of the people, but also by its political rivals vying for their share of vote bank among the peasants.

Hectic preparations being made by all the concerned organizations is an added advantage in this respect. But around 65 hundred youth, on nearly 35 hundred motorcycles under the leadership of BKU (Ekta) Ugrahan marching through almost all blocks of the Malwa belt, with vernal (revolutionary color of Bhagat Singh) turbans on their heads was a treat to watch and needs a mention here. So huge a contingent of much sought after force of youth in the peasant movement for so long, apart from being a force to reckon with in the present struggle, might infuse a new life in the peasant, provide much needed layers of heirs to the leadership, may become a force for the defense of the movement and the leadership, and influenced by Bhagat Singh's legacy, may become a source of enhanced radical political awakening among the peasant masses.

*(... contd. from outside)*

(3) Morpho L-1 Identity. The third of these has in its management the persons having CIA connection. Other than that, look at the work of Homeland US Security of America's military intelligence agency, notorious over the world. Sir, there's a CIA director Mr. George Tenet, he is director of this company now. Along with that Israel's secret agency is also connected with it. So, CIA, Israel, Mosad, third world countries, disaster ..... this company is responsible for providing the world with the false intelligence about the presence of chemical weapons in Iraq through CIA. Our respected Ram Gopal ji is present here, and many other Congress leaders are present too, who went to jail for few days at the time of Smt. Indira Gandhi's arrest, and we spent more time. It is actually like the jail manual. People from the days of Emergency are also present here. When we enter the jail, they take our thumb impression, as is being done here (in UID programme). The day we leave the jail, all the records close. These will now be kept in it (UID card). Sir, I want to say that whether it's a money bill or not, that's not my concern, but I have a question which asks for an answer that are we going to hand over all the secrets that we have to American or other companies through this? And which will become a potential threat to the national security.

Respected Manmohan Singh ji .... I have the documents that for many of the ministers of your cabinet the project was no good. I don't want to name them ..... but I saw in newspapers. Even at your time, there was no unanimity over it, but the UID card ..... (time bell rings) .... Sir, I am saying that there's full potential that this card will be misused at the international level, either it is America's CIA or Israel's company .... In this way, the entire population of ours, each type of its impressions will be there with America, will be shared with them. Thank you very very much."

*(from Janta Dal United Leader KC Tyagi's  
speech in Rajya Sabha on March 16th)*

UID (Aadhar) Card

## ***Hitler's Legacy and CIA Connection Comes to Light in Parliament***

"..... Sir I want to say that all the developed countries, including European countries and America, once decided to start a distinct identity card based on biometric data. But as these countries came to realize the dangers involved, the projects were stopped midway. Sir, I have these half a dozen of newspapers with me, one of these is run by a friend of our leader in New Delhi Chandarshekhar ji. The papers write, first, "UID card is a unique scandal." Second, "UID card reminds Nazis. The card is dangerous." Third, "Modi government should answer these questions. UID card is dangerous." Fourth, "The rule of law has come to an end in the country." Sir, first thing is that there is an order by Supreme Court regarding this and it is clearly explained that UID card is not obligatory. Second, government should take back its orders to make it obligatory for all. I want to tell the respected members from both the sides about the orders of Mumbai High Court in this regard. There was an order in connection with terrorists by Mumbai High Court that they can share the data with foreign companies in matters involving terrorists! How do you define a terrorist!! Sir, it is not be restricted to this. Such things happened at the time of Nazis too. My purpose here is not to compare one with the other, but such cards were made even there. As the year 1938 was mentioned just a little ago ..... so Nazis, Hitler also made the cards. A machine called Hollerith D-11 is kept in a museum in Washington DC, which was used by the Germans to identify Jews. It was made available at that time by IBM. This company now has a connection with the Nandan Nilekani's company, which is manufacturing it (UID Card) now.

Sir, one thing more that three companies are chosen for UID.

(1) Accenture, (2) Mahindra Satyam and

(... contd. inside)