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**SELECTED WRITINGS  
OF COMRADE  
CHANDRA PULLAREDDY**

**II VOLUME**

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Printed and Published  
By  
Central Committee  
**COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
(MARXIST-LENINIST)**





**CHANDRA PULLA REDDY**



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## FOREWORD

*Written by Com. Madhusudhan Raj*

*On the occasion of the third death anniversary of Comrade Chandra Pulla Reddy the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) pays revolutionary homage to its leader and to the thousands of martyrs who had laid down their lives for the cause of revolution. In memory of these martyrs the Central Committee places before you the Second volume of the selected writings of Comrade CP. These articles written by him pertain to the period after the historic break with the neo-revisionists-- the CPM.*

*This Volume contains mainly the polemical writings of Comrade CP, as the title indicates. This Critique of various pronounced wrong trends within the Communist revolutionary movement spans a long period from the historic Naxalbari peasant uprising. The concepts enunciated in the struggle against the right and left deviations are not only relevant but necessary too in the contemporary situation, for developing the revolutionary movement. The formulations made by Comrade CP continue to be guiding principles for the Indian Revolution.*

*The various articles also show the developmental process of the various concepts within the revolutionary movement.*

*Comrade CP Reddy having understood the necessity and importance of Agrarian Revolution in India strove hard to make this the central concept in all the debates with in the communist revolutionary movement. He undertook a deep study of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. He always strove to integrate the basic ideological postulates of Marxism with the concrete conditions and problems of Indian revolution. He placed the concept of*

*Peoples War path in its correct perspective and against its distortion. 'Annihilation of individual class enemies no united front with the democratic classes' 'all secret work, no open work', 'no mass work' etc. all manifestations of left adventurism had been thoroughly exposed in the writings of Comrade CP as gross vulgarisation of the very concept of Peoples War.*

*With the success of the struggle against the left deviation, new concepts cropped up i.e. the wrong concepts of united fronts. It was argued that the working class can go for general political united front's with the opposition sections of the ruling classes, after having decided the main enemy. So the concept always joining with the lesser against the greater danger was defeated by Comrade C.P. He stressed the independent movement of the toiling masses. He brought forth the significance of the class struggles of the workers and peasants while utilising the contradictions within the ruling classes. He could thus foresee essence of the calls of patriotic and democratic, anti-authoritarian, secular and democratic, left and democratic united front etc. All these he said are useful to one section of the ruling classes. These calls leave aside the agrarian revolution and the new democratic united front of the 4 democratic classes.*

*With the participation in elections this wrong concept of united front with one section of the ruling classes was extended to electoral alliances with opposition parties. Here again Com. CP drew lessons from the experiences of Russia, other countries and the practise in India. He stated that electoral alliances and agrarian resolution are incompatible.*

*Then this right trend took another form i.e. restraining class struggle, not allowing the extension of resistance struggle, legalisation, open party organisation. The later articles of Com. CP Reddy reflect the struggles against these trends.*

*Finally the article on party organisation dwells deep into*

*the wrong concepts and practices of the disruptors, in the question of party building. He showed how wrong political thought resorts to wrong organisational measures i.e. disruption. He stressed the need for building the correct, well disciplined party organisation based on honesty, sincerity, revolutionary discipline, democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism and sacrifice. The bitter class struggle is equally or rather more bitter within the communist movement.*

*This volume therefore refers the bitter struggles.*

*Dear friends and Comrades.*

*On this occasion, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) once again reaffirms its convictions and pledges to carry forward the revolutionary movement. We hope that this volume with its tremendous value will also help deepen the understanding of the communist revolutionaries in tackling the problems faced by the Indian revolution.*

*Revolutionary homage to thousands of martyrs!*

*Red salutes to Comrade C.P. Reddy*

**9-11-87**

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
(MARXIST-LENINIST)**

# CONTENTS

1. OPPORTUNISM OF THE CPM AND ITS CONTRADICTIONS..... 1-19
2. CPC-CPM RELATIONS AN OPPORTUNIST ALLIANCE..... 20-27
3. THE POLITICS OF DV RAO AND HIS UCCRI.. 28-66
4. OUR DIFFERENCES WITH THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL ALTERNATIVE.:..... 67-98
5. PERVERTED BRAINS OF THE SPLITTERS..... 99-110
6. THE PEOPLES WAR GROUP : ITS RIGHT DEVIATION AND LEFT ADVENTURIST TACTICS..... 111-144
7. PEOPLES WAR PATH - LESSONS OF CHINA (FROM THE MILITARY WRITINGS OF COMRADE MAO)..... 145-214
8. BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TO DEFEAT FASCISM..... 215-218
9. SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE PATH OF PEOPLES WAR IN INDIA..... 219-257
- 10.PYLA-MADALA CLIQUE- AN ANTI PARTY CLIQUE : LIES AND FACTS..... 258-272

# OPPORTUNISM OF THE CPM AND ITS CONTRADICTIONS

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The growing economic and political crisis in the country, the growing dissatisfaction of the masses, the growing people's struggles throughout the country, though most of them of a spontaneous character, above all the growing rivalry of the two super powers for domination over our country, with the Soviet Union having the upper hand, have been increasing the divisions between the various sections of the ruling classes and their parties and increasing the instability of the ruling classes as a whole.

This has been resulting in continuous splits in each ruling class party. The Congress has been split thrice already. The Janata Party split four times already. The Lokdal has already been split. The Akali Party has been split. Even then, the present ruling class parties including the ruling Indira Congress Party are faced with increasing dissidence in their own ranks.

Now this virus has spread to the CPI. With the open encouragement of Indira Gandhi, the Dange faction, the architect of revisionism in India, has split away from the official CPI.

For all outside appearances, the CPI pretends to be united. If you look at the CPM, right from 1968, first the communist revolutionaries broke away from it, since then small groups have been breaking away from the CPM. How and then some local groups broke away from CPM in West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Karnataka in Kerala in many places local CPM cadres are joining RSS. Now the news comes that one CPM-MLA from Punjab, Daya Singh, has joined the Congress (I), because as per his statement, he has now found more progressivism in the Indira's policies, than in CPM.

The CPM leadership has been trying to cover up these, frequent cracks in its ranks through its hold over the provincial ministries in Tripura, West Bengal and Kerala.

There are inherent contradictions between CPM's declared policies and its actual practices, its political professions and its actual practices. Its political opportunism is coming out more and more nakedly. These contradictions are bound to lead to greater dissensions and internal crisis. CPM cannot escape from facing such a situation.

Look at these contradictions and its political opportunism more deeply.

***1. Is it equi-distant between CPSU and CPC ?***

The claim of the CPM leadership has always been that it is opposed to the "right deviation" of the the CPSU and the "left-adventurism" of the CPC, that it is alone following correct Marxism-Leninism, and that it stands for the unity of the whole world "Communist" movement. But its practice is entirely in the opposite direction, always opposing the CPC and always supporting the CPSU on all international issues.

Let us look at the facts. The CPM continues to oppose the Three World Theory, still being upheld by the present CPC leadership even after the death of Comrade Mao. It is opposed to Mao Tse Tung Thought. It is opposed to the major aspects of the internal policy of the CPC.

On the other hand, the CPM leadership has been consistently supporting all the imperialist aggressions of the Soviet Union abroad- the occupation of Czechoslovakia, its intervention in Angola, Yemen, its support to Ethiopia against Somalia, its support to Vietnam's aggression against Kampuchea, Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the deceptive "Peace" plans of the Soviet Union-its threat of intervention in the Internal policies of Poland etc.

There is not a single issue of international importance on which the CPM dared to oppose the CPSU. There is not a single issue of international importance on which the CPM leadership dared to support the position of the CPC.

Till very recently the CPM leadership has been putting out stories in the daily press that it was going to renew the relations with the CPC on Party to Party basis, that its delegation was going to China for discussions, that it was working for unity between CPC and CPSU.

But practice proved otherwise. In the wake of the threat of the Indira Congress Central government to topple the CPM led government all this deceptive talk evaporated and of late the CPM leadership is more openly coming out to condemn China of "siding" with US imperialism. The General Secretary of the CPM has openly condemned China for "hobnobbing" with US imperialism. A few days back, Jyoti Basu openly declared that China was conspiring with US imperialism and Pakistan against India, and that Indira Gandhi was not sufficiently rousing the people against this conspiracy of China. What proletarian internationalism can there be a more

**shameful statement from one who claims himself to be a communist? Is it not a blatant lie? Let us remember that Basu is telling this blatant lie when the foreign minister of China is coming to India for talks, when our foreign minister is going to Pakistan for talks i.e. when intensive triangular discussions between China-Pakistan-India are in the offing.**

**Thus one can easily see the contradiction between the professions of CPM leadership to be equi-distant between CPSU and CPC and its practice of shameful support to the social imperialist policies of the Soviet Union.**

**How does the CPM leadership defend its policies on this ?**

**Its only defence is that Soviet Union is a Socialist country and not a social imperialist country. Because it did not like open support of the Soviet Union to the Emergency rule of Indira Gandhi, which came in conflict with it's own pretention of opposition to Indira's rule, the CPM leadership says that the CPSU leadership commits some mistakes of "right" deviation. This is the only point of difference between CPSU and CPM.**

**About this "right deviation" of the CPSU, the CPM leadership has been speaking for the last 17 years. Even after this long period of practice, according to the CPM, right deviation does not become revisionism. What is the root of right deviation in CPSU, according to the CPM. Is it not a reflection of bourgeois elements and bourgeois thinking? Enough evidence has come before the world to show that Socialism has been destroyed and capitalism restored in the Soviet Union after the death of Comrade Stalin.**

**We could see the restoration of capitalism nakedly in the Soviet Union's policy of social imperialism abroad, particularly in the export of capital and economic and political pressures on the Third World countries for domination, struggle for spheres of influence, arms race, rivalry with US imperialism for world domination and finally series of imperialist aggressions against other countries. Is there any difference between the practices of US imperialism and Soviet Union on all these issues ? None.**

**How does the CPM leadership justify these aggressions of the Soviet Union? They say that Soviet Union is not committing aggression but helping liberation movement in other countries.**

**Does Marxism-Leninism justify these aggressions in the name of support to liberation movements? Never, There is not a single word in the whole Marxist-Leninist literature to justify such dastardly actions.**

Only during the last stages of the Second World War the Red Army under the leadership of Stalin advanced upto Berlin, to fight Hitler's fascist armies and thus helped in the liberation of Europe from fascism. But that was a war situation.

So no amount of lies and deceptions from the CPM leadership can cover up the imperialist aggressions of Soviet social imperialists.

## ***2. Fake opposition to imperialism-real support to Soviet social imperialism.***

The CPM leadership claims to be the champion of struggle against imperialism particularly US imperialism in India, but in practice they are covering up the growing exploitation of our country by Soviet social imperialism in India, its growing economic and political domination in the country, attempts to convert our country into its neo colony. Another contradiction of the CPM between its professions and practice.

The CPM leadership claims that India is a 'fully sovereign' country, while the reality is otherwise. The big-bourgeois-big landlord classes ruling our country today are comprador in nature, subservient to imperialism and social imperialism and thus helping the domination of imperialism over our country.

The CPM leadership claims that Soviet Union is a "socialist" country and that help to India is "self-less" aid meant to fight against imperialism. But this is another blatant lie and deception.

The Soviet Union in competition with other imperialist powers had begun to enter the Indian market on a big scale with the beginning of the Second Five year plan. Since private industries had already been monopolised by the Western powers, it began to enter the public sector in the name of industrialising the country. Its investments in India are already more than Rs. 500 crores, and by the time the latest promises of "aid" are implemented it is going to reach Rs. 1000 crores. It already occupies the first or second place in our export and import trade. It already dominates our steel, heavy machine tools, electrical machinery, and oil refinery industries. It has got new facilities to enter coal and cement. It is entering our agricultural front too.

With Soviet help the public sector has already reached the commanding heights of our country.

**But if we go deeper into this question, Soviet help to our public sector bears the following characteristics.**

**— Our public sector industries are meant to build the infrastructure industries which our industrialists are not in a position to build on their own. So they are built with public money to enable the growth of private industries. That is why along with the growth of public sector industries, private industries too, belonging to comprador bourgeoisie and imperialist powers have grown. The Soviet help to our public sector industries has only helped in drawing more capital from the western countries into our country.**

**— Soviet Union is using its “help” to our country, to convert our country into its market, to sell its out-dated machinery and technology at high rates and to purchase raw materials from our country for its use at cheaper rates, exploiting the country from both sides.**

**Soviet Union helps certain industries in India, the produce from some of which it purchases at low prices. This is so particularly in some of the engineering industries.**

**It is also utilising the industries like oil refinery, only to refine the crude from the Soviet Union and sell it in India.**

**Thus Soviet Union is using its “help” to India to sell its goods in India, and to capture our market just as any other imperialist power.**

**The Soviet Union is building certain semi-processing industries in India in the form of joint industries to produce certain semi-processed goods and purchase the whole produce from these industries at cheap rates and give a final shape in their own country, thus depriving our country of the surplus value produced by our workers. This is nothing but the old imperialist practice of exploiting the colonial and semi-colonial countries.**

**- The Soviet “aid” to the Indian big bourgeois, big landlord classes has never helped in building an independent self-sufficient economy free from imperialist economy.**

**- The Soviet Union has never helped to train our engineers or technicians to build such industries on their own. On the other hand it is the imperialists who are competing with the Soviet Union to enter our Public Sector industries.**

**The Bhilai Steel industry, built with the help of the Soviet Union has**

not enabled our engineers to build other steel industries on our own. But the British and the West Germans have entered the steel industry.

The Soviet 'help' to our oil refinery industry has not enabled our country to build refinery industries on our own. But the other imperialist powers are building other refinery complexes. Now the prospecting for new oil resources in the country has been thrown open to the imperialist multi-nationals. Many other examples could be cited.

The trade between India and the Soviet Union is on the rupee basis. It is mainly connected with the public sector industries. But the private industries are still dominated by the Western powers and the native big bourgeoisie. So the increase of trade with the Soviet Union has not helped in decreasing the dependence on the Western powers. On the other hand it is increasing. The balance of payments to the disadvantage of India is increasing. And our foreign debt has already reached nearly Rs. 25,000 Crores. Yearly payments towards these debts is already eating up nearly half of our exports.

In short the more the Soviet capital in India, the more the Western capital in India. The more the Soviet capital in India the more the loans from the Western powers, particularly from Us imperialism.

The reality today is that while the Soviet Union keeping its dominance over the Public Sector industries, is trying to enter the private industries. Us imperialism and other western powers, while keeping their dominance in the private industries, are trying to enter the Public Sector.

Just like the old imperialist powers, the Soviet Union is using its economic position in the country, to gain political and military domination over our country. It is buying or controlling dailies and weeklies to defend its policies. Through various corruptive practices, it is trying to get control over our educational institutions. It is trying to gather various sections of the ruling classes in support of its policies.

Apart from pro-Soviet elements in other ruling class parties, the Indira Congress, the CPI and CPM are the main Soviet allies in our country.

In addition, the Soviet Union has almost got the monopoly of supply of military hardware to our government.

Thus we can see that Soviet Union dominates the public sector, the

commanding heights of our economy. It is in a better position to influence the internal and external policies of the country in its favour than Western powers.

As part of their rivalry for world domination, both the Super powers, USA and Soviet Union are contesting for domination over our country, with the Soviet Union having the upper hand. Now with the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan, the danger of our country becoming a neo-colony of the Soviet Union is greater today.

Thus one could see that inspite of all the big claims of the CPM leadership to the contrary, its policies are only helping the economic, political and military domination of both the super powers in India. This only shows the CPM is fighting neither against Soviet imperialism nor against US imperialism, except in words with regard to the latter.

Thus one could see another big contradiction between the claim of the CPM leadership to be the champion of struggle against imperialism but in practice helping to strengthen the imperialist hold over our country. By not recognising Soviet 'aid' as imperialist and in fact by glorifying it as 'socialist' 'self-less' aid, the CPM is actually strengthening the domination of Soviet social imperialism over our country.

### ***3. Professing Proletarian internationalism and practicing the worst kind of national chauvinism in the service of the ruling classes***

The CPM leadership which claims to be a 'Marxist-Leninist' Party always proclaims to be strictly following the principles of Proletarian internationalism, but in practice has gone to such low depths of national chauvinism on many issues - to gain the approval of the ruling classes and serve them better. Here there is another contradiction between its declared policy and its practice. Let us look at the following facts.

— Ours is a multinational state, where many nationalities are inhabiting our country and the problem of nationalities exists, leading to various contradictions and conflicts in the political life of the country.

Marxism-Leninism has advocated Self-determination for nationalities, including the right of secession combining it with the preservation of unity of the country on the basis of voluntary agreement of all the nationalities inhabiting in a multinational state.

The big bourgeois big landlord classes in our country, in their drive

for complete control of the All India market, never recognise the equality of nationalities and the right of Self determination of nationalities. They suppress the national aspirations of the backward nationalities.

The CPM leadership (the CPI too) in order to curry the favour of the ruling classes has come out against the application of right of Self determination for nationalities to the Indian conditions, with its "profound" analysis that in India there are no oppressor and oppressed nationalities as in Tzarist Russia. The absurdity of this 'theory' can be easily understood if we remember that comrade Stalin argued for the retention of the right of self determination for nationalities in the 1936 Constitution even under conditions of socialism.

With this pretext they refuse to recognise the right of self determination for Mizoram and Nagaland or any other North-Eastern state. They refuse to recognise the Right of Self determination for J&K. With this pretext, they shamelessly supported the annexation of Sikkim by the Indian government.

— They refused to see the expansionist nature of the Indian ruling classes. It is because of their expansionist nature that the Indian classes always rods national chauvinism in our people against Pakistan, Bangladesh and China leading to perpetual wars and conflicts, diverting and disrupting the revolutionary struggle of our people.

They shamelessly supported all wars of expansionism engineered by the Indian ruling classes with the support of Soviet social imperialism against Pakistan and its dismemberment.

Now the CPM leadership is in the forefront of the national chauvinist propaganda against Bangladesh on the Farakka issue.

They are in full agreement with Indira Gandhi in condemning Pakistan, in its efforts to secure arms for its own self-defence and condemn it as US conspiracy. They have gone to such low depths as to denounce China as conspiring with Pakistan and US imperialism against India, while in reality China is making efforts to improve relations with India.

They are condemning the just struggle of the Assam people and rousing Bengali chauvinism against the people of Assam.

*4. A Party of 'armed insurrection's in the cities and 'armed guerilla*

***Peasant struggle' IN WORDS, BUT a Party caught in the mire of  
Parliamentarism never to come back to the path of struggle***

The CPM leaders shout from house-tops that their is the only party of 'Revolution' in India, but in actual practice, it has been confirmed that it is going down in the mire of Parliamentarism, down the path of Millerandism, never to come back to the path of struggle and here we have got another inherent contradiction in the professions and practice of the CPM leadership. Let us look at this point more deeply.

At the time when the CPI and CPM leaderships betrayed the Great Telengana armed struggle of 1946-51 and took the path of parliamentary activities, all of them unanimously bellowed that they had kept the arms in 'secret' dumps, that their participation in Parliamentary institutions was only 'temporary' and would soon dig out the "secret' arms for armed struggle.

Thirty years have elapsed since these "heroic" statement were made by the CPI and CPM leadership. But this "temporary retreat" has never ended. Even after thirty years, the digging out of the "secret' arms dumps has never become a reality. The CPM leadership to make a show of revolution broke away from the CPI but parliamentarism has never stopped. On the other hand it is going down deeper and deeper along the road of Parliamentarism.

The CPM programme declares that when all avenues for peaceful transformation of society are exhausted, the people are bound to take to armed insurrection that CPM believes in armed insurrection in the cities combining it with armed peasant guerilla struggle in the rural areas. Under the mask of such "heroic' statements the CPM leadership has been engaged in the worst form of parliamentary opportunism.

Let us look at the theoretical absurdity of the CPM pundits on this question.

***Does it really believe in armed struggle ?***

If the CPM leadership really believes in what it says about "armed insurrection' in the cities and "armed peasant guerilla struggle' in the rural areas, why should it hate Mao Tse Tung Thoughts and the concept of People's War and take the communist revolutionaries as its main enemies in India at present? The very presentation of the question exposes the pretentions of the CPM leadership on the question of armed struggle.

## ***Participation in elections.***

It is true that Marxism-Leninism does advocate that we should participate in the Parliamentary institutions when the revolutionary movement is at low ebb or boycott the Parliamentary institutions when the revolutionary movement is sweeping the country. But Marxism-Leninism has always said that the aim of participation in or boycott of these institutions as the situation demands, is to advance the revolutionary movement in the country.

For revolutionaries, when they participate in elections the sole aim should be to use it for the propagation of revolutionary politics and strengthen revolutionary movement in the country. This participation should be combined with the strengthening of the class struggle outside with rousing and organising the people - the workers, peasants, students and government employees for anti imperialist and anti big bourgeois - big landlord struggles. In short, it should be combined with organising the people for resistance and thus advance the revolutionary movement in the country.

Does the practice of the CPM leadership have anything to do with this orientation ?

What are the revolutionary struggles led by the CPM or CPI leadership any where in the country? During the last 30 years of parliamentary participation, have they any where or at any time gone beyond economic and legal agitation ? If any clashes have taken place with the armed forces of the government it is nothing but a sponaneous character and inspite of the leadership's efforts to confine them to economism and legalism. The whole purpose of such an agitation has been to captalise on the dissatisfaction of the masses from one election to another.

Participation in and trying to capture various parliamentary institutions gram panchayats, Samities, Parishads, Assemblies and Parliament has been the only orientation of the CPM leadership combined with economic and legal agitation. Will an 'body seriously believe that such an orientation will ever lead to "insurrection" in the cities and "armed guerilla struggle" in the rural areas ?

## ***Opportunistic political alliances for electoral gains***

Participating in elections to advance the class struggles to advance the revolutionary movement in the country, as the situation demands, is

entirely different from electoral alliances with sections of the ruling class parties.

Where has Marxism-Leninism said that the working class party should make opportunistic alliances with sections of the ruling class parties for electoral gains ? While the CPI went for electoral alliance with the ruling Indira Congress Party during the Emergency, the CPM went in for the same kind of all alliances with opposition section of the ruling classes. That was the only difference between the CPI and CPM till 1977 general elections. Now the CPI too has begun to adopt the same tactics as the CPM.

In Support of such opportunistic alliances, the CPI and CPM are never tired of quoting to us from the teachings of Lenin from 'Left wing Communism'. But unfortunately for them, Left Wing Communism has explained when we should boycott the elections or when we should participate in the elections to advance the revolutionary struggle. Even when Lenin said that the small Communist Party of Britain should support the British Labour Party in those days, against the Liberals or Conservatives he called upon them to have friendly contest among the workers to find who has the greater strength there to decide the candidate. Does the practice of CPM have anything to do with the teachings of Lenin on this question ?

In 1936-37, during the days of Stalin, Dimitrov's report did advocate electoral alliances with Socialists, Republicans etc. on a clear cut programme of opposition to monopoly capitalism, opposition to Fascism and war. Does the practice of CPI and CPM anything to do with the teachings of Dimitrov's report ?

There is another ideological aspect to this question. Election agreements with any section of the ruling class parties is nothing but political united front with them. Based on Marxism-Leninism, when can the working class have a political united front with any section of the ruling classes ? Practice has so far shown us that in the developed capitalist countries, i.e.. Western countries and Japan etc., the working class had united front with sections of the ruling classes in the struggle against fascism or during times of foreign aggression against their countries as during the period of the Second world war.

In the vast colonial and semi-colonial countries, the working class can unite with sections of the ruling classes against foreign imperialist aggression, in the struggle against Emergency rule, like that of Indira Gandhi as in 1975-76, or when the country becomes the neo-colony of any of the two super powers or other imperialist powers. In other periods it is one of

utilising the contradictions of the various sections of the ruling classes on various issues...economic and political... To advance the peoples struggles against the common enemy, while exposing the reactionary policies of those with whom we unite.

From this, one can clearly see that the policies and practices of the CPI and CPM with regard to alliances has nothing to do with the interests of the class struggle or with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. It is sheer political opportunism in the interests of their Parliamentary path in opposition to class struggle and revolutionary struggle.

## **FORMATION OF MINISTRIES IN VARIOUS STATES**

The opportunism of the CPM leadership did not stop with opportunist political alliances with sections of the ruling classes for electoral gains. Now it has advanced to the level of capturing state power at the provincial levels, through elections. From 1957, this has become the main feature of the CPM tactics.

The CPM leadership is carving for power at the state level under the present big bourgeois-big landlord constitution which is completely reactionary, meant only to serve the interests of imperialism and social imperialism and our ruling classes - an instrument to suppress and exploit the common people of our country. Under this constitution, all power, financial and otherwise is mobilised by the centre, leaving only residuary powers to the state governments. Every Bill or Act of the State Assembly is to be signed either by the governor ----- nominated by the Centre, or by the President. The Central government can dismiss any state govt. at any time; state governments that it does not like and impose President's rule in that state.

Under this constitution, can the state governments do anything useful to the people, solve any of the basic problems of the people? Experience has proved that the CPM led governments in Tripura, West Bengal or Kerala can only implement certain reforms approved by the Central government and nothing else.

What ever reforms the CPM led governments have been able to introduce in these states, let us remember that they have never gone beyond the wishes of the ruling classes at the centre. They cannot touch any basic problems of the people - land to the tiller, living wages to the workers, nationalisation of industries, either of our big bourgeoisie or of the imperialists, the growing prices, growing black market, growing unemployment,

and growing tax burden on the people etc.

Of course one can welcome reforms, if they help to heighten the consciousness of the people for further struggles against the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system of exploitation in the country at present. Can anybody say that the reforms of the CPM led governments are heightening the consciousness of the people for further struggles against the present system of exploitation? The whole purpose of these reforms is to dull the consciousness of the people, to divert the attention of the people from the path of struggle and still further increase the parliamentary illusions of the people.

Does the existence of the CPM led governments in the three states help in increasing the tempo and consciousness of the people's struggles in other states as claimed by the CPM leadership? No. They have never gone beyond legal and economic agitation. It has only increased opportunism in the ranks of this Party for still more opportunistic alliances with ruling class parties, with landlord parties for petty electoral gains.

It cannot be otherwise. Today in order to save their governments, the CPM leaders and ministers oppose workers strikes in their states, side with Jotedars in their struggles against the peasants, they oppose glehrao by the workers, they shamelessly invite capital even from the imperialist multinational companies.

Thus one can see how these governments led by the CPM, instead of being instruments of "struggle" as their leaders preach, they have become in practice instruments of suppression. One should never forget how it was the CPM ministry in West Bengal in 1967 that suppressed the armed present struggle in Naxalbari. On the other hand, instead of serving as the instruments of 'struggle' these governments have become instruments to breed corruption at all levels of their party, to breed new bureaucrats in the villages, in the co-operative movement, in the Panchayats, Samities etc. They are only breeding 'new' peasant elements "new" landlord elements who are behaving worse than the old landlords.

Another question. Are any reforms useful to the people possible under the present conditions of extreme economic and political crisis? To say yes is nothing but deception.

Let us remember Lenin's teachings on the relation between reforms and revolution. Lenin says :

"On the other hand it is more advantageous to the working class for

the necessary changes in the direction of bourgeois democracy to take place by way of revolution and not by way of reform, because the path of reform is one of delay, procrastination, the painfully slow decomposition of the putrid parts of the national organism. It is the proletariat and the peasantry that suffer first of all most from that putrefaction. The revolutionary path is one of rapid amputation, which is the least painful to the proletariat, the path of immediate removal of what is putrescent the path of least compliance with and consideration for the monarch and abominable, vile, rotten and noxious institutions that go with it. (Lenin, Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution, p.45)

We have seen the practical results of the CPM led governments. Now let us discuss one fundamental theoretical question here. Does Marxism-Leninism agree that a working class party can accept power under reactionary constitutions? If so, under what conditions?

Marxism-Leninism has never said the working class should not assume power till a successful working class revolution takes place. There are occasions when the working class party gave a call for intermediate government with other forces, under specific conditions, to further advance the revolutionary struggle.

For instance, Comrade Lenin, in his famous article, 'Two tactics of Social democracy in the Democratic revolution' written in July 1905, gave the call for the "Provisional revolutionary government," even before the Tzarist government was overthrown.

But let us remember that Comrade Lenin gave the call in the beginning of the 1905 Revolution in Russia. The Third Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, in its resolution on "Provisional Revolutionary government" declared.:

a) That it is necessary to spread among the working class a concrete idea of the most probable course of the revolution, and of necessity, at certain moments in the revolution, for the emergence of a provisional revolutionary government, from which the proletariat will demand the realisation of all the immediate political and economic demands of our programme (the minimum programme).

b) That subject to the alignment of forces and other factors which cannot be exactly predetermined, representatives of our party may participate in the provisional revolutionary government for the purpose of waging a relentless struggle against all counter - revolutionary attempts and of de-

defending the independent interests of the working class.

c) That an indispensable condition for such participation is strict control of its representatives by the Party, and the constant safeguarding of the independence of Social democracy which strives for the complete socialist revolution, and consequently, is irreconcilably opposed to all the bourgeois parties.

d) That irrespective of whether participation of social democrats in the provisional revolutionary government is possible or not, we must propagate among the broadest sections of the proletariat the idea that armed proletariat led by Social democratic party must bring to bear constant pressure on the provisional government for the purpose of defending, consolidating and extending the against of the revolution.

(Lenin, Two tactics of Social democracy in the democratic revolution, P.16)

Explaining the significance of this resolution, Comrade Lenin against and again declared that this Provisional revolutionary government is an "organ of insurrection" that "in origin and basic character such a government must be an organ of popular uprising. Its formal purpose must be to serve as an instrument for convening a national constituent assembly. The content of its activities must be the implementation of the minimum programme of proletarian democracy, the only programme capable of safeguarding the interest of the people that has risen in revolt against the autocracy". (Ibid, P.20).

Answering the question whether it is permissible in principle for social democrats to participate in a provisional revolutionary government Lenin declared :

"It is permissible in principle for Social democrats to participate in a provisional revolutionary government (during the period of democratic revolution, the period of struggle for a republic). By this we once for all dissociate ourselves both from the anarchists, who answer this question in the negative in principle, and from the tail enders in social democracy (like Martynov and the new-Iskra supporters), who have tried to frighten us with the prospect of a situation in which it might prove necessary for us to participate in such a government". (Ibid, P.22).

*What for ?*

1) a relentless struggle against counter - revolutionary attempts.

2) The defence of the independent interest of the working class.

The formation of a Provisional revolutionary government and the participation of communists in such a government-Comrade Lenin described as organising Revolution from "above" he declared :

"The long reign of political reaction in Europe, which has lasted almost uninterruptedly since the days of the Paris Commune, has made us to greatly accustom to the idea that action can proceed only "from below" has greatly inured us to seeing only defensive struggles. We have now undoubtedly entered a new era ---- a period of political upheavals and revolutions- has begun. In a period such as that which Russia is now passing through, it is impermissible to confine ourselves to old, stereotyped formulae. We must propagate the idea of action from above and must study the conditions for and forms of, such action" (Ibid, P.23)

But comrade Lenin also warned that we must eventually be prepared for action from below, He said :

"Having explained all aspects of the party's policy with regard to action from above ... this new, hitherto almost unprecedented method of struggle ... the resolution also provides for the eventuality that we shall not be able to act from above. We must in any case exercise pressure on the provisional revolutionary government from below. To be able to exercise this pressure from below, the proletariat must be armed, for in a revolutionary situation matters develop with exceptional rapidity to the stage of open civil war - and must be led by the Social democratic party. The object of its armed pressure is to defend, consolidate and extend the gains of the revolution i.e. those gains which from the standpoint of the proletariat's interests, must consist in fulfilling the whole of our minimum programme' (Ibid P.24)

Again in 1936-37, during the period of struggle against fascism, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, Dimitrov's report also called upon the communists to participate in intermediate governments in alliance with socialists and other republicans on a clear-cut programme of struggle against in lebanance of the working class interests in the struggle against monopoly capitalism and in defence of peace. But he also said that for the participation of communists in such governments, the mass movement in the country should be in a position to directly intervene and force the government to implement the agreed programme.

After defeating Japanese aggression against China, and before Chaing-Kai-Shek started the second civil war against the liberated zones under the leadership of the communists, Comrade Mao gave the slogan of coalition governments with an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programme and conducted negotiations with the Chaing Kai-Shek government to expose his reactionary policies and conspiracies for civil war.

From these historical teachings from the great Marxist thinkers, can anyone say that Marxists-Leninists could accept power under reactionary big bourgeois-big landlord constitution? Can the CPM leadership say that its provincial ministries are organs of power as Lenin envisaged? Are they instruments of 'struggle' as the CPM leadership claims? On the other hand they are nothing but organs of suppression and exploitation of the people. Lenin said that people must be armed and people's pressure from below must be constant and consistent on the provisional revolutionary government to break the vacillation of the bourgeoisie. But the CPM leadership is prepared to make any compromise with its allies in the front even against the interests of the people to keep itself in power, as we are witnessing its performance in Kerala in alliance with the Congress (U).

One can see that the CPM has advanced from participating in elections to the opportunist political alliances with sections of the ruling classes and sharing power with them in the provincial ministries. Now preserving these ministries, and fictitious opposition in the other provinces and opportunistic political alliances with big bourgeois big landlord parties "that is the road of Delhi" that is the road that the CPM leadership has chalked out for itself.

Can anybody see any grain of "revolution" in this whole orientation?

Thus one could see the biggest contradiction between the CPM's claim of working for "insurrection" in the cities and "armed peasant guerilla struggle" in the rural areas and its actual naked practice of parliamentary path.

##### ***5. Bogus claims of fighting against Indira's authoritarianism.***

The CPM leadership loudly claims that it is fighting against the "authoritarianism" of Indira Gandhi. But does its practice prove it?

What is the basis for authoritarianism? It is the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society that is the basis for all authoritarianism. Its whole programme, whatever be its professions, in practice only helps in the preservation of the

**present semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in our country.**

**As long as this society exists, the basis for "authoritarianism" exists. With our fighting to change the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, its claims of fighting against the authoritarianism is nothing but bog**

**In the name of fighting against authoritarianism, whom has it gathered around it? Apart from certain forces in West Bengal, the other forces are the Lokdal, the Jat landlords of UP and Bihar, the Congress (U) leaders who have shown by their practice to be just waiting for a welcome sign to rush into the Congress (I) — these are the "heroes" with whom the CPM leadership wants to fight against "authoritarianism" of Indira Gandhi.**

**The CPM led governments themselves have become instruments for bloody repression against the struggling people. The CPM led government in West Bengal sides with Jotedars against the struggling peasants. It is the same with Kerala government. The Tripura government enacted the biggest blood bath against the tribals and called for more central assistance in its unholy war against the tribals. After this performance can they still claim to be fighting the "authoritarianism" of Indira Gandhi?**

**Now every one knows the despicable role of the CPM leadership in the Assam agitation. It is this leadership which is mainly supporting the fascist repression of Indira Gandhi against the Assamese people. Can they claim after this, that they are fighting against the "authoritarianism" of Indira Gandhi?**

**All its political slogans and activities are not in the interest of the people but for the single aim of preserving its own ministries and in this its political opportunism is getting more and more naked!**

**It is the vote of the CPM and the CPI that is keeping the minority Indira Congress government in power in Assam. Is this not an appeal to the Indira government to allow their ministries to be in power in return for their support in Assam? Support to Indira Congress in Assam, but opposition to her in other provinces, what kind of opportunism is this?**

**It unites with Congress(U) in Kerala to keep itself in power. But in opposition to the constituent of the very same Congress in West Bengal.. what kind of opportunism is this?**

**Murderous violence between CPM and RSS, but an appeal to the BJP**

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for united front against Indira's authoritarianism. What kind of opportunism is this?

All this clearly shows that all its slogans of "left and democratic unity" its slogan of fight against Indira's "authoritarianism"... its sole aim is preservation of its own ministries, and to come to power in the centre in alliance with other opposition sections of the ruling classes.

The election victory of the CPM has nothing to do with the advance of the revolutionary struggle in the country. It is only a reflection of reformist illusions among a section of the people and a weakness of the revolutionary movement at present.

Thus one can see the programme, policies and the practice of the CPM leadership is riddled with inherent and insoluble contradictions. These contradictions are bound to lead to crisis after crisis in the CPM too. As long as it is tied with Soviet social imperialism, the crisis of soviet social imperialism is bound to engulf the CPM too. As long as its practice is to preserve the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system, the economic and political crisis of this system is bound to have a reflection in the CPM too.

As the Agrarian Revolution advances under the leadership of the communist revolutionaries as the revolutionary struggle of the people sweep the country, it is bound to speed up the crisis of the CPM. That is the dialectics of contradictions.

### ***Road to liberation***

***July, 1981***

# CPC - CPM RELATIONS

## As an Opportunist Alliance

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After more than one year preparations, in the last week of April 1983, the Communist Party of China (CPC) and Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM) have announced that they have decided to resume relations on a Party to Party basis. Party to Party relations can only mean relations based on Marxism-Leninism. They have announced that they have reached agreement on 'many points'.

It is significant to note that a joint statement, customary on such occasions, has not been issued containing their agreements and disagreements.

But on 30th April, according to the official Xinhua News Agency, Deng Xiaoping "has announced that differences between the two parties will not hamper expansion of their relations".

Having stressed agreement on 'many points', why now speak of "differences"?

The naked truth is that on many major issues of ideology, assessment of present international situation, on the assessment of the role of the Soviet Union in today's world affairs, on the burning issues of Kampuchea and Afghanistan or Pakistan, which have got a bearing on the security of China, the known positions of CPC & CPM are diametrically opposed. Based on their declared positions, there can be no agreement between these parties on those major issues.

### *Theoretical issues*

Look at the issues on which both of them have taken completely opposite positions.

In spite of the unilateral withdrawal of the 9 Commentaries and the General Line, the CPC has been declaring :

"In dealing with the relations between CHINA and the Soviet Union between the two parties, the Soviet leaders headed by Khurshcov deviated further and further from Marxist-Leninist positions". (Peking Review-Sep 14, 1981).

Whatever be the diplomacy of the language, or the mildness of the criticism, the CPC holds that the CPSU leaders “have deviated from the principles of Marxism-Leninism”.

But the CPM has been consistently upholding the “Marxism-Leninism” of the CPSU!

Even the present leadership of the CPC has been consistently upholding the Three World Theory. The CPC has never withdrawn its support to the theory of Three Worlds, propounded by Comrade Mao. Even the 12th Congress of the CPC has declared that “China belongs to the Third World” that “the emergence of the Third World on the international arena after World War II is a primary event of our time.

The CPM has been continuously condemning the Three World Theory as anti Marxist and anti-Leninist.

On the question of Maozedung Thought, whatever be its differences with Comrade Mao in the last days, the CPC has been consistently upholding Maozedung thought as it “has added much that is new to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism”, that it has “enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism”, that his writings during the period of New Democratic Revolution and Socialist Transformation “are of universal significance and provide us with invaluable guidance now and will do so in the future”

But the CPM leadership has never accepted Maozedung Thought as a part of Marxism-Leninism, let alone enrichment of it.

Can there be agreement between CPC and CPM, without any agreement on these theoretical issues?

### ***Present international situation***

There is not only no agreement between these two parties on the most important theoretical questions of the day, but there is no agreement between the on the most basic principles and policies concerning the international situation today.

CPC has been characterising Soviet Union as a social imperialist country and has been praising Mao for having stood up against “the pressure of the social imperialists”. Now a days, their official journals are writing Soviet Union as “self-styled socialist country” (Peking Review, Feb 7, 1983).

CPC has characterised the Soviet Union as a "Super power in contention with the other Super power — USA — for world hegemony". It has been condemning both the Super Powers, USA and Soviet Union, as pursuing a policy of "global domination", that they pose "a new threat to the people of the world", CPC has been consistently condemning both USA and Soviet Union "for all local wars of aggression which they instigate or back" (12th Congress of the CPC).

CPC holds "Soviet Union, as the rival of the United States in its bid for world hegemony and also the main threat to West European security" (Peking Review, March 21, 1983).

CPC condemns both USA and the Soviet Union for taking "advantage of the economic difficulties of some third world countries to weaken their economic strength", for attempting "to influence and change the domestic and foreign policies of third world countries", and for attempting, through economic penetration, "to find and foster proxies to subvert local govts".

It is very well known that the CPM is diametrically opposed to the positions of CPC on the role of the Soviet Union in today's world affairs.

Coming to the most recent events, CPC condemns the massing of Soviet troops on its borders as a hostile act. CPM has never opened its mouth on this question.

CPC has condemned Soviet backed Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea and Soviet aggression in Afghanistan.

In India let us remember that it is only CPM and CPI who have shamelessly supported Vietnam and Soviet Union in these aggressions.

Finally, on the question of Pakistan, the CPC and CPM have been consistently holding diametrically opposed views.

On all occasions, when the ruling classes with the support of the Soviet Union, committed aggression against Pakistan, the CPC has supported Pakistan as a victim of aggression. The CPM has always been siding the Indian ruling classes and the schemes of social imperialists against Pakistan, exposing its own character of national chauvinism.

Even today, when Indira Gandhi tries to improve relations with Pakistan, it is CPM that is warning her about the dangers of Pakistan as a stooge

USA and it has openly condemned China for playing the American game in Pakistan. Utilizing the issue of Pakistan, the CPM has been consistently using national chauvinism and hatred both against Pakistan and China.

All these are known facts. On all major theoretical issues of the day, and today's international issues, particularly about the role of the Soviet Union, CPC and CPM have taken diametrically opposed lines. On all these issues, CPM has been consistently opposing the positions of the CPC and has been consistently supporting aggression, hegemonism, and neo-colonialism of the Soviet Union.

On these questions their differences are antagonistic differences. Can there be relations between these two parties without agreement on these basic principles and policies ?

That is why we say that the present relations between CPC and CPM are opportunist, for temporary gains or imaginary gains and advantages, sacrificing fundamental principles.

Why this opportunist alliance?

Having known fully well, that there still exist sharp, even antagonistic differences between CPC and CPM on issues of theory or on the role of the Soviet Union as a super power in today's world affairs, still both sides have decided for resuming their relations on a Party to Party basis. Their statement that their relations are based on Marxism-Leninism cannot hoodwink anybody. History will condemn it as nothing but opportunist.

What are the compelling reasons for both these parties that have helped them for this opportunist alliance?

The CPC in its history Resolution (June 27, 1981) has drawn the conclusion that Comrade Mao had deviated from Marxism-Leninism from 1956.

In line with this understanding they have also withdrawn the 9 commentaries and the General Line. Let us remember that the differences between CPC and Modern revisionists of the CPSU also started in 1956, with the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

From these two events, one can only conclude that the present leadership of the CPC wants to go back to 1956, and re-establish its relations with all the revisionist parties in the world.

**In line with this they have already established their links with the communist parties of Italy, Spain and France. The present agreement with the CPM is one more in that line.**

**Perhaps, the CPC thinks, that these revisionist parties will bring pressure on the Soviet Union to come to agreements with China.**

**When the CPC re-established its relations with the communist parties of Italy and Spain, our party supported it, because these parties have condemned the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea.**

**The French revisionists and the CPM have openly supported Soviet actions on both these issues.**

**With the History resolution, (June 27, 1981), the CPC has been taking many contradictory positions.**

**Opposition to the Soviet Union as a Super power, dependence on pro-Soviet parties to bring pressure on the Soviet Union for agreement is a contradiction in itself. Opposition to the Soviet Union as a Super power but alliance with pro-Soviet revisionist parties is a contradiction in itself.**

**For the CPM also, this opportunist alliance has become a necessity.**

**Right from its break with the CPI in 1964, the CPM leadership has been desperately trying recognition from the CPSU. But the CPSU has so far not obliged. The CPM thinks that its present link with the CPC will help its bargaining power with the CPSU and for its international recognition.**

**In spite of its left phrase-mongering, the parliamentary path pursued by the CPM leadership, its opportunist election alliances with various ruling class parties to gain a few parliamentary or assembly seats, its own performance in the provincial govt. under its own leadership, all these have been increasingly exposing its own revisionism. More and more people have begun to see that CPM has become a party of the present establishment, a party of the status quo, in the country.**

**All their electoral victories and the ministries, they lead, have been confined to the traditional centres of communist movement in West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala. In other states, including Andhra and Punjab, they have miserably failed to gain anything new, in spite of becoming the tails to certain opposition ruling class parties.**

Particularly, the CPM's dirty role in supporting Indira Gandhi's blood-bath against the Assam people, its shameless support to Indira Gandhi's bogus elections in Assam and the miserable results it has got there has become an eye-opener to many to understand the bogus opposition of the CPM to Indira Gandhi's authoritarianism. Having announced its support to the 'anti-imperialist' and "genuine non-aligned" policy of the Indira Govt. it has further exposed its real character.

Its performance in the various provincial govts. has proved that the CPM is only a party of reforms and not a party of revolution. That is why the ruling classes in India allow them to be in power in the ministries, since at present it suits their own interests by preventing the people of these states from taking the path of struggle.

With the long practice of Parliamentary path, its tactics of opportunist political alliances with all sorts of bourgeois opposition parties, its practice of economism, CPM has been continuously losing its mass base, in all other states, including those states under their rule. It has already heavily lost in the TU's among the students and even in the peasant pockets. In some areas, its social base itself has changed into Jotedar, rich peasant-landlord base.

This has been continuously leading to the dissatisfaction of its own ranks leading to the split into small groups in many states where it is working.

Faced with this situation, the CPM thinks that its present link with the CPC will help in preserving its "left" image for some more time to carry on its deception of the masses and its own ranks.

These are the considerations that have brought the re-establishment of the relations between CPC and CPM.

As long as CPC holds that the Soviet Union is a super Power with ambitions of world hegemony, the present relation is bound to be an uneasy alliance full of contradictions and disputes. Let us wait and see.

### *Our attitude to the CPC*

Our attitude towards CPM is in no way dependent on the attitude of

the CPC towards CPM. We have broken away from the CPM on various programmatic, tactical and political principles. On all these questions we firmly believe that the CPM has taken a revisionist stand. We will continue our ideological and political struggle against the revisionism of the CPM, while uniting with their ranks and mass organisations on the immediate issues of the people on all possible occasions.

In spite of CPC's new relations with the CPM, our attitude to Socialist China and CPC will not change.

Our Political Resolution, "Intensify the people's Struggle" has declared :

"Socialist China, pursuing the path of socialism through modernisation, is supporting all National Liberation struggles, opposing the hegemonism of the two Super Powers and strengthening its own defence against any possible attack".

While continuing our support to China on all the issues mentioned above, against all attacks, the resolution has declared :

"Proletarian internationalism does not mean that we should blindly follow every line of our international friends. While supporting the general orientation of the working class movement, we will take our own positions on various issues both national and international and decide our own tactics of struggle".

Our Party has been consistently following this principle.

While holding CPC as Marxist-Leninist Party, we have demarcated ourselves from the CPC on its assessment of Mao's role, on the Cultural Revolution, on the question of Liu Shaochi or Tito.

When the CPC attacked the extremism of the so-called Gang of Four, we supported the CPC. At the same time we demarcated ourselves from their trial for 'criminal' offences or branding them as counter-revolutionaries.

When the CPC established links with the Communist Parties of Italy and Spain, we supported it because both these parties were opposed to the hegemonism of the Soviet Union. At the same time, we demarcated from the CPC's charactersing Euro-communism as a new scientific experiment.

Long ago, we have said that the CPC being a ruling Party in China has got a right to make its own friends in India. At the same time, we have warned that such agreements and friendship with such elements should not harm the cause of the Indian Revolution.

Based on our own experience, we have fought both against 'leftism' and rightism and have succeeded largely in overcoming them. Having taken to the Path of Agrarian Revolution, we have tried to integrate the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation in India, and through ups and downs, we have succeeded in preparing our own programme, Tactical Path, Lessons of 14 years, and our own Political line.

By pursuing the correct policies, our Party and the mass organisations under its leadership have registered important advances in majority of the states where we are working. We have emerged as a growing force in a fierce struggle both against left and right deviations.

During the last 14 years, our Party, our masses and its ranks have made innumerable sacrifices in the cause of Agrarian Revolution. What ever be the difficulties and sacrifices on this difficult road of Agrarian Revolution, we will continue our struggle.

The fate of Agrarian Revolution in India is not dependent on the mercies of anybody, but is dependent on the intensification of the contradictions in our society, correct political line of the communist revolutionaries and the people fighting for it. It is the people that will decide the issue.

With deep faith in our own people, with deep faith in the teachings of Comrade Mao, let us advance on the path of Agrarian Revolution.

***March to Liberation (editorial)***

***May, June 83***

# THE POLITICS OF COMRADE D.V. RAO AND HIS UCCRI

***Self - glorification and negative attitude towards others. Out for immediate general political united front with USA and its friends.***

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Today our people are on the move again. They have taken to the path of struggle. What are the tasks of the communist revolutionaries now? To orientate these struggles towards Agrarian Revolution. But today the revolutionary forces are divided. The friends of Indian Revolution all want us to overcome these divisions. Efforts are being made throughout the country towards this at various levels. We must patiently work for this. Patient discussions joint work on agreed points, leaving others for future discussion only in this process can we achieve unity among the communist revolutionaries. This is what the country and the present situation demands of us.

## **Self-glorification**

But comrade D.V. Rao and his unity centre for communist Revolutionary of India UCCRI seem to have rejected this path. They are concentrating all their attacks on the communist revolutionaries instead of on the enemies. They are publishing document after document, supplement after supplement, both in English and Telugu in the pursuit of this "sacred task.

The main attack is on the communist revolutionaries. They say : "Barring a few exceptions, the groups have lost their revolutionary character. They can no more be called revolutionary groups. This is not to say that we deny the existence of revolutionary forces in them. Therefore most of the groups no more belong to a revolutionary wing representing revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. But then who are they? They are opportunists, though they claim to be Marxists-Leninists. It is this opportunism which has reduced them to pieces." (Proletarian Line No.7)

Naturally one will ask; are there no revolutionaries in other groups? They are kind enough to concede that there are 'some'. But from this one need not be hopeful of getting a certificate from them, because they hasten to add, "once their number was large, but now they are disintegrating" (Retranslation from Telugu)

Select abuses have been directed against our party. According to them, our line was Charu's line till 1977 March Parliament elections. During the

period of the Janata government it was one of class collaboration” and “Parliamentary path”. At present, the leadership of the Party is trying for ‘links with Indira Government. But they hasten to add that this link has nothing to do with repression on our Party ranks!

When we look at these ‘certificates’ from our friends, the communist revolutionaries are reminded of the past. Naturally we are reminded of Naxalbari, Midnapore, Mushahari, Srikakulam, Godavari valley ; we are reminded of more than 5,000 comrades, who have become martyr heroes of this period, those who have been subjected to inhuman tortures and the sufferings of the people. We are reminded of the land struggles and the revolutionary struggles still going on. Not only we, all others are reminded of this. But DV condemns all this as “condemned stuff”.

What is the future of our country then? What is the future of our Revolution? Comrade DV assures all such doubting Toms that there are “communist revolutionaries” under his leadership to fulfill that task. According to him, his UCCRI is an “all-India organisation in the real sense of the term having its branches in considerable parts of our country” (Proletarian Line (Pr.L) no.7) With a fanfare he has announced “we communist revolutionaries are advancing towards unity step by step inspite of ups and downs. The major part of the task is over. The rest will be completed soon” (No.7)

For one who knows the real situation, this is nothing but undiluted self glorification and condemnation of all others who differ with him. What is the meaning of these abuses and slanders against communist revolutionaries? What does he want to gain with such performance? The secret is that he has come to new principles both in the national and international situation and is adopting new tactics, whose essence is general political alliance with US imperialism and its friends. He wants to cover up this performance under the cover of the barrage of attacks against others. That is why we are forced to give this reply.

His claim is that his ‘line’ has been proved to be ‘basically’ correct. He shouts, “The line is correct not only in words but in deeds as well. It has the experience of a decade of its practice which has proved the line basically correct.” (No.7).

One need not fight over this through documents. The two lines-his line as well as ours-are there before the people for the last 12 years. Their results of the two lines are also clearly before the people to judge for themselves.

## **1. The struggle for the correct line**

The present CC of our Party has fought against Charu's line. We have conducted an ideological, political struggle for People's War based on mass line and the class collaborationist line of SN. We have conducted a serious ideological struggle against the rightist trend of comrade DV also.

Our Party has grown in the struggle against both right and left trends. In the course of the struggle, we have successfully evolved the correct tactical and political line. Its practical results and the movement it has built are there before the people.

Comrade DV refuses to see this reality. He claims that his line has been proved to be basically correct all through. Let us consider them now.

### **Tactics of struggle**

In the struggle between DV and our Andhra Committee, among our differences, the first one relates to tactics of struggle. How to mobilise the people for Revolution? How to combine people's mobilisation, People's resistance and Party organisation?

It was true that our comrades in Godavari Valley did commit certain mistakes in the beginning. They were influenced by left thinking and practice as reflected in the "Pagideru" incident. Our comrades have criticised themselves for this, admitted it in discussions and corrected it.

As comrade DV himself admits in his Proletarian Line No. 6, our comrades had declared then, "mainly mass mobilisation, squad activities and resistance — co-ordinating these three mobilising the masses on mass issues and various stages of resistance — basically agree with the Secretary's explanation on all of them".

With this correction our Andhra comrades had been successful in overcoming all these mistakes.

They have mobilised the people for struggles on various issues. They have defended themselves from the police onslaughts. With this the people's movement has advanced. DV and his friends had to admit in their letter's from jail at that time, in their document "present situation and our tasks" written by them at that time. This is what they write in their own document commending the forest movement; "It is clear from the reports that in the forest areas, the partial struggles are being carried on against exploitation in

the forest areas and that the people are achieving some gains, such as increases in labour's wages etc." "the documents of these comrades as well as some reports show that these comrades have realised and rectified their mistakes", "We are not underestimating the efforts made by the comrades working in the forest areas, in building the mass movement of the Forest areas and in the struggle for self-defence".

At that time DV and his friends were so carried away with these successes that they even advocated in their "Present situation and our tasks" at that time, they even asked the Party to "carry on ambushes" against the enemy.

From all these writings, one thing is clear. In the beginning, and after going to the jail, they hailed the forest movement, they supported the tactical line of the Party. But within one year, they turned round to condemn the whole movement as left adventurism. What is the reason for this sudden change?

In 1969 April they took up arms in self defence under their leadership because of their 'revolutionary' tactics, all these leaders were arrested in 1969 December itself. The Andhra people, the Andhra Party members criticised them severely for this. It was in this situation that they praised the forest movement in their letters and their document "Present situation and our tasks", to save themselves from the wrath of the comrades.

### **Assessment of the revolutionary situation.**

Our assessment has been that, in 1969, both nationally and internationally, the revolutionary situation in the country was better than that at the time when the Heroic Telangana of 1946-51 took place.

DV could not accept this. He says "It is wrong to say that the situation prevailing today is more favourable than the situation prevailing at the time of the 1946-51 Telangana armed struggle". (No.6).

What are the reasons according to him?

— That the working class has been subjected to parliamentary illusions by the ruling classes after 1947 :

— That the ruling classes have since then increased their military

and police strength after 1947 :

What absurd arguments! Is there any difference between this argument and those of the revisionists and neo-revisionists? Only those who oppose People's War and Chinese path could advance such arguments.

The Heroic Telengana struggle started in 1946. At that time the Chinese Revolution had not yet triumphed. By 1968, the national liberation struggles were pounding on the foundations of colonialism. They were advancing in the form of armed struggles.

1947 brought the "August" independence. Just then the Congress had come to power. It had created illusions among the people that it brought independence to our country. People had illusions on the Congress at that time. But by 1968, people were fast losing their illusions on the Congress. Of course people have still illusions on elections. But when compared with 1947, they have taken a downward trend. That is why we said that the revolutionary situation in 1968 was better than that in 1947.

The events after 1968 have amply proved this. The intensification of the people's struggles, strikes of the police personnel, rising tide of working class strikes, the contradictions and deep divisions among the ruling classes have proved this.

If we accept comrade DV's arguments, the struggle of the Mizos and Nagas is wrong. Naxalbari and Srikakulam should not have started.

Then about increased military and police strength of the govt. Increased railway and communication system — These are issues the revolutionary movement has to overcome in the course of its struggle, instead of sitting quiet with folded hands.

All their arguments on this question were arguments to run away from the revolutionary struggle.

### **When to start the armed struggle?**

Another point of controversy at that time was —When to start the armed struggle ?

According to comrade DV, the people have to first distribute among themselves the lands of the landlords, only then the armed struggle starts! He says that this is the experience of the Telengana struggle. And according

**to this since our comrade in Godavary valley have taken arms before the people were ready for land distribution, the movement was bound to crumble like a house of cards, that this is another form of Charu's line.**

**Our comrades rejected these arguments. The government will not wait folded hands and allow the people to seize the lands of the landlords. It is bound to use fascist repression on the people even during the stage of partial struggles. So armed struggle is inevitable even during the stage of the partial struggles. It also said that only when this struggle is linked with the struggle for land, a protracted people's War could be successfully conducted. We asserted that the Telengana struggle itself had given this experience.**

**But Comrade DV and his friends asserted that the Telengna struggle started only after the distribution of landlord's lands.**

**But in 1970, in another document, they themselves had written : "The Telengana armed struggle (1946-51) started as a militant struggle against feudal landlords' forced labour, feudal atrocities and procurement of grain (forced procurement of grain from the peasantry by the government during the Second World War) even before 1946. Other sections of the people had participated in the struggle along with the rural peasantry".**

**This is exactly what our comrade advanced at that time. It is comrade DV who went back on this in 1971 June. It is shocking to see how even the experiences of Telengana struggle could change according to the whims and fancies of certain individuals to suit their conveniences.**

**What is Agrarian Revolution? What is its relation with land distribution? Our State Conference in 1973 had declared thus :**

**"The essence of People's Democratic Revolution is Agrarian Revolution .. In the course of the Armed Agrarian Revolution, the village people will not only distribute the government lands, the private lands of the landlords, their agricultural implements and other properties, but also will seize the political authority of the landlords and thus implement the policy of "land to the tiller".**

**"In our province, the land problem exists in various forms. Government banzars, waste lands in non-reserve and reserve forests, temple lands, waste lands, lands under the occupation of the landlords from the poor, private lands of the landlords—thus the land problem exists in various forms throughout the state. Along with all other kinds of lands, private lands of**

the landlords should be distributed. Only then landlordism could be abolished. So to prepare the people for the distribution of the private lands of the landlords, to build People's movement for this and conduct Armed Agrarian revolution to achieve this—this should be the basic aim of the Party.

“Distribution of the private lands of the landlords is the basic task of the Agrarian Revolution. But some people think that land distribution alone is Agrarian Revolution. That is wrong and we don't accept it. In the villages landlord exploitation takes various forms. The landlords exploit the agricultural labourers, the farm servants, tenants. He exploits through forced labour, usury both in kind and money, sale of surplus grain, by exploiting caste and communalism. These forms of exploitation exist in various forms. The struggle for just demands of agricultural labourers and farm servants, the struggle against forced labour, usury and loans— all these struggles form part of the Agrarian Revolution. All these struggles, which ever be the issue they should be oriented towards distribution of the landlord's land, which is the highest stage of Armed Agrarian Revolution. So all the struggles against landlord exploitation, should raise the consciousness of the agricultural labourers and peasants to directly participate in Armed Agrarian revolution. Our whole political campaign must be in this direction. All our activities must be directed towards this”.

This is how we explained our Programme for Agrarian Revolution. This is how we explained the relation between Agrarian Revolution and land distribution. We have clearly stated that even if the armed struggle starts on partial issues, it is not yet Agrarian revolution, that even then the struggle should be directed towards the distribution of the lands. Only then the basis for Protracted Armed Struggle could be laid. We never said that more actions on landlords will lead to Agrarian Revolution.

### **Self - defence and People's mobilisation.**

With the intensification of the People's struggles, government repression too increased. But people were not yet prepared to resist police repression. But our comrades could not work openly in the villages, as the previous period. We are faced with the problem of co-ordinating people's mobilisation, self defence for the cadres and defence of the people's movement. We have already said above that we committed certain mistakes in tackling this problem. But soon we corrected our mistakes through our own experience.

But comrade DV and his friends, counter-posed self-defence of the

**cadres to the defence of the people. They declared that there could be no defence of the cadre without the defence of the people. They condemned the formation of the squads, as abandoning mass work. They even lied when they said that we have confined ourselves to attacks on individual landlords.**

**We have explained our stand point very clearly on this. The landlords their goondas, the police are bound to attack the people even during the stage of the people's struggles. They would try to drown the people's movement in blood. In this situation, if the people are ready, our Party should lead the resistance struggle. And they should consciously work to lead the struggle for Agrarian Revolution.**

**If the people are not yet prepared for such resistance struggle our Party members and activists should not allow themselves to be arrested.**

**They should defend themselves. This self-defence will take many forms—individuals in secret or in the form of squads. They can work with arms or without arms for self-defence. The form of self-defence will depend on the conditions of the struggle in the area concerned — the level of the movement, the readiness of the people, geographical conditions of the area. Depending on the local conditions, even if armed squads are formed, it is not yet Armed Agrarian revolution, that the main task of the squads should be to mobilise and prepare the people for Armed Agrarian Revolution.**

**Though the armed squads have been formed for self-defence in 1969, we have been stressing in all our documents, that their main task is to politically mobilise the people for Agrarian Revolution**

**That is why, when comrade DV and his friends in 1970 proposed to carry on ambushes on the police, we rejected it. On the other hand, we formulated new tactics of struggle, "Propagation of revolutionary politics, people's mobilisation on people's issues, self defence from the police, necessary action against people's enemies" — These were four tactics of struggle that our party evolved to carry on the struggle. Is there any truth in the slanders of comrade DV that we at any time said that formation of self defence squads was itself Armed Struggle?**

**The people's movement advanced on the basis of the four tactics of struggle, described above. The movement advanced both in the forest areas and the plain areas by 1973. The mass base of the Party has increased. We have extended to the border areas of the Forest. People's mobilisation in the**

plain areas advanced. The movement gained new experiences. Based on this the four tactics of struggle were further improved in the State conference of 1973, which declared :

**“Propagation of politics of Armed Agrarian Revolution, people’s struggles against the landlords and the government, mass organisations, volunteer organisations, people’s resistance to landlord-police violence, organisation of village committees-only by combining all these tasks and implementing them, we could mobilise the village people to directly participate in Armed Agrarian Revolution. Only then could we organise Agrarian Revolution. All our work on the political and cultural fronts, our work in the cities and towns, should help in advancing Armed Agrarian Revolution”.**

These were the tactics of struggle that our party formulated both for the forest and plain areas. It is by implementing this programme, our movement has advanced in the province. In the forest areas, the people have participated in the land struggle on a very big scale. On the basis of village committees in the villages, on the basis of intensive propagation of revolutionary politics in the villages, people began resisting the police in various forms. Their support to the armed squads qualitatively increased.

In the plain areas, based on these tactics of struggle, we could mobilise the people, particularly the poor peasants and agricultural labourers for various anti-landlord struggles on a big scale. People began to resist the landlord violence in various forms.

By implementing these tactics of struggle, we could defend our movement, and extend it even under conditions of fascist repression and Emergency rule.

It is by implementing these tactics of struggle even after 1977, people have been mobilised for struggles on a big scale in Nallagonda, Khammam and Warangal plain areas, particularly in Karimnagar district. People have begun resisting landlord violence on a big scale. The movement gained new experiences. People’s struggles in other states too have advanced. Keeping these experiences in mind, recently, our Special Congress has formulated the following tactics of struggle :

**“The main direction of the party work should be consciously oriented towards building revolutionary peasant movement. Selection of strategic areas, concentration of cadres, formulation of fighting and agitational slo-**

ans with extensive discussions of the people of the area, mobilising the peasants for struggles on those issues, building the peasant organisations, arming the people with the locally available weapons in the anti-feudal struggles from the very beginning, organising of the village volunteer organisations, people's resistance to landlord-goonda-police violence and oppression and thus create, develop and defend areas of sustained resistance and thus advance to establish base areas in the country side''.

Now we are implementing these tactics of struggle in all the States. In Andhra we started with the four tactics of struggle. With the advance of the movement, we have gained new experiences. The tactics of struggle have also changed with the advance of the movement. We have rejected the path of annihilation of class enemies advocated by Charu. We have rejected the legal path of comrade DV. We have consciously combined people's mobilisation and People's resistance.

## **2. Bankruptcy of DV's politics.**

Enough of the tactics of struggle of comrade DV. Now let us consider of the political controversies between us and comrade DV. at that period.

### **Crisis of Soviet social imperialism.**

The revisionism in Soviet Union has taken to the Path of Social imperialism. It invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968, intensifying the contradictions and conflicts inside the revisionist camp. We said that is the sign of the crisis of Soviet revisionism, both at home and abroad.

But comrade DV rejected this. He declared that it was hasty to see crisis within revisionism and such a characterisation had no practical utility for us. They said :

''The difference between two revisionist groups of one and the same country, or the differences between the revisionist groups and cliques of two or more countries are not born of fundamental contradictions''. (No.6) They further declared :

''Instead, viewing the accentuation of contradictions within the Soviet social imperialism in a mechanical and artificial way - even though the accentuation of the contradictions is true from a long range perspective and formulating that internationally it is already enmeshed in a crisis will not only be a hasty step on our part but also it would not be of any immediate advantage for the Indian revolution'' (No.6)

These controversies developed in 1970. On April 22, 1970, People's Daily article, "Leninism or Social imperialism" declared :

"Like all other reactionary and decadent classes, this new type of bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class is riddled with internal contradictions. In their desperate efforts to keep the power they have usurped, the members of this class are both working hand in glove with each other and scheming and struggling against each other. The greater the difficulties, the fiercer their strike, open and secret".

Thus it exposed the crisis of Soviet social imperialism both at home and abroad. This was in 1970.

But today, the crisis of Soviet social imperialism and the crisis of revisionism has come to the forefront more nakedly.

What is the meaning of the present events in Poland? Is it not a sign of the crisis of revisionism?

Now we see many indications of national chauvinism raising its head in the Soviet Union. Is it not a sign of its internal crisis? Whenever there are economic difficulties ministers are being changed in the Soviet Union. Is it not a sign of its internal crisis?

Soviet Union is being defeated again and again in the UN over the Kampuchean and Afghanistan problems. Is it not a sign of the crisis of its aggressive plans?

Recently its old traditional friends, the Italian and Spain Communist Parties, which once supported the policies of the Soviet Union, have now come out to oppose the hegemonism and aggressive policies of the Soviet Union. Now they are issuing joint statements with the Chinese Communist Party to fight for the preservation of world peace and fight against hegemonism. Is it not a sign of the crisis of the revisionist camp?

The Soviet Union has given priority to the production of deadly weapons in pursuit of its ambitions of world domination. Is it not a sign of its crisis? It is conspiring for world war and conducting wars of aggression. Is it not a sign of its crisis ?

In 1964 itself, Comrade Mao has said :

"The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bour-

**geoisie''**. Does this not mean that revisionism is riddled with the very same **fundamental** contradictions of the bourgeoisie?

Does this not prove ampy that the theory of comrade DV that there is **no** crisis within revisionism is a bankrupt theory?

***Rivalry of the two Super powers in India. Contradictions and divisions among the ruling classes.***

Ours is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Many imperialist powers are contending for supremacy over our country, the most important being Soviet Union and USA. For this, they are organising groups among the ruling classes in support of their policies.

USA and Soviet Union are fiercely contending for world domination. The rivalry of the two Super powers for supremacy over our country is a part of this world wide rivalry. We have said that this rivalry of the two Super powers in India has led to deep divisions and conflicts among the ruling classes and they are continuously increasing. We said :

“The growing competitions and contradictions among various imperialist countries, mainly between American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are bound to reflect in India. They try and are trying to gain dominance over the political, economic and military affairs of India by grouping up comprador bourgeois classes who are under their influence”.

“It is only because of this the two groups of comprador bourgeoisie pro-American and pro-Russian have emerged and started struggling for power. In the days to come this will get further sharpened”.

This was our line at that time. We have also explained that the pro-US groups mainly depending on USA for their existence in power, will also maintain economic and friendly relations with the Soviet Union, and that the pro-Soviet groups, while mainly depending on Russia for their existence in power will also maintain economic and friendly relations with the USA.

We have also said that the Indira Congress is the leader of the pro-Soviet group and that the Swathantra Party, Janasangh, Right Congress (at that time) represent the pro-US groups. We declared that there was a dog-fight between these two groups for power in India and it was being reflected in the election struggle of the President at that time.

**But what was the line of DV and his friends on this at that time? They declared :**

**“The truth is, in India the contradiction between Soviet social imperialism and the American imperialism is not so accentuated as to split their agent into two groups”. (No.6)**

**“In this region (West Asia) the contradictions between these two imperialisms got accentuated and reached a breaking point. This situation or more or less similar to this, has not yet developed in India”.**

**What is the meaning of this? That the contradictions of USA and Soviet Union in India have not yet reached a breaking point as in West Asia by 1970! That Indira Congress was serving as the agent of both! That collusion between the two super powers in India of 1970 was greater! Has not experience of our country in the last 10 years disproved all the fallacies of comrade DV and his friends?**

**Even when comrade DV and his friends were writing this, Indira Congress came to power, made a military agreement (Indo-Soviet Treaty) attacked Pakistan with Soviet support, and became a junior partner in the aggressive plans of the Soviet Union in Asia. The rivalry of the two Super powers has still further intensified in this region.**

**Now DV and his friends themselves admit that “the contradiction of the two Super powers have still further increased. They are getting intensified day by day” and that “India has become the centre of contention between the two Super powers”. (Retranslation from Telugu)**

**We are glad that our friends have realised this truth atleast after 10 years!**

**Once they said that there were no divisions among the ruling classes, that it was hasty to see the formation of pro-USA and pro-Soviet ruling class groups, that the “division in the Congress in 1969 does not represent two groups of comprador bourgeoisie”.**

**The past ten years experience has disproved their theory. Now they write that we should determine the character of ruling class groups depending on their attitude towards the two Super powers. We welcome their change.**

## **Stability and instability**

Another controversy between them and us at that time related to stability and instability of the ruling classes.

As a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, our country is a part of world capitalist system, which has entered the stage of general permanent crisis. The rivalry of the two Super powers in India is increasing. The struggle of the ruling class groups for power in India is increasing, resulting in instability of the ruling classes.

We said that inspite of Indira Congress victory in 1970-71, its stability was only temporary, within the confines of the permanent crises of world capitalist system. We declared that this was bound to break up again resulting in greater instability for the ruling classes.

What was the assessment of comrade DV and his friends on this? They declared :

“The ruling classes are trying for stability at the centre and States and have even succeeded to a very large extent”, “of all, the most important development in the emergence of ruling congress with a big majority in the centre and its forming a stable government, with this it is clear that the “instability of 1969 has transformed into stability”, that the Indira Congress “has achieved stability with a big majority in the mid-term elections”. They even declared that divisions among the ruling classes have not reached a breaking point”.

While accepting that the 'stability' of the Indira Congress at that time was only “temporary”, they advanced all arguments to show that it was going to stay for a long time. But the events after 1971 disproved all their calculations, exposed the unreality of all their assessments. Even by 1973 itself, the contradictions and conflicts reached a high stage. The JP movement, the student movement in Gujarat, General Strike of the Railway workers, the strike of PAC police in UP proved this fact.

Now our friends are admitting that there is no stability for the ruling class parties. We welcome this change.

### **Antagonism towards other communist revolutionaries.**

Relations with comrade Charu and his friends had broken by the time of the Andhra Party convention in 1969 April. Even then the Andhra Party Convention decided to maintain friendly relations with that group.

**Our Party continues to maintain that attitude towards revolutionary groups and organisations even now. Still we continued a principled struggle against the wrong policies and wrong tactics of struggle pursued by the Charu group. We never surrendered to them on any point of difference. DV and his friends find fault with us only on a single point-about the necessity of taking necessary action against certain landlords on certain occasions.**

**This is what comrade Mao had said on this issue : “the only effective way of suppressing the reactionaries is to execute at least a few in each country who are guilty of the most heinous crimes” (Huonan Report)**

**This does not mean that individuals should do this. People have to do this. They must be mobilised for this. This is not what Charu group did. They believed that they could achieve Agrarian Revolution by killing a few individual landlords. Our committee opposed this and rejected it.**

**We mobilise the people to fight against the exploitation of the landlords. If any one of them, becomes a CID, and carried on heinous crimes on the people with the support of the police, then we did take certain actions against such elements.**

**Even this depended on the demand of the people and with their support. We first exposed their crimes before the people. We called upon the people to oppose such crimes. We warned the police agents to desist from their crimes. Only when all these efforts failed, we took certain actions with the co-operation of the people. There is no people’s movement without people’s resistance.**

**There is no comparison between this concept of ours and that of Charu group. The practical results themselves show the difference. Our attitude towards other revolutionary groups and organisations is positive. The attitude of comrade DV and his friends is negative. Has not history proved that they are wrong and that we are correct. The change in the attitude of various organisations of communist revolutionaries proves this.**

**Yes, it is true that communist revolutionaries are divided in various organisations. Most of them have abandoned the path of annihilation advocated by Charu. Only an insignificant few still cling to that line.**

**Overwhelmingly, the organisations of communist revolutionaries have abandoned the path of “annihilation of class enemies”. In some form or other they are following the mossline. Yes one can discuss whether the**

mass line they are pursuing is correct or not. But this is one which has to be solved through mutual discussions, based on practical results, but not by taking an antagonistic attitude.

Let us take the example of Andhra itself. The comrades of "People's War" organisation, whatever be their ideology and principles, they are participating in mass work to an extent. For example they could advance people's movement in Jagtyala taluq of Karimnagar district to a certain extent. They are participating in student struggles. Practice will establish the correctness or otherwise of their tactics in this. But to say that are a "condemned stuff" is an absurdity.

Similarly a Unity Committee under the leadership of comrade Kolla Venkayya is functioning. They are working among the people on different issues. To say that they are a "condemned stuff" is an absurdity.

We see similar changes taking place in other states too. Recently, we have seen that the communist revolutionaries in Tamil Nadu conducting anti-feudal struggles. Some comrades in Madhya Pradesh, like comrade Neogi, have been building a significant people's movement particularly among the working class.

We are not saying that the programme, tactics of other organisations of communist revolutionaries are fully correct. The welcome feature is they have turned away from Charu's line of "annihilation of class enemies". They have turned towards the massline. It is our confidence that the mass movement will correct them if there are any mistakes.

In short, this is the essence of the line pursued by us and by UCCRI

— We advocated a policy of combining the propagation of revolutionary politics, people's mobilisation and people's resistance, where as comrade DV said that self-defence of cadres and people's movement is absurd.

— We said that Soviet social imperialism is riddled with contradictions and crises, whereas DV declared that there was no crisis for Soviet social imperialism.

— We said that the rivalry of the two super powers for hegemonism over India had intensified and that had led to a division of the ruling classes into pro-USA and pro-Soviet camps. Comrade DV refused to accept this

assessment.

— We said that revolutionary situation is better than that at the time of the Great Telangana struggle of 1946-51, which comrade DV held the contrary view.

— We held that the ruling classes are faced with instability, comrade DV denied this.

What has the experience of the last 10 years proved? We are glad to notice, that today they are repeating what all we have said earlier.

But still they claim that they had been basically right from 1968. Is there any particle of truth in this?

Now let us see the practical results of these two lines.

### **Practical results of the two lines :**

Our two lines have been implemented in Andhra for the last 10 years. What are the results ?

— The forest movement did not disintegrate as they expected. On the other hand, it expanded to new areas. The struggle for forest lands became a mass movement. The people have occupied about 3 lakh areas of this land and are still enjoying the greater part of it. Anybody could investigate into this. The forest movement had withstood the onslaught of thousands of police and hundreds of police camps with its barbaric emergency rule.

— The forest movement gave inspiration to the movement in the plain areas. Anti-feudal struggles have taken place in hundreds of villages in Khammam, Warangal, Nallagonda, Adilabad and Karimnagar districts. More than all that, the people's struggle in Kareemnagar district has drawn the attention of the whole country. It has resisted the counter-revolutionary violence of the landlords-goondas-police and the Disturbed Areas Act. Through resistance it has spread to new taluqs. The forest movement and the movement in the above districts have become resistance movements. Ofcourse in other districts, our movement is still confined to certain pockets and it is still in the stage of agitation. But it is a growing movement.

— In 1969, due to the "revolutionary tactics" of DV and his friends, we almost lost every thing among the students. But today our student movement is the biggest organised student movement in Andhra. It is spreading

to new areas.

— In the beginning we had no working class movement with the name. But today we are working in textiles, tobacco, mirchi, fertilisers, coal etc.

— Our state committee had been able to unite with the communist revolutionaries in Srikakulam, Vizag, Nellore and Prakasam districts. Today we are working under the leadership of a single State Committee. We have been able to overcome the divisions of 1968.

— More than all this, we are not alone as earlier, confined to Andhra alone. Today, we are an important part of our All India Party functioning in 15 states.

During the last 12 years, we have braved police camps, Disturbed Areas Act, Emergency rule, arrests, tortures and killings. But still we have emerged as an organised force with relatively stable mass base in certain areas of certain districts, effectively conducting numerous anti-feudal and anti-government struggles. We are leading a resistance struggle.

## **Results of DV's line.**

Let us compare the results of DV's line too. Their achievements are too limited, if any. Their mass base is confined to two or three places in the province. In all other places they have to be content with individual contacts. Their mass base is nominal. Their mass organisations are nominal. If there is doing any significant work from them it is on the civil liberties front, which is joint some useful work in bringing about government atrocities on the people in the press. But even in this their claim that they are doing more than other communist revolutionaries is nothing but exaggeration. Where are their anti-land lords struggles, and to what extent? Did they develop into militant struggles anywhere? Let them deeply consider themselves about this.

Look at the fate of some of the struggles they have conducted.

— At one time in 1969, there was a big peasant movement in Anantapur district under the leadership of comrade Nagireddy for the occupation of banzar lands. Where is that movement today?

— Where is the Banzar land struggle of Krnool district today ?

— What has happened to the banzar land struggle in Divi taluq?

— What about girijan struggle of Kondamodulu ?

Now they talk of Maddulapalle village near Yellandu. They claim to have distributed about 300 acres of land to the peasants. Very good. But one should remember one fact here. In the taluqs of Yellandu and Burgampadu very near to this village, both in the forest and plain areas, there is a strong forest movement which has occupied about 3 lakhs of acres of forest lands. Today work is being done by us in hundreds of villages. This area is now under Disturbed Areas Act and police camps, subjected to police raids and heavy police repression.

You yourself have admitted, in your land struggle in Maddulapalle village, the police have visited the village only once and even they talked to you as gentlemen.

This only shows how “revolutionary” your struggle in Maddulapalle is.

Now for your All India organisation. Once Moniguha group joined them but now he had disappeared. They claimed some Punjab groups have joined them. But they too have disappeared. They claimed one group from Kerala has joined them. But this too has disappeared. All this is from their own publication of Proletarian line.

Now they claim that their group is an all India organisation with mass base throughout the country. But at the same time they call for building the All India Party.

Their attitude towards People’s struggles is negative, towards other organisations of communist revolutionaries is negative, towards People’s resistance is negative. In essence it is a legal movement and nothing more. That is why they have subjected themselves to extreme isolation. They cannot cover up their isolation by slandering and abusing others.

Now they slander that our leadership cannot conduct a principled ideological struggle, but only knows “organisational manipulation instead of defending the correct line”

Let us look at the organisational principles of DV and his friends.

Is it an organisational principle to announce a State committee in con-

bination of 4 persons from inside the jail? Even their document was not placed for a discussion before the jail comrades. They were only given an ultimatum to accept or not to accept. What organisational principle is this? First they recognised the PC outside. Then they announced that they have abolished it. What organisational principle is this? First they accused our line as "left adventurism", then they denounced it as "right opportunism" in the name of a baseless attack on comrade Madala Narayana Swamy. What was the crime he committed, except opposing their line? They unilaterally split the Party from inside the jail without any discussions. Has such a thing happened anywhere in the world. This is the special contribution of comrade DV and his friends.

What did we do? We conducted wide discussion inside the Party against Charu's line and defeated it. We placed all the documents of the jail comrades and those of the PC among the comrades for discussion and defeated them.

This explains clearly who resorted to organisational conspiracies, who depended entirely on wide discussion inside the Party for the success of the revolutionary line.

The experience of the last 10 years clearly expose the bankruptcy of the political line of comrade DV and his friends. Their line of struggle is nothing but a legal line. Still for him to claim that his line has been basically correct for the last 10 years is gross exaggeration to say the least. His baseless slanders against other communist revolutionaries is only a reflection of extreme isolation and frustration.

### **3. His present political line - New Theories.**

Now, let us consider, for a moment their new formulations concerning both national and international situation.

In essence, if taken to its logical conclusion, their new line is for an immediate general political united front with US imperialism and their friends in India. It is nothing but SN line against which we have fought bitterly and defeated it.

#### **International situation.**

We hold that the present international situation consists of the following most important factors :

— The two Super powers are the common enemies of the world people. Of this, US imperialism is on the defensive while Soviet social imperialism is on the offensive. Today Soviet Union is the Chief source of war danger and therefore greater danger to the world people.

— The Second world countries are a force to be reckoned with in the struggle against the hegemonism of the two Super powers.

— The Third World countries including Socialist China are the main force of struggle against imperialism and hegemonism of the two Super powers to advance their struggle.

Based on this analysis our political resolution has advanced a three point programme in the international field.

— Support all anti-imperialist struggles, particularly the struggles against the two Super powers, taking Soviet social imperialism as the greater danger to the world people.

— Today Soviet social imperialism is the chief source of war danger. Mobilise the people to resist Soviet aggression where ever and when ever it raises its head and unite with all that could be united including USA and Second world forces, to achieve this.

— Combine these tow tasks and advance the revolutionary movement throughout the world, step by step. In this process build international united front against Soviet social imperialism, including USA and Second world countries and their friends and defeat Soviet Union in it dares to start a Third World War.

This is our line in the international situation. It is based on the Marxist principle of utilising the contradictions of the enemy camp. This is how the international Communist movement worked under the leadership of comrade Stalin before the Second World War. This is how Socialist China is at present working. But DV and his friends are bringing new theories contrary to this.

## **The Principal contradiction in the world today.**

The contradiction between the two Super powers and the rest of the

world is the principal contradiction. The Third World countries are the main force of struggle against the Super Powers. Socialist China is the vanguard of this struggle. This is the understanding of Marxist-Leninist throughout the world.

Now DV and his friends are proposing a new formula. They say :

“In the present situation, it is the contradictions between the two Super powers on one hand and other socialist countries on the other, which have come to the surface. They are manifesting in their acute form between China and the two Super powers”. (No.1)

Hitherto all the Marxists-Leninists have been saying that Europe is the focus of contention between the two Super powers for world domination. Do comrade DV and his friends want to change this? If so why? Hitherto all of us have been saying that the two Super powers were the common enemies of the world people. Do DV and his friends want to change this. If so why?

Revisionists and neo-revisionists have been claiming that the contradiction between the imperialist powers and Russia is the principal contradiction. Now comrade DV is saying that the contradiction between the two Super powers and Socialist China is the principal contradiction. Both their arguments amount to abandonment of the three world theory.

### **Chief Source of War danger today.**

In our view Soviet Union is the chief source of war danger today. But DV and his friends, say that since Soviet Union is the aggressive force, war danger comes from the Soviet Union.

Does this mean that US imperialism is no more an aggressive force? Is not USA fighting for the preservation of its own present hegemonism and for hegemonism of the whole world? Are not the two Super powers engaged in a rivalry for arms production in their drive for world domination? Is not this rivalry leading to another world war and as such both these two Super powers responsible for world War? Both are responsible. There fore both are the common enemies of the world people. But today it is Soviet Union which is determined for a redistribution of the world in its favour and that is why we hold that Soviet Union is the chief source of war danger today and therefore a greater danger to the world people. The argument of DV and his friends is nothing but that of SN and his friends.

## **Is not USA an aggressor country ?**

Comrade DV says that USA is no more an aggressor country. For that he is quoting comrade Stalin. It is true that comrade Stalin divided the world in two—the aggressors and the non-aggressors—before the Second World War.

But at the same time he exposed the evil intentions of the non-aggressor countries which in practice was encouragement to aggression, giving freedom to war plans of the aggressors and convert the war into a world war, and encourage Hitler against the Soviet Union at that time.

That is why, while comrade Stalin did try for collective security with the West, at the same time he exposed their evil intention too. He supported all anti-imperialist struggles and revolutionary struggles. He understood the conspiracies of the imperialist powers and made a non-aggression pact with Hitler Germany. When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the weakened Western powers were forced to join hands with the Soviet Union against Hitler Germany.

Instead of telling these facts, only to quote Stalin about aggressor and non-aggressors is nothing but a call for immediate general political united front with USA. SN tried to deceive us with this formula, but failed. Now comrade DV has taken up this very same formula.

Economically USA is a stronger power than the Soviet Union. It is having economic, political and military control over greater number of countries in the world today. Military it is in a defensive position when compared with the Soviet Union, but when compared with others, it is on the offensive.

## **Is there united front between USA and China ?**

DV and his friends claim that there is already a united front between USA and China, that USA is in alliance with Third World countries. They say :

“USA has been forced to realise that it cannot defeat the Soviet Union alone” and that USA “which is in defensive, has made an alliance with the independent forces in the Third World countries and Socialist China” (Retranslation from Telugu).

**Soviet Union, revisionists and neo-revisionists, Albania-all spread this slander against Socialist China. Comrade DV also is repeating the same. Today Socialist China is supporting all anti-imperialist struggles against imperialism. At the same time, it is utilising the contradictions of the two Super powers. It is resisting the specific aggressive actions of the Soviet Union. It is uniting with all that could be united to resist specific acts of aggression by the Soviet Union. It is appealing to all the countries in the world to unite to defeat the war plans of the Soviet Union.**

**For example, China is resisting Soviet aggression in Zaire, Angola, Somalia, Yemen and now in Afghanistan. In this we see the western powers including USA joining with China in resisting Soviet aggression.**

**But at the same time China is also resisting American backed Israel's aggression and that of South Africa. It is helping the national liberation struggles of these countries to the extent it can.**

**China is the main supporter of the Kampuchean national liberation struggle against Soviet backed Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea. The Western countries are opposing Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea politically and diplomatically as reflected in the attitude of the ASIEAN countries.**

**But at the same time it is resisting the attitude of USA towards Taiwan and North Korea. China itself has been advocating 'unity in action' or 'parallel actions' against Soviet aggression. Thus we see that there is no basis for DV's contention that US imperialism is already in a united front with China.**

**Both USA and the Soviet Union are trying to unite with the moderates and reactionaries in the National liberation movements. They are trying to create their own compradors in these countries. To call this as USA being in alliance with independent forces in the Third World countries is most unreal.**

**In today's world situation, one can have united front with pro-USA forces on certain issues or join them in joint actions. There is no necessity to call such pro-USA comprador forces as forces of independence. Such attitude in practice will lead to tailing behind the pro-USA forces.**

**Today the Western countries including USA, are mainly following a policy of appeasement towards Soviet Union. As long as this policy of ap-**

peasement continues, to think of a general political united front with them is nothing but an illusion: In such a situation, support to all that could be united against specific acts of aggression of the Soviet Union and a merciless exposure of the appeasement policies of the western powers -only by combining these three policies, could we advance the world revolutionary movement in the world today. Only in this process of struggle, we can build an international united front against war of aggression from the Soviet Union, and not by calling USA and the pro-USA forces as forces of "independence".

## **National situation**

As far as the national situation is concerned, DV and his friends have come out with more naked formulations for an immediate general political united front with pro-USA forces in the country.

### **Is our country a semi-colony or a neo-colony ?**

In the beginning, we the communist revolutionaries did not clearly see the difference between semi-colonialism and neo-colonialism. While calling our country a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, we also called our country a neo-colony. The Andhra 'Immediate programme' also called our country a neo-colony.

It was SN who claimed that our country was under the complete hegemonism of the Soviet Union. It is nothing but treating our country as a neo-colony of the Soviet Union.

Now DV and his comrades, while treating our country as semi-colonial they also call our country a neo-colony. But we see a difference between these two characterisations.

Now, the Marxists-Leninists of Indonesia, Malayasia, Thailand and Philipines call their countries as neo-colonies. We do not think that such conditions have already been created in our country.

To day ours is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Is not the danger of our country becoming a neo-colony of the Soviet Union increasing ? Yes, the danger is certainly increasing because the Soviet Union is already dominant in the economic political and military affairs of our country. A pro-Soviet Indira Congress is in power. It has the political support of the revisionists. In Afghanistan about a lakh Soviet troops are waiting. That

is why we say that the danger of our country becoming a neo-colony of the Soviet Union is greater today. But it is wrong to say that our country has already become the neo-colony of the Soviet Union. Such an analysis only makes our party a tail of a section of the ruling classes opposed to the Soviet Union.

## **1947 August 15 Independence.**

Not clear on the above subject, DV and his friends are bringing some surprising arguments.

“With 1947 August 15th, our political independence began, but the subsequent congress governments were so subservient to imperialism that our independence has become nominal”. (Retranslation from Telugu)

They also say :

“We in India, had witnessed a marginal democratic change with the transfer of power from the British colonial regime to the congress leadership” (No.1)

What is the meaning of these two sentences ? It only means that our country had complete political independence in 1947 August 15th, and it became nominal with the subservience of the congress governments. This is nothing but distortion of history. This is nothing but accepting the theory of the revisionists and neo-revisionists.

India has been a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country right from the time of 1947 August 15th. Please see what comrade T.Nagireddy has said in his book “India Mortgaged”.

“The change of power was a compromise agreement between the Indian bourgeoisie and the British imperialism for joint exploitation of our country”.(Retranslation from Telugu)

## **Pakistan.**

With regard to Pakistan, DV and his friends are making still more atrocious theories : They declare :

“Pakistan, though a small country is an independent country has complete independence from Soviet social imperialism. It is independent from

US imperialism to a very large extent. Thus it is full independent from both the two super powers''.

Pakistan came into existence on 1947, August 15th. Was it not then a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country? Now they say that it is a independent country. Is it possible simple because of Chinese support.

What is the imperialist capital in Pakistan ? In what sectors? What are its loans from the various international financial institutions? What is the share of USA in these loans? Where from is it getting its arms mainly? What is the meaning of present efforts of Pakistan to get arms from pro-USA Arabian governments? If we put these questions, one can easily see that US imperialism has got an upper hand in Pakistan.

Today imperialism is getting weakened. Two Super powers have emerged from the imperialists and are contending for world domination. In these conditions, the bargaining capacity of the rulling in semi-colonial an semi -fecidal countries has increased. With these and Socialist China as its neighbor and a friendly country, the bargaining capacity of the ruling classes in Pakistan has still further increased. One should not misunderstand this bargaining capacity for political independence.

Now DV and his friends say that Pakistan is an independent country. But it is different from their own theories made only a few months earlier. Look at the following :

“The countries of the Third World are former colonies and semicolonies situated in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They are all dependent on one or the other Super power or both. There is a fierce contention between the two Super powers for hegemonism on these countries” (No.1)

Is not Pakistan an Asian country? Then how has it become fully independent from the two Super powers?

They further say :

“Today’s Nepal and Srilanka and Pakistan of yesterday have manifested a measure of independence from both the Super powers”

“While Srilanka and Pakistan have given way to pro-US regimes Nepal’s monarchy has continued the same role” (No.1)

These are the formulations of DV and his friends made in 1979 April, which showed that Pakistan was pro-USA government. How had it become fully independent later?

### **Principal contradiction.**

In India, almost all the revolutionary groups have been holding that the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the people to be the Principal contradiction. DV and his friends still are keeping to this formula.

After long and deep discussions, our Party has declared the contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism on the one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other as the Principal contradiction. We have also said that imperialism has got the upper hand in this alliance and that Agrarian Revolution is the essence of New Democratic Revolution. This is our opinion on this question.

**Why have we abandoned the old formula?**

The old formula does not show the relationship of feudalism with imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism. It does not show that imperialism (including Soviet social imperialism) dominates throughout the period of struggle for the success of the New Democratic struggle. Our present formula brings our main enemies sharply before the people.

This does not mean the abandonment of Agrarian Revolution. While imperialism is physically present here, it is only by directly fighting it that the liberation struggle will advance. But in a period of its indirect rule, it is only by fighting the big bourgeois-big land lords directly the liberation struggle would advance.

The most important point is that during the struggle for New Democratic Revolution, united front tactics will be changing in different phases, but armed peasant struggle remains the main form of struggle in all phases. This is the lesson that the Chinese Revolution has taught us. That is why, we have clearly stated in our political resolution that Agrarian Revolution is the essence of New Democratic Revolution.

**Is the country divided between pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet forces?**

DV and his friends earlier argued vehemently that our ruling classes were not divided into pro-Soviet and pro-USA forces. But now having gone to the other end, they say "This is the situation : The division between the pro-Soviet reactionary forces on one side and the anti-Soviet democratic force is the main one", Absurd, Why?

— The pro-Soviet forces, while depending mainly on the Soviet Union are also for economic and friendly relations with USA and second world countries. The Indira congress government earlier and now is proving this.

— The pro-USA forces, while mainly depending on USA are also for economic and friendly relations with the Soviet Union. The experience of the Janata government has proved this.

Therefore it is absurd to say that at present our country is divided between the pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet forces.

— We must also understand that the pro-USA forces are not in a position to take a definite anti-Soviet stand. Why?

Our ruling classes, whatever be their political character, they are all expansionist. They are showing their expansionist aims towards Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Srilanka, China etc., which are our neighbours. In today's world situation and the situation in South Asia, the ruling classes in India cannot depend on US imperialism which is getting weekend, to achieve their expansionist ambitions. On this they depend more on the Soviet Union. That is the reason none of the ruling classes in India demand the abrogation of Indo-Soviet Treaty.

Socialist China is standing in the way of the expansionist aims of our ruling classes. So the ruling classes in India are by nature anti-China.

That is why it is absurd to say that our country is divided into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet forces.

Pro USA forces and pro-Soviet forces exist in all the ruling class parties to a certain degree.

The Indira Congress is led by the pro-Soviet forces. But it too has its own share of pro-US and pro-Second world forces.

The Bharatiya Janata Party consists of all these three forces, but is led by the pro-US forces.

The Janata party consists of all these three forces. The positions of the regional parties is not different from this.

The pro-Second world forces do not have a separate political party. They exist in all the ruling class parties.

Today even the national bourgeoisie does not have a party of its own but is linked with all the ruling class parties.

Thus we could see that every ruling class party in India consists of pro-Soviet and pro Second world forces, So it is absurd to say that our country is mainly divided between pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet forces.

**Are pro-US forces 'independent' forces? Are they 'democratic' forces?**

Now DV and his friends seem to be feverishly trying to find forces of 'independence' and 'democracy' inside the ruling class parties. In this frantic search, they are calling the pro-US forces as forces of marginal 'independence' and marginal 'democracy'. They say "There are some anti Soviet but pro-US forces... They are pro-imperialist forces. But to the extent they remain pro-USA they play an 'independent' and 'democratic' role to an extent. Because of the contradiction between the two Super powers, since Soviet Union is the main aggressor today, they could play this role". Now all our ruling class parties, the Congress (I), Congress (U), Janata, Lokdal or the Bharatiya Janata — they are all big bourgeois-big landlord parties. All of them are equally interested in preserving the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system. Therefore it is absurd to look for 'independent' and 'democratic' forces inside the ruling class parties.

Now DV and his friends are characterising the Janata party as a Party of "Forces of marginal democracy and independence together with pro-US and anti-Soviet forces. Though we can not say which are stronger, we can say that the former are considerable" (No.8)

But in their political resolution they themselves have said : that the Janata Party "was refusing to sign on its dotted lines, though it has been adopting a pro-Soviet policy". They have further said: "Crimes are being daily committed on the ordinary people. Compared with the past, they are increasing. It has become the common thing under the Janata regime".

In 1980 March, the Janata Party was following a pro-Soviet policy,

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that is employing repression on the people, but now they say that the Janata Party is a party of 'marginal independence' and marginal 'democracy'.

Their characterisation about the Bharatiya Janata Party is still more comical.

In 1979, June they said that the RSS whether it is communal or not, it is consistently opposing the Soviet Union.

In 1980 August, they said that the Bharatiya Janata Party is anti-China, pro-Soviet in relation to South Asia. It is a communal and reactionary party representing landlord interests as well. It consists of ex-Jana Sangh and RSS forces in the main.

Once RSS was anti-Soviet, now it is pro-Soviet, and that only in South Asia. What about its role in other parts of the world? They alone could explain.

Today Soviet Union has got the upper hand in our country. The ruling classes in India are expansionist. So they are not in a position to take a definite anti-Soviet stand. These ruling class parties whoever is in power, in order to preserve the present system of exploitation will use fascism or bourgeois democracy, depending on the crisis of their system. Therefore it is absurd to look for 'democratic' forces inside the ruling class parties. If there are any such individuals, they will come out in the process of the struggle.

### **Joint action with other opposition ruling class parties.**

Does this mean that the working class will have united front with any section of the ruling class on any occasion? There are definitely such occasions, such as, if any Super power makes aggression on our country, if there is fascist dictatorship in the country, or if our country becomes the neo-colony of any of the two Super powers. During such definite periods, the working class will have united front with the ruling class opposed to that Super power behind those events on certain issues to a certain extent. But today there are no such occasions.

Does this mean that we should treat the pro-Soviet and pro-US forces as equal enemies? Certainly not. Soviet Union and its allies, the Indira Congress, CPI and CPM - whether in power or in opposition are a greater danger to our country at present.

How is the working class to utilise the contradictions of the pro-Soviet and pro-US forces? From issue to issue - economic and political, national and international. Our political resolution has declared :

“ We should utilise the contradictions of the two Super powers and those of the ruling class parties and groups, the central government and the provincial governments, ruling class parties and revisionists, from issue to issue both economic and political to advance the revolutionary movement, taking the Soviet Union and its allies as the greater danger”.

### **What are those issues ?**

Our Political resolution has called for united front struggles with pro-US and pro-Second world forces on such issues like civil liberties, immediate economic and political issues of the people, against Soviet aggression, particularly in Afghanistan against the efforts of the Soviet Union to convert our country into its neo-colony, and against the concessions that Indira Congress makes towards these efforts and against the conspiracies of the Soviet Union for a Third World War. Since these forces are mainly in the opposition, there is scope for such united struggles.

It is in this process of united struggles, and orientating them towards Agrarian Revolution, the revolutionary movement in the country will get strengthened. In this process the national bourgeoisie will break with the big bourgeoisie-big landlord forces, since it has got an antagonistic contradiction with them.

From all these points, one thing is certain. DV's line in its essence is nothing but SN line.

### **Blind hatred towards our Party.**

Our Political resolution is there before the people for nearly one year. DV and his friends have criticised this resolution only on two counts.

#### **First**

When Indira Gandhi demanded that the Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Afghanistan, our Party welcomed it. His whole attack is on this.

Before Indira Gandhi won the Parliament elections, she supported

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**Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. But after she came to power, in order to please and deceive the public opinion both in our country and the world, Indira Gandhi was forced to demand the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan. After her recent agreement with the Soviet Union to supply India with a military hardware worth Rs. 1400 crores, Indira Gandhi has been supporting the Soviet aggression more nakedly. The Indira government remained neutral on the UN resolution demanding the withdrawal of the Soviet forces.**

**What does all this show? The circus feats of Indira Gandhi on the Afghan issue. Even when she was demanding the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, we have been exposing all the 'lies' she was telling the people about Soviet actions in the country. Even at that time, we declared "we should remember that the present government of Indira Gandhi is a big bourgeois-big landlord class government, comprador in nature, subservient to imperialism and social imperialism and a pro-Soviet government. (New Democracy, No.2)**

**Are there no contradictions between our ruling classes and imperialism and social imperialism? There are. But they are friendly, and non antagonistic contradictions.**

**Now DV and his friends say there are no contradictions between the compradors and imperialism. But it can never stand the test of history.**

**But is it good for an opposition party to 'welcome' such friendly contradictions? This is the point to be considered and we will certainly take a proper lesson from it. But at the same time communist revolutionaries should utilise even the friendly contradictions of the enemy camp. This is a Marxist principle.**

## **Second.**

**Their second criticism is our attitude towards party members of CPM**

**We have declared that Soviet Union and its allies whether in power or in opposition are greater enemies of the Indian people at present.**

**But at the same time we have also declared that our party should take the initiative to unite with the members of CPM and their mass organisations at the village, factory or educational level to conduct united struggles on the immediate issues of the people.**

**Communist revolutionaries should differentiate between the revisionist leadership and their followers. We should take a positive attitude towards ordinary party members. This is a Marxist principle.**

**In a village, are we to tell their party members not to join anti land lord struggler?**

**In the factory, are we to tell their followers not to join the workers struggle against the factory arrangement ?**

**In educational institutions, are we to tell their followers not to join the struggles on immediate issues?**

**One who is interested in building a People's movement cannot accept any such stupid proposal.**

**DV and his friends have criticised our Political resolution only on these two issues. Even their criticism has no basis in reality. So they have been forced to resort to white lies in their hatred towards our Party.**

**Now they want to slander our party by saying that our party leadership is trying for links with the Indira's Congress government. They say: "We all know that if a section of CPI (ML) has been pro-Janata, there are strong indications that another is turning towards Congress (I)".**

**What are the indications so 'clear' to DV and his friends?. They have the audacity to say that the repression on our party cadres should not be confused with the leadership's efforts for 'links' with the Indira Congress government.**

**We only say SN spread all these lies long ago. Now DV wants to utilise the services of the very same lies. Can he gain anything by such lies? This is what all those who have no confidence in their own politics resort to.**

**But still we cannot but ask a few questions. What is the link you have discovered between our Party and the Indira Congress? What are the indications for it? If you are sincere and bold enough, you must come out with the story!**

**Their circus feats over the election tactics.**

**The circus feats they are conducting over the election tactics are sur-**

prising.

In the beginning when the Charu group proposed the question of permanently boycotting the elections, who wrote the first article in Janasakti opposing their stand and proposing that it should depend on the principles of Leninism? What was the attitude of comrade DV and his friends towards that article at that time?

Our Party decided to participate in the 1977-78 Assembly elections. What was the attitude of comrade DV and his friends on this question at that time? Did they not announce that participation in election is parliamentarism?

Then they declared: "Ours is not boycottism or participation in elections?" Is this a Marxist principle? Where has such a principle been put in practice anywhere in the world at any time?

Now they say that conditions at that time were not clear for them to decide on participating in elections.

What was unclear about the 1978 Assembly elections? About the level of the movement?

Now they say that they are directly not participating in the elections because the constitution is reactionary. Is this a Marxist principle? Bourgeois constitutions are always reactionary, particularly in semi-feudal countries like ours. Does participation in election depend on the level of the movement and the consciousness of the people or the reactionary nature of the bourgeois constitutions? When has Marxism declared that our participation in elections will depend on the reactionary nature of the bourgeois constitutions ?

Now DV and his friends demand proportional representation. Even it is accepted, will the present constitution be a progressive one ? Do this mean that DV and his friends will not participate in the elections till the principle of proportional representation is not accepted ?

Now they say that they have participated in the 1980 parliamentary elections. How ? By campaigning for the defeat of those supporting the two super powers, particularly the Soviet Union. According to their own formulations, Indira Congress, Lokdal, CPI-CPM are the pro-Soviet forces. They have already said that the Janata Party is a Party of marginal 'independence' and marginal 'democracy'. After having said all this, asking the

people to defeat pro-Soviet forces-does this not amount to asking the people to vote for Janata ?

SN tried to impose such election tactics on our Party and our Party has defeated them. We have constested the election on the basis of our own strength.

## **Antagonistic attitude towards Communist revolutionaries.**

Today the revolutionary situation in the country is getting brighter and brighter. People are coming forward to participate in various struggles. The communist revolutionaries should lead these struggles and orientate them towards Agrarian Revolution.

Who are the communist revolutionaries ? Those who accept Marxism, Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, those who accept Socialist China as a base for world revolution, those who accept these principles are communist revolutionaries. This is our understanding.

We need not recognise those who do not accept Mao Zedong Thought, who do not recognise Socialist China, as communist revolutionaries. At the same time we need not abuse them. This is our attitude.

At present, there is no unity between communist revolutionaries. But one need not get discouraged with this. As long as comrades belonging to other organisations are participating in people's struggles, as long as they are building people's movement, no single group by itself can defend these people's struggles. The necessity of defending the revolutionary movement and People's struggles is bound to unite all communist revolutionaries. This is our firm conviction.

Are there no differences between communist revolutionaries on important issues ? Are there no leftist trends and rightist trends, being reflected among their policies and practices ? Yes, there are. But the previous experiences, and the serious losses they brought, the experiences of their own party members will prevent these organisations from going to extremes. This is our firm conviction.

Why are there differences still present among the communist revolutionaries ? We had bitter experiences in the past. This has led to no confidence in each other. In addition, we have been living in different groups for

**the last 10 years. So we had no opportunity to mutually discuss these experiences and come to acceptable conclusions. So only the growth of the Agrarian Revolutionary movement will again create mutual confidence in the communist revolutionaries. So far, the movement built by anyone, including ours, is not yet strong enough to create confidence on the Path and politics of any one organisation. So we should concentrate on building the Agrarian Revolutionary movement. Only that could solve all other problems. This is our firm conviction.**

**The experience of the past 12 years has been very bitter. We may not be able to come to a common understanding on all problems of the past at once. It may take a long time. We should remember that this was the experience of even the Chinese Communist Party.**

**That is why our Party takes a positive attitude towards all communist revolutionaries of other organisations, including that of DV and his friends. We should have friendly discussions. We should work jointly on these issues on which is agreement, leaving others for future discussions. We should still dividing us, we can conduct friendly criticism in our papers on issues continue comradely discussions on ideological and political issues where we differ. There is no use of mutual condemnation. This is the experience of the last 12 years.**

**It is our firm conviction that such an attitude and practice will lead to unity of communist revolutionaries. As the revolutionary movement grows, no single leader out of sectarian attitudes or factional trends can stand in the way of unity of communist revolutionaries. Others will sweep such trends away and achieve unity.**

**This is our attitude towards unity of Communist revolutionaries. Whatever be the attitude of others towards us, this is our attitude towards others.**

**But DV and his friends have taken an antagonistic attitude towards other communist revolutionaries including our Party. They are shouting that they will continue this negative attitude as long as they fight against imperialism. They say that they will not join others even if they accept DV's programme.**

**The truth is DV and his friends will not join with others except on their 'basic line', their 'Andhra' experience and accept their leadership. Their statements and practice confirm this. This is the root of their isolation.**

Now they slander all other communist revolutionaries either as 'terrorists' or as 'agents' of Indira Congress. They should remember one fact. Terrorist movement has not been able to withstand repression anywhere in the world. But in India, the communist revolutionaries, inspite of all their left mistakes, have been able to withstand heavy government repression and have succeeded in building certain areas with a relatively stable mass base and that too in the face of heavy repression. The existence of our Party proves this.

The agents of the government cannot build a revolutionary movement. Today our Party in Andhra is the main target of repression by the government. To condemn such a party as a party of government agents only expose their hatred towards our Party.

Today the communist revolutionaries are subjected to fascist repression in various parts of our country. They are subjected to Disturbed Areas Act and police camps and inhuman police torture and goonda attacks of the landlords. Now in Andhra, we are facing similar attacks from the CPM. Just at this time DV and his friends attack other communist revolutionaries as 'condemned stuff'. They should calmly consider which camp they are joining.

All the enemies of the people are glad with the continuing differences among the communist revolutionaries. Even DV and his friends are glad that the communist revolutionaries have been broken into pieces. Is this the attitude of Communist revolutionaries ?

Though in general DV and his friends have taken an antagonistic attitude towards our Party and other communist revolutionaries, even they have been forced to make certain changes in their earlier policies.

Now they are forced to accept that the rivalry between the two Super powers for world domination, is getting intensified. They are now forced to accept that our ruling classes are divided. They have been forced to abandon their negative attitude towards People's movements led by the opposition. Today they are supporting the Assam movement. They are now supporting opposition agitation in Andhra. Now they say that they are participating in elections. They accept Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedung Thought, and accept China as a socialist country. We welcome this.

But we warn them, blind hatred and antagonistic attitude towards communist revolutionaries will not take them anywhere. This is a historical

truth.

## **Appeal to all communist revolutionaries.**

**Comrades,**

The revolutionary situation both in India and abroad is growing. The economic and political crisis in our country is getting intensified. The ruling classes are engaged in a dog-fight for power. The people are coming forward for various struggles. We are on the eve of a big people's uprising. It is our duty to orientate this people's tide towards Agrarian Revolution. Let us work jointly on those issues on which we agree. Let us patiently discuss issues on which we differ. Only in this process, could we achieve the unity of all communist revolutionaries.

***Victory is ours !***

***Road to Liberation***

***28-11-1980.***

# OUR DIFFERENCES WITH THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL ALTERNATIVE

**PROPOSED BY CPI (ML) LED BY  
COMRADE VINOD MISHRA**

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Of late, the CPI (ML) led by comrade Vinod Mishra has been very vociferous in propagating their concept of 'National Alternative' through various Party and allied journals, in organising seminars, organising Provincial and All-India conferences, based on this concept.

Our Party has never accepted their concept of National Alternative. Now their Party journal — Liberation (November, 1981) has published a special article. "Build up anti-autocratic Front taking anti-feudal struggle as the key link" explaining the ideological and political roots of their concept of National Alternative.

No doubt at present our two organisations are having bilateral discussions on various issues dividing our two organisations. In spite of these discussions. Since their concept of 'National Alternative' is being propagated openly, we are forced to make our criticism of their concept open. The purpose of our criticism is to openly demarcate our position from their concept and to facilitate a friendly and comradely debate on this question leading to better understanding among the communist revolutionaries and their organisations.

Our criticism is mainly based on the above-said article published in Liberation.

## **1. Strategic Aim.**

India is a vast semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, ruled by the big bourgeois-big landlord classes, subservient to imperialism and social imperialism, with the latter having the dominant position in the economic, political and military affairs of the country.

The contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism on the one hand and the broad masses of

the people on the other is the principal contradiction in our country today.

Only a successful People's Democratic Revolution and the establishment of people's Democratic Dictatorship of the workers, peasants, the middle classes and the national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class can lead to the liberation of our people from all exploitation and the Dictatorship of the ruling classes and pave the way for building Socialism and Communism in our country — the ultimate aim of our Party.

People's War based on Armed Agrarian Revolution is the only Path for achieving People's Democracy in our country.

Thus one could see that People's Democratic Dictatorship of the four democratic classes led by the working class is the strategic aim of the Party to achieve New Democratic Revolution in our country.

### **National Alternative — for what ?**

So when these comrades speak lightly of National Alternative in our country, they should remember the following factors :

— The Alternative to the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal order can only be New Democratic order under the leadership of the working class.

— The National Alternative to the present big bourgeois - big landlord government can only be people's Democratic Dictatorship of four democratic classes led by the working class.

— The opposition section of the ruling classes and the CPI and CPM speak of the National Alternative to the present Indira Congress government through elections. This is nothing but Parliamentary Path, which will never take us to the desired goal.

— The National Alternative to the present Parliamentary Path is only People's War based on Armed Agrarian Revolution.

In our understanding, there can be no other National Alternative, as far as Marxists-Leninists are concerned.

This is the theoretical aspect concerning the National Alternative, which is missing in the various articles and propaganda material produced

by the organisation led by comrade Vinod Mishra.

## **11. General Political United Front of the working class with sections of the ruling classes — When ?**

Of course these comrades will argue that here, they are using National Alternative, not of a strategic nature, but National Alternative in terms of the present day situation.

It is true that the strategic concept of People's Democratic Front, consisting of the Four Democratic classes—workers, peasants, middle classes and the National bourgeoisie—under the leadership of the working class—cannot be achieved with a single step. It is a long process of struggle.

New Democratic Revolution has to pass through many phases of struggle, with a change in the political situation of every country. We should give united front slogans that suit such a change, and combine that united front slogan with the resistance struggle and thus advance the Agrarian Revolutionary struggle in the country.

Even with this correct concept, let us examine the concept of National Alternative given by our comrades belonging to the organisation led by comrade Vinod Mishra.

In the name of the National Alternative, they have raised the slogan of building the Anti-Autocratic Front as their immediate task.

These comrades have explained that the classes that can be brought into this autocratic front include the proletariat, the peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and lastly those sections of big bourgeoisie and big landlords who oppose autocratic clique'. (Ibid, P.13)

To build this anti-autocratic front, the said article further says 'and hence only democratic forces are to be included in this front, although it may on certain occasions make some adjustments with pro-American or other ruling class forces who have some contradictions with autocratic clique'. (Ibid, P.9)

On the one hand the article says that this is the front which includes 'pro-American forces'. On the other hand they say that 'Only democratic forces are to be included in this front and have some "adjustments" with the pro-American forces or other ruling class forces having contradictions with

the autocratic clique.

Isn't there a contradiction between these two formulae ? We leave it for the comrades to explain.

The comrades may say that this front includes only democratic forces. If true, if the Front includes only democratic forces, how is it different from the People's Democratic Front ? Then why should the front be changed into anti-autocratic front ?

The comrades may say that their front seeks only "adjustments" with sections of the ruling classes opposed to Indira's autocracy, and that these sections remain outside the anti-autocratic front. If so, how are they going to reconcile with their own statement that the front includes "those sections of big bourgeois-big landlord classes who oppose autocratic rule". They have to explain this contradiction.

The comrades may also say that their anti-autocratic front is not an exclusive anti-Soviet Front with pro-American forces. But will they explain whether the big bourgeois-big landlord forces opposed to Indira's autocracy includes the pro-American forces or not?

Any how, the political orientation of the article is too clear : It is for a general political united front with the pro-American and other opposition sections of the ruling classes.

This is the crux of the matter. This raises the fundamental question as to when the working class can unite with sections of the ruling classes.

The history of the advanced capitalist countries tells us that the working class and its party had united with a section of the ruling classes—the capitalists—during times of the struggle against fascism for certain democratic rights or against foreign invasion for national independence.

The history of all Asian, African and other Third World countries also tells us that in these countries the working class, and its party had united with sections of the comprador bourgeoisie against colonial rule and against foreign aggression.

Particularly, the history of the Chinese Revolution tells us that the CPC under the leadership of comrade Mao had united with the bourgeoisie i.e., with Sun Yat Sen — against imperialism and warlordism during 1924-

and again during the struggle against Japanese aggression with the *dominatang* (1937-45).

Based on this historical experience, our political resolution "Our tasks in the present situation" has clearly said that working class can unite with sections of the ruling classes against foreign aggression of either of the two super powers against our country for National Independence, or against neo-colonialism of any one of the two super powers for national liberation.

Even during the time of an Emergency rule, the working class unites with sections of the ruling classes for democratic rights as it happened during the earlier rule of Indira Gandhi during 1975-77.

Except in these three conditions, there is no theoretical foundation or historical precedence to show that the working class and its party can unite with sections of the ruling classes in a general political united front.

We have clearly stated that even when we unite with them on certain conditions, we should expose their reactionary nature and reactionary policies on other issues and thus maintain our independence.

On all other occasions, particularly during the period of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism, we must utilise the contradictions of the ruling classes and their organisations to advance people's struggles—economic and political, national and international—link these immediate struggles of the people with the resistance struggle and step by step advance the agrarian revolution in the country to achieve the strategic objective — New Democratic Revolution.

From where does the authoritarianism or autocracy or even fascism stem in the conditions of our country today?

It is the present semi-feudal system in the country that gives rise to fascist methods of rule, emergency rule, authoritarianism or autocracy. As long as the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system continues in our country, the danger of fascism, authoritarianism or autocracy exists.

All the ruling class parties — the Indira Congress, the Pawar Congress, Lokdal, Janata the BJP — are interested in preserving the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal order. Even the CPI and CPM because of their revisionism are objectively helping in the preservation of the present system in the country.

**Even the regional parties—the Akalis, the DMK and AIDMK — are all big bourgeois, big landlord parties interested only in preserving the present system in the country.**

**Since the Party of the working class — the Marxists-Leninists — is working for the total destruction of this system, any section of the ruling classes including those in the opposition or the CPI and CPM cannot and will not join this struggle.**

**Any adjustments with these sections in the name of building the anti-autocratic front can only mean the watering down of the struggle against the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in the country.**

**That is why our Party has ruled out any general political united front with any section of the ruling classes or the CPI and CPM, because such a step is bound to weaken our basic struggle against the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in the country.**

**Comrades belonging to the organisation led by comrade Vinod Mishra, knowing or unknowingly, have separated the struggle against Indira's autocracy from our basic struggle against the present system in the country. This is a very serious theoretical lapse on their part with dangerous political implications for the future.**

**One point for clarification — The article says that "autocracy is also linked with the concentration of capital in semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries but this capital is not imperialist finance capital but comprador - bureaucrat capital".**

**The article further says "internationally we find many autocratic rulers who are good at bargaining with the super powers and exercise relative freedom." (Emphasis ours)**

**What is the meaning of these sentences ? Can we deny the existence of foreign finance capital in India entrenched in both the private and public sectors, and the govt. getting thousands of crores of rupees as loans from the imperialist and social imperialist powers ? Isn't this foreign finance capital dominating the economic, political and military affairs of this country ? Isn't this foreign capital the main prop of the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in our country, which is the root cause of fascist repression, or authoritarianism or autocracy as you like to call it ?**

**You call the bargaining power of the autocratic rulers as "relative**

freedom". Is this different from the "marginal independence" of our country being described by some communist revolutionaries? In spite of this bargaining power, is it not true to say that our ruling classes are subservient to imperialism and social imperialism?

## **United front with pro — American forces against pro — Soviet forces?**

Now these comrades say that anti-autocratic front includes big bourgeois-big landlord classes opposed to Indira's autocracy. This cannot but include pro-American forces.

The two super powers — US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism — are two common enemies of the world people. The peoples of the world should fight against both these common enemies, taking Soviet Union as the greater danger.

Both these two super powers are contending for supremacy in India, and in this contention, Soviet Union has got the upper hand in the economic, political and military affairs of our country.

So in this situation, we should fight against all imperialisms, particularly the two super powers, taking Soviet Union as the greater danger.

Taking Soviet Union as the greater danger cannot and does not mean that we should unite with USA as against the Soviet Union either nationally or internationally.

Comrade Mao has always advocated that while driving the tiger away from the front door, one should beware of the wolf entering by the back door. But he never said that we should unite with the wolf in order to drive out the tiger.

Comrade Mao had always said that we should utilise the contradictions of the enemies and defeat our enemies one by one.

It is theoretically and politically wrong to always unite with the lesser enemy to defeat the greater enemy. It is absurd to think of such tactics in the struggle against semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism.

It is so with our struggle against the pro-Soviet and pro-American forces. Both of them represent different sections of the big bourgeois-big

landlord classes. Today our struggle is aimed at both these sections, the pro-Soviet and pro-American forces, taking the pro-Soviet forces as the greater danger.

Any idea of uniting with US imperialism as against Soviet social imperialism will only mean the replacement of the present Soviet domination by US domination. This will not bring about any change in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in our country.

Any idea of uniting with the pro-American forces to replace the present pro-Soviet Indira Gandhi government, in today's correlation of forces in the country, will only mean the replacement of the present pro-Soviet govt. with a pro-American govt. That will not bring about any change in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in the country which is the root cause of all the miseries of our people and naturally they will not accept such a change. The earlier Janata government has already proved this.

This is enough to show the bankruptcy of building a united front with pro-American forces against pro-Soviet forces.

### **Are there exclusive pro-Soviet and pro-American forces at present in our country ?**

One more point. Are there exclusive blocks of pro-Soviet forces and pro-American forces for our comrades to unite with the exclusive pro-American forces against the exclusive pro-Soviet forces ?

Now look at the role of the two Super powers in India today. The Soviet Union, while dominating the public sector and supply of military hardware to the Indian Army and having a military alliance with the Indian govt. in the form of the 'Friendship Treaty', is at the same time entering the private sector. On the political side, while mainly depending on the Indira Congress, the CPI and CPM to maintain its predominance in India, it is at the same time trying to create its own lobbies in all other big bourgeois-big landlord parties national and regional — including the opposition section of the ruling classes.

US imperialism and West European countries including Japan while maintaining their dominance in the private sector, trade and loans to the govt., are at the same time entering the public sector too.

On the political side, while mainly depending on such parties like

**BJP and certain leading sections in the Lokdal, Janata and other regional parties etc., they are, at the same time trying to create their own lobbies inside the ruling Indira Congress itself.**

**In line with this role of the two Super powers in India, their respective lobbies, the pro-Soviet and pro-American lobbies in India are also playing a similar role.**

**While pro-Soviet lobby, mainly represented by the Indira Congress among the big bourgeois-big landlord parties, mainly depending on the Soviet Union for maintaining its power, is at the same time maintaining friendly relations with US imperialism and other imperialist powers in the West. The recent IMF loan is a clear example of this.**

**While the pro-US lobby, mainly depending on US imperialism and other Western powers, is at the same time maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union. None of them are for scrapping the so-called Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union.**

**The experience of the earlier Janata govt. has amply proved this. Not only that. The big bourgeois-big landlord ruling classes in India, and their parties, are expansionist by nature, while their methods may be different. To achieve their expansionist aims, they depend more on the Soviet Union — a rising imperialist power — than on US imperialism, which is on the defence everywhere.**

**Taking the particular situation existing in South Asia, where the Indian govt. is in contradictions with its neighbours, particularly with China, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the Indian ruling classes as a whole are dependent on the Soviet Union to maintain and improve their position.**

**Such being the actual position, exclusive pro-Soviet and pro-US lobbies existing in India at present is nothing to do with reality. And for these comrades to speak of building the anti-autocratic front with pro-US forces is nothing but a day-dream**

**What is the line of the CPC and the Chinese govt. on this?**

**These comrades have always been the first in welcoming every Chinese move, political and ideological. They even supported the recent decision of the CPC to restore Liu Shao Chi.**

**We request these comrades to calmly consider whether their present line of building the anti-autocratic front with pro-American forces against the pro-Soviet forces has anything to do with the current line of the CPC and Chinese govt. towards the two super powers.**

Today, CPC and Chinese govt. are following three worlds theory, which takes the two super powers as the source of all the troubles in the world and opposes both of them, taking the Soviet Union as the chief source of war danger and hence the greater danger.

It supports all National Liberation struggles of all the third world countries against all imperialist powers, and their hegemonism, particularly that of the two super powers.

CPC and China, oppose Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and Soviet-backed Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea. At the same time they equally oppose US support to Israel's aggression against the Arab countries and the Palestinian people. It opposes American support to white-racist South Africa's aggression against the African countries and their people. It exposes the American conspiracies in Korea and Taiwan and the Soviet military concentration on China's northern border.

Recently, during his tour of Nepal, the Chinese Premier openly declared that China will not join any anti-Soviet front.

These are enough to show that China and CPC oppose both the super powers, taking Soviet Union as the greater danger. This is the correct line that any Marxist-Leninist Party should adopt. We only want our comrades of the organisation led by comrade Vinod Mishra to apply this correct international line to the concrete conditions in India where both the super powers are contending for domination. If they do that, they cannot but come to the same conclusion as we have — oppose both the super powers and their lobbies where and when necessary, taking Soviet Union and its allies as the greater danger.

### **III. Wrong political assessments.**

No doubt it is true that today Indira Congress is in power not only in the centre but in the majority of states also. It is the ruling power which is mainly responsible for maintaining the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in the country. It is the ruling power that suppresses and oppresses our people. It has already armed itself with NSA and ESMA to

suppress the just struggles of the people.

Therefore Indira Congress and their governments should be the main targets for political attack. In order to defend and extend democratic rights and civil liberties, on certain immediate issues of the people, it is necessary to unite with the opposition section of the ruling classes, while at the same time exposing their reactionary nature on other issues and thus utilise their contradictions with the ruling power to advance the people's struggles. While so doing, we should not create any illusions among the people about the "democratic nature" of this opposition section of the ruling classes, and their parties.

But the comrades belonging to the organisation led by com. Vinod Mishra are not content with this. To suit their wrong concept of National Alternative — Build the anti-autocratic front—they are spinning out certain political assessments which have nothing to do with the reality. Look at some of the astounding assessments of these comrades.

The said article says :

"Indira autocracy arose as the representative of the most reactionary, ultra-chauvinist section of the ruling classes with the active support of Soviet Social imperialism."

To picture Indira Gandhi as "representative of the most reactionary, ultra chauvinist section of the ruling classes" is nothing but one-sided stress.

Practice has proved that Sri Morarji Desai or Charan Singh are no less reactionary than Indira Gandhi. They are all representatives of the same ruling class — the big bourgeois-big landlord classes. Since the ruling classes themselves are reactionary and chauvinist, it is wrong to pick out certain individuals like Indira Gandhi or one political party- the Indira Congress — as the most reactionary or ultra chauvinist section of the ruling classes. Such a definition is devoid of any class approach. Such an assessment has nothing to do with any reality.

*Can anybody say that BJP and its RSS are less chauvinist than Indira Congress ? Which is the ruling class party in India that is not playing chauvinistic role towards our neighbours ? For that matter, even the CPI and CPM are not lagging behind.*

They do not stop with this. They further say "we call this clique (Indira clique) autocratic" (Ibid-p.9)

As the characteristics of this autocratic clique, they speak of this clique playing with "populism", "concentrated campaign against organised working class", concentration of power in executive hands", "special penchant for police actions in dealing with mass movements", "supreme leader" etc.

In all humility, let these comrades explain if the other opposition section of the ruling classes have not exhibited the very same characteristics, that are attributed to the Indira clique.

Did not the Janata Party play the very same "populist" slogans to come to power in 1977? Did they not betray the people the moment they come to power in 1977? When once the Janata Party came to power, did it not resort to the very same repressive measures to suppress the people's struggles? Who was responsible for the murders of Pantnagar during the Janata regime? Who was responsible for mass murders of workers at Swadeshi Textile Mills of Kanpur? Who was responsible for police repression against the peasants of Baurihora in Bihar in 1978-79? Who started the communal riots in Bihar over the question of 'reservations' during the period of the Janata government? Didn't the Janata government enact various Goonda Acts to suppress the working class strikes? Didn't the Janata govt. in MP enact the mini MISA to suppress the working class strikes? Did not the Janata government continue keeping hundreds of communist revolutionaries in jails throughout the country under one pretext or another? Didn't the Janata government allow the Indira Congress ministry in Andhra to extend the Disturbed Areas Act to suppress the growing peasant movement in Karimnagar district? Didn't the Janata government continue employing the notorious Preventive Detention Act without trial? Didn't the Janata government arm itself with powers to enact regional Emergency rule?

If one remembers that the present Janata, Lokdal, BJP etc. were all partners in that Janata govt. notorious for all the misdeeds mentioned above, how can these comrades say that only Indira clique is autocratic and all others opposed to it are democratic?

While fighting Indira's autocracy and utilising the contradictions of the opposition with the ruling power, one should not create any illusions about them among the people, because when they come to power, they are bound to use the very same autocratic methods and repression against the people, because both of them belong to the same ruling classes — the big bourgeois, big landlord classes.

We must also remember that bourgeois democracy or bourgeois fas-

cism are two methods of the ruling classes which they will use depending on the economic and political crisis to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system. Indira Congress or any other opposition ruling class party will resort to both these methods to preserve the present system of exploitation as the situation demands.

That is the reason why we say that while we utilise the contradictions of the ruling classes and their parties on certain issues to a certain extent, at the same time we should not have any general political united front with any section of the ruling classes, because our struggle is basically aimed at the total destruction of the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal system.

## **Experience of CPC during the First Civil War**

This was also the practice of CPC in the Chinese Revolution during the first civil war period — the period of struggle against the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in China.

As comrade Mao says in 'New Democracy', during this period, the CPC did not have any general political united front with any sections of the big bourgeois, big landlord classes, with any section of the Koumintang. During this period, even the national bourgeoisie in China was mainly tied to the Koumintang.

During this period, in the areas ruled by the Koumintang, CPC worked among non-party intellectuals, among the Kuomintang army men, among the progressives — teachers, students and intellectuals - as can be seen from the pamphlet 'Experiences of Chinese Revolution some unpublished notes - recently distributed by IPANA (pp 68-69).

In the liberated areas, the main targets of the United Front during this period was to win over non-party progressively enlightened gentry and intellectuals, enlightened gentry meaning the political, economic and military representatives of the landlord class in the locality.

The main slogan of the United front work in this period had been "resolutely overcome close-doorism", "unite with our real friends, win over the middle forces and attack our real and chief enemy".

The basic policy formulated by comrade Mao was to isolate the die-hard forces, develop the progressive forces and win over the middle forces. This is the meaning of utilising the enemies' contradictions to strike at the

chief enemy.

United front work should be done in upper, middle and lower strata, but with lower stratum as the basis. If one combines the three, that will be a great achievement. This was the method of CPC for united work at that time in China.

Now let us look at the type of united front work that CPC did in Shanghai at that time under the occupation of Kuomintang. The main tasks were : to organise the basic masses, to establish united front, to penetrate the enemy ranks, to cooperate with the armed struggle in the countryside. On the united front, the same IPANA pamphlet says :

“In the big cities, working class is rather concentrated and also the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie (professors, high ranking intellectuals). So it is important to organise a united front. In the cities, the main targets for setting up the front is the national bourgeoisie.”

This experience of China should tell us that during the period of struggle against semi-colonial and semi-feudal system, there can be no general political united front with any section of the ruling classes except utilising the contradictions of the ruling classes on certain issues to a certain extent, to our advantages.

#### **IV. Dangerous concessions.**

The slogan of building the anti autocratic front which includes ‘sections of the bourgeoisie and big landlords who oppose that authocratic clique’ -- is bound to lead to dangerous concessions to these sections in order to unite with them in the struggle against Indira's autocracy.

#### **Agrarian Revolutionary struggle relegated to the background.**

This is bound to lead to placing the Agrarian Revolutionary task to a secondary position and building the so-called anti-autocratic front as the primary task.

This is nothing out of our imagination. The said article itself says that “many revolutionary and democratic forces have now the question of defeating the autocracy as their immediate task”.

The said article goes to the extent of saying that this struggle against autocracy is a phase of struggle. It says "Moreover what is more important is to expose the tactical slogans of various opportunist combines and to evolve, propogate and popularise our own tactical slogans in this transitional period". (Emphasis ours)

So it is clear that these comrades think the struggle against Indira's autocracy is a distinctive phase-- a transitional phase on our way towards New Democratic Revolution. It is really surprising how these comrades can say that change of big bourgeois - big landlord govts. can bring about transitional phases of struggle, without any change in class relations. Having called this a distinctive phase of struggle, it is not surprising to see them taking this struggle against autocracy as the immediate task and all other tasks as secondary.

This is also not our interpretation. The intention of the authors of the said article is too clear to be missed. The article says : "The great expedition for area-wise seizure of power temporarily halts"

What is the meaning of this? Even given the most favourable interpretation, it can only mean slow abandonment of resistance struggle under their leadership whatever be its character and strength. There can be no other meaning for this.

### **Concession to the opposition section of the ruling classes**

Having made concessions on the theoretical concept itself, having taken the struggle against Indira's autocracy as the immediate task, these comrades are bound to make concessions to the opposition section of the ruling classes and their parties in order to unite with them against Indira's autocracy.

This again is not our assumption. Look at what their article itself says.

"It may on certain occassions make some adjustments with pro-American or other ruling class forces who have some contradictions with the autocratic clique".

What is the meaning of these adjustments? This can be nothing but concessions to those ruling classes who join you in the struggle against Indira's autocracy.

Having gone so far, they are giving theoretical cover to giving these concessions : While explaining that the contradictions of the ruling classes have to be utilised, the article says : "utilisation means mutual adjustments on some issues against the common enemy without relinquishing our class position and our right to criticise and to independently mobilise the masses".

What are the issues on which these comrades want to mutually adjust with the opposition section of the ruling classes opposed to Indira Gandhi ? What type of adjustments do they want to make with these sections ?

Ofcourse they do not want to spell it out. But the whole orientation of this article is too clear on this -- It is putting their "resistance struggle" into the background "temporarily".

### **Programme of Action without resistance**

The programme of Action that the article is proposing is too clear on this :

- Expose thoroughly all opportunistic alliances.
- Support to united attempts of major trade unions towards mass political strikes.
- Emphasise on local united campaigns.
- Build non-Party-class organisations.
- Do infiltration work in those parties, organisations which are led by big bourgeoisie and landlords.

What does it all amount to ? This will lead to nothing but some economic and political agitations, some agitational struggles on immediate issues of the people and some united work with other mass organisations.

If this is not relegating the resistance struggles of the masses into the background, what else is this ?

It is very significant to note that nowhere the article has explained how they are going to overthrow Indira's autocracy -- through parliamentary path or agrarian revolutionary struggle, as the main form of struggle. It is a very significant omission to note.

The article itself says that they are temporarily halting "area-wise seizure of power". The article proposes a programme of action which is devoid of any resistance struggle. Then how are these comrades going to overthrow Indira's autocracy?

After having said that the struggle against Indira's autocracy is the immediate task, that this struggle against Indira's autocracy is the transitional phase, and after having said that they are halting temporarily the "area-wise seizure of power", to say that they are still for "gradually arming the masses" has no practical meaning. It can never come into practice. It is not the primary task according to their own written words. "Arming the people" and continuous resistance to landlord-goonda-police counter-revolutionary violence cannot be separated from the task of building the base areas. But they say that they are "temporarily" halting this process.

### **Bourgeois Alternative**

Whether they like it not, knowingly or unknowingly, the orientation in the article is bound to lead to the bourgeois alternative -- the parliamentary path.

After having said that Indira's autocracy is the main enemy and should unite with pro-American forces and other big bourgeois - big landlord forces opposed to Indira Gandhi -- they will be forced to tie themselves to these forces.

But these forces want to defeat Indira's autocracy through elections. But the slogans of these comrades so far has been "boycott the elections" as a strategic slogan. But in their anxiety to defeat Indira's autocracy, the main enemy, their followers are bound to support these "anti-autocratic forces" in elections either officially or unofficially or through their mass organisations.

This practice is bound to remain for a long time to come with them. When Indira Gandhi's autocratic clique is in power their immediate task will be to defeat that clique and when that clique is in opposition, their main task will be to prevent it from coming back to power.

Their orientation that the struggle against Indira's autocracy is the immediate task cannot but lead to this practice.

The idea of building the anti-autocratic front with pro-American forces

and other opposition sections of the ruling classes against Indira's autocracy only breeds illusions about these forces. This can be seen from the invitation letter in Hindi sent by the organisers of the Delhi seminar where they raised the question of an intermediate government.

They have also characterised that only Indira clique is autocratic. Will not this formula ultimately lead them into general political united front with CPI and CPM -- who claim to be 'heroes' of the struggle against Indira's authoritarianism? Let us wait and see.

Their characterisation that the struggle against Indira's autocracy is a transitional phase of struggle, that they are halting temporarily "area-wise seizure of power" -- is bound to lead to a situation of tying themselves with those ruling classes opposed to Indira Gandhi and their bourgeois alternative.

The whole concept and orientation of these comrades on the question of 'National Alternative' has nothing to do with the experience of the Chinese revolution.

In all the phases of the Chinese struggle, against Kuomintang in the First Civil War, against Japanese aggression and in the Second Civil War -- armed struggle was the principal form of struggle and all other forms of struggles were combined with this principal form of struggle.

Taking this experience, united front with the opposition section of the ruling classes on certain issues, to a certain extent, should be linked with the main form of struggle -- agrarian revolutionary struggle. Without agrarian revolution, there can be no basic changes in our society.

So it is wrong in principle to delink the struggle against Indira's autocracy from the agrarian revolutionary struggle, as these comrades are doing.

Our Path clearly says :

— The Path of Protracted People's War means taking armed agrarian revolutionary struggle as the principle form of struggle and combining it with all other forms of struggle.

— The path of Protracted People's War means taking the armed peasant struggle and combining it with the necessary changes in the tactics of united front, as the situation demands, in all phases of struggle.

— Armed agrarian revolutionary struggle is the main form of struggle in the People's War.

— Agrarian revolution means a struggle against all forms of exploitation, oppression and suppression practiced by the landlords.

— Communist revolutionaries should consciously direct all these struggles towards Armed agrarian revolution.

— The struggle for Agrarian Revolution-the primary task-should be linked with all other forms of struggles, national and international, the struggle for united front and the struggle for civil liberties.

— The People's struggles, particularly the peasant struggles, should be linked with the resistance struggle against landlord-goonda-police, counter-revolutionary violence.

— The people's struggles, the resistance struggle and party building are inter-linked and they cannot be separated.

The link between the principal form of struggle and other forms of struggle has been correctly formulated here. Here in India, in all the phases, agrarian revolutionary struggle should remain the main form of struggle.

All the immediate struggles of the masses -- economic and political, national and international -- including the struggle for united front and for civil liberties should be consciously diverted towards the resistance struggle, taking the present situation in our country into consideration.

It is entirely wrong to delink the struggle for united front against Indira's autocracy from the resistance struggle.

Of course these comrades say that they want to build the "anti-autocratic front" taking the anti-feudal struggle as the key link.

If these comrades are serious in taking the anti-feudal struggle as the key link, then can they escape from the responsibility of organising the peasants for resistance against landlord-goonda-police counter-revolutionary violence?

In our country, a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, the people even in their anti-feudal partial struggles, are faced with the suppression by landlord-goonda-police combine. The people should be politically and

organisationally prepared to resist the counter-revolutionary violence of the landlord-goonda-police. To resist this counter-revolutionary violence, the people should be armed with the locally available weapons.

If one wants to take the anti-feudal struggle as the key link, one cannot separate it from active resistance to the landlord-goonda-police violence.

Is there any hint in this article about linking the anti-feudal struggle with the resistance struggle ?

On the other hand are they not halting this resistance struggle for the sake of building the so-called anti-autocratic front ?

In today's semi-colonial and semi-feudal conditions of our country, there can be no real anti-feudal struggle without active resistance and arming of the people with the locally available weapons.

If one takes up active resistance struggle against the landlords and their henchmen, what becomes of the 'adjustments' that these comrades want to make with the opposition section of the ruling classes ?

That is why we say that their whole concept of 'building the anti-autocratic front', taking it as the immediate task, their 'adjustments' with these sections for the sake of united front with them, precludes any active resistance to landlord-goonda-police violence.

In the absence of such active resistance, their anti-feudal struggle cannot go beyond agitational struggles on economic issues, at best some militant struggles without any political orientation of consciously leading them to agrarian revolutionary struggles, the resistance struggle, and building areas of resistance.

## **V. Their practice**

The practical steps these comrades are adopting to build the National Alternative - "building the anti-autocratic front" are also illuminating. When we see the practice of these comrades for the last six months one cannot but come to the following conclusions :

**Without the Party leadership.**

**The state conferences and the Delhi seminar, held so far, show all the participants are various mass organisations - some under their own leadership, some under the leadership of others, some mere paper organisations or nominally existing, and certain individuals with their own political aims.**

**What is singularly conspicuous is the absence of their Party. They always stress that only mass organisations should participate in such meetings.**

**Can anybody build a united front, whatever be its name, without the leadership of the working class party ?**

**On the one hand they say that without exposing "opportunist political alliances" and "popularise our own tactical slogans", "proletarian leadership cannot be established".**

**But one has to ask-can proletarian leadership over the united front be established without the proletarian party directly taking part in it ? How can the mass organisations under the leadership of the party fulfill the task of ensuring the leadership of the Party ? Has any body ever heard of such a proposal ?**

**Of course, they use such terms as proletariat "as leading core of this movement", "peasants, especially landless and poor peasants constitutes the main force of this movement", that "the sum total of united front work must be a front led by and based on the worker-peasant alliance". These expressions have no meaning, if there is no direct participation of the working class party in the united front work and leading the same. Worker - peasant alliance as the basis of active resistance struggle against the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system.**

**A united front, whatever be its name, without worker - peasant alliances as its basis, without the leadership of the working class party, can it be anything except heterogeneous organisation without a clear cut political orientation ? Can such a united front ever mobilise the people for struggle against Indira's autocracy?**

**They say that the Party of the working class should not directly participate in such united fronts. Since, according to them, such direct participation will drive away the non-party democrats, party should be behind the cover ! Non-party democrats do not want to associate with us directly in the struggle against Indira's autocracy but they want our mass organisations**

to participate in such a struggle. With such a concept, are not the non-party democrats utilising the working class party for their own selfish ends ?

This whole concept goes against the basic Marxist-Leninist concept - that the working class Party should be the leader of the united front and it should have worker-peasant alliance as the basis of the united front : only then can the working class party give leadership to the non-party democrats.

Now they want other revolutionary groups to participate in such united front organisations and their conferences. Without prior agreement among the participant communist revolutionary organisations on the programme and the line of action of such an alternative, what will happen ? Given the differences among these organisations, bitter debates are bound to take place among them on the programme and line of action in the presence of the non-party democrats. It is the non-party democrats that will utilise our differences to their advantage, and not the communist revolutionaries leading the non-party democrats onto the path of struggle. Here also one can see the absence of party leadership over the united front.

### **Association with dubious elements**

In the name of drawing non-party democrats into the united front work, these comrades are associating themselves with elements who have their own selfish political aims.

To give only two examples :

— In spite of our warning about the characteristics of Datta Samant and his trade union movement, these comrades took the trouble of going to Datta Samant to invite him to the Delhi Seminar. He curtly refused to come. The nature of this non-party democrat can be seen from the fact that he called upon the Bombay city transport workers under his leadership, to run the buses when the entire workers of India went on a day's general strike on 19th Jan. 82.

— Shankar Guha Neogi, another non-party "democrat", duly attended the Delhi Seminar, participated in the discussions, joined the All -- India Preparatory Committee to organise the National conference, but dutifully sent a telegram to Indira Gandhi saying that his trade union would not join the January 19th All India strike.

Can such elements ever be expected to join the struggle against Indira's

autocracy ?

## **National Alternative through Seminars**

Their method of creating these organisations is also peculiar. They call various organisations for seminars on certain subjects and after discussion on the said subject, they immediately try to create an All India organisation as part of their preparation for the National Alternative.

Seminars being organised on certain subjects are welcome. But without confining themselves to this declared objective, it is a very wrong method for them to build All -- India organisations with their concept of National Alternative, for which one cannot but object.

These methods are only a reflection of weak mass base and lack of solid mass work to prepare the proper ground for an effective united front.

## **Lack of sufficient preparation from the base**

The struggle for united front should be attempted at all levels -- the base, the middle and the upper levels. Out of these, the work at the base is the main. This is the Marxist-Leninist concept and practice.

Having once decided that the struggle against Indira's autocracy is the immediate task, having decided that this is also a 'transitional' phase of the struggle for New Democratic Revolution, they go ahead with calling the mass organisations under their leadership and under the leadership of others, some weak, some nominal, some existing only on papers, to State conferences and All-India Conferences, and setting up State level bodies and All-India organisation to bring their National Alternative into practice.

This is nothing but a fictitious attempt. In the absence of solid mass organisations and solid mass base, conferences will be the beginning and the end in itself of all such attempts to build the united front.

United front with other organisations requires joint campaigns on agreed issues, joint struggles at the base level on agreed issues. Joint activities and joint struggles demand joint discussions to decide on issues of struggle, joint campaigns and joint struggles. Only such an orientation and practice will prepare the ground for building the front at the top. Now they attack this method as a mechanical step. Skipping over the task of building the mass base through joint struggles, these comrades have now taken to

the method of artificially creating a united front organisation with various mass organisations -- mainly theirs. This cannot but end in failure.

Now these comrades are even trying to give a theoretical explanation, and that too wrongly quoting comrade Lenin. Now they say that "it is imperative on our part to 'act from above'".

During the course of 1905 Revolution in Russia, it was comrade Lenin who called on the party "to act from above". But this was when he was giving the call for a "Provisional Revolutionary government", to demarcate the Party from the political lines of the Cadets, the Mensheviks etc. He was giving the political orientation for the 1905 Revolution. This call he could give because he had armed masses behind him and the Soviet were springing up and the 1905 Revolution was surging forward.

What has Lenin's call to 'act from above' to do anything with your present activities, when you do not have the armed masses behind you and when you are even "temporarily" halting the "resistance" struggle under your leadership, whatever be its character and strength ?

## **VI. Refutation of Slander.**

Immediately after the Joint Declaration (6-10-81) you comrades went ahead with your concept of 'National Alternative'.

Nationally, our comrades have abstained from these conferences organised by them. These comrades at lower levels, in various states have released a slander campaign against our party and our General Secretary that having first agreed to participate in their conferences for the National Alternative, we have gone back on our word.

Though the General Secretary of our party had brought this slander campaign to the notice of your General Secretary, nothing has been done so far to remove the misunderstandings on this question and put the things in the correct perspective.

First of all we want to say that our delegation and the General Secretary of our party, in our mutual discussions, have never agreed to the concept of 'National Alternative' as explained by the organisation led by comrade Vinod Mishra.

In our joint discussions, both the delegations explained their respec-

tive positions on the question of a National Alternative which were in variance with each other. Ultimately it was agreed to form Joint Action Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, the concept and Programme of the National Alternative, the participants to the National Conference and the name of the 'National Alternative' should be discussed and accepted in the said Joint Action Committee and that the National Conference should be held on the basis of the call to be given by the said Joint Action Committee.

This was agreed to by both the delegations to the joint discussions. This was the political background for saying in the Joint Declaration "intensifying joint activities to develop people's struggles and to build up the All-India National Alternative comprising of mass organisations under the leadership of communist revolutionaries and other democratic forces".

One should not look at the Joint Declaration apart from this political agreement.

Even taking the literal meaning of the Joint Declaration, there are two important things which these comrades are conveniently forgetting. The All-India National Alternative has to be preceded by the intensification "of joint activities to develop people's struggles". Let us remember that after the Joint Declaration, there was no effort for joint activities in the proper sense of the term, let alone intensifying the joint activities.

Secondly there is no mention of accepting the National Alternative based on the understanding of the organisation led by comrade Vinod Mishra. What should be the basis of the National Alternative, its concept and orientation -- that has been left open for future discussions in the said Joint Action Committee.

This shows very clearly that our delegation and our General Secretary have never accepted the concept of the National Alternative as being propagated by the organisation led by comrade Vinod Mishra and the question of going back on our given word does not arise at all.

On the other hand, we want to remind these comrades that so far in all our joint discussions they have all along been telling us that they had no basic differences with our resolution "Our tasks in the present situation" passed by our Special Congress. But the present article of these comrades "Build up anti-autocratic front" shows they basically differ with our political resolution on the question of utilising the contradictions of the ruling classes.

In all the joint discussions, held so far, what these comrades have been saying is that only the four democratic classes come into the united front. Now they say that their united front consists of pro-American forces and other sections of the ruling classes opposed to Indira Gandhi.

## **VII. Our concept and practice to build the United front.**

The strategic united front we have to build is People's Democratic Front consisting of the workers, peasants, middle classes and the national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class in order to make the New Democratic Revolution a success.

Of course, at present, the national bourgeoisie is mainly tied to the various sections of the ruling classes and their parties and they are not yet prepared to align themselves with us in the struggle against imperialism, and the ruling classes in India, who are comprador in nature.

But there is basic antagonism between the interests of national bourgeoisie and imperialism and its subservient ruling classes. So, as the economic and political crisis in India deepens, as the national bourgeoisie feels the oppression of imperialism and the big bourgeois-big landlord classes, as the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the working class grows into an alternative force, then the national bourgeoisie will break with imperialism and the present ruling classes.

Keeping the vacillating role of the national bourgeoisie and their connections with exploitations, with a correct approach towards them, as the revolutionary movement advances, a section of the national bourgeoisie will join us, a section will get neutralised and a section having connections with imperialism and the present ruling classes may join counter-revolution.

Keeping this strategic concept of the united front, we should continue to take a positive attitude towards the national bourgeoisie, voice their demands in opposition to imperialism and the present ruling classes, and always seek points of agreement with this section for joint struggles and agitation, while opposing their vacillating role.

This is our strategic concept of People's Democratic Front. A correct approach to the United Front helps the agrarian revolutionary struggle and the agrarian revolutionary struggle again strengthens the struggle for united front.

Of course keeping this strategic concept of the People's Democratic Front, various tactics have to be adopted, in various phases of our struggle to build the United Front, all finally leading to the People's Democratic Front.

In building the United Front, our attitude towards the various sections of the ruling classes should also be clear.

As we have described in the beginning itself, there are specific occasions when the working class can have a general political united front with certain sections of the ruling classes for specific objectives.

But such conditions do not exist in India at present. That is why we have rejected the policy of having any general political united front with any sections of the ruling classes, at present.

Even then we should utilise the contradictions of the various ruling classes on various issues, from issue to issue, as we have fully explained in our political resolution, "Our tasks in the present situation" and our basic lessons document.

That is the reason why we are basically opposed to the concept of "anti-hegemonic front", "anti-Soviet front", "Patriotic and Democratic Front", or your "anti-autocratic front", which are bound to lead to a general political united front with sections of the ruling classes, whatever be the subjective wishes of those who advance these slogans.

Any united front we build now, should at least help us to unleash the common struggle against the present government, help our resistance struggle, finally leading to the establishment of base areas. Otherwise it has no meaning.

## **Our Practice**

To build the united front, this is what we are practising :

— To build the worker-peasant alliance which should be the basis for any United Front.

— To work in other Trade Unions under the leadership of other parties, while building our own trade unions, and thus build the unity of the working class.

— To participate in all general agitations and struggles given by the opposition section of the ruling classes including the revisionists and neo-revisionists if they help in the anti-government struggle. Even if we are not partners in any joint committees, we join in such agitations and struggles with our own slogans.

— We utilise the contradictions of the ruling classes and their parties on specific issues to unite with all those that could be united on these issues against the greater danger, the present Indira Congress government.

— We unite with all those that are prepared to unite with us in the various civil liberties both at the state and All India level.

— We unite with others in India-China Friendship Association if they are willing to work on the single issue of Friendship between India and China.

— We unite with others in various writer's organisations.

— Our student organisations are uniting with other student organisations for struggles on specific issues whenever possible.

— We are utilising the contradictions of the landlord groups in the rural areas so as to defeat the main landlord in any particular area, without aligning ourselves with any landlord group.

— We are uniting with others in various employee organisations.

With this approach and practice, we have joined all joint agitations called by the opposition sections of the ruling classes, other trade unions, on various issues in all the provinces where our party units are working. Our student organisation has united with other student organisations in Punjab to conduct the struggle against bus-fare hike. We are uniting the broadest sections of the masses and mobilising them to maintain the communal peace in Punjab.

We believe that with this approach and practice towards united front, our contacts with others are bound to grow, having a positive effect on the immediate struggles of the people, ultimately leading to the establishment of the people's Democratic Front with the four democratic classes under the leadership of the working class.

## **VIII. The crux of our differences**

The crux of our differences on the question of the 'National Alternative' are :

(1) For our Party, in the phase of the struggle against semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the National Alternative is New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of working class, whereas your organisation is proposing defeat of Indira's autocracy as the immediate task.

For our Party, the National Alternative to the present big bourgeois-landlord government is People's Democratic Front consisting of the democratic classes -- the workers, the peasants, middle classes and the national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class with worker-peasant alliance as the basis, whereas your organisation is proposing "Building the anti-autocratic Front" as the National Alternative. This is nothing but a bourgeois alternative.

For our Party, People's War based on Agrarian Revolutionary struggle is the only National Alternative to the present Parliamentary Path peddled and practiced by all the opposition section of the ruling classes and the CPI and CPM, whereas your Party is proposing building the "anti-autocratic front" as the National Alternative, which is bound to lead the Marxist-Leninist Party to the Parliamentary Path either in the name of the Party or through mass organisations.

(2) For our Party both the Super powers -- US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism -- are the common enemies of the world people, with Soviet social imperialism as the greater danger, both nationally and internationally, and the working class party should mobilise the people of India against both the super powers, taking Soviet Union as the greater danger, whereas your party is proposing to build in India an anti-autocratic front with pro-American forces as against the anti-Soviet forces. Such a course either nationally or internationally is bound to play into the hands of US imperialism and its allies in India.

(3) For our Party the struggle against semi-colonial and semi-feudal system is a distinct phase of struggle. Change of big bourgeois-big landlord governments does not bring any changes in the class relations of the present day society, whereas your party thinks that the struggle against Indira's autocracy is a transitional phase of struggle. Such a formula is not only based on false assumptions, but is bound to lead the working class party into the

hands of that section of the ruling classes opposed to Indira's autocracy.

(4) Our Party thinks that autocracy, authoritarianism or fascism is a product of the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, and that any big bourgeois-big landlord party, national or regional, coming to power, is bound to resort to repressive measures to suppress the growing just struggles of the people to save their semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, and in order to liberate our people from all exploitations and repression, the struggle should be directed towards the destruction of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, whereas your party is proposing that Indira's clique is the only autocratic clique whose defeat is the immediate task. Such a formulation does not even take into consideration the experience of the earlier Janata government, and it only breeds illusions among the people about the opposition section of the ruling classes.

(5) Our Party holds that in a period of foreign aggression against our country by any one of the two super powers, the working class party should have a general political united front with certain sections of the ruling classes for National Independence. Similarly during the period of neo-colonialism by any one super power in our country, the working class should have a general political united front with sections of the ruling classes for National Liberation.

Even in periods of Emergency rule, as in Indira Gandhi's rule during 1975-76, the working class Party can have a united front with sections of the ruling classes for Civil Liberties.

In all other periods, the struggle is aimed against the whole system of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism. In such periods, there can be no general political united front between the working class and any section of the ruling classes, but the policy should be one of utilising the contradictions of the ruling classes and their parties from issue to issue.

Based on this concept, in today's conditions in our country the policy of our Party is to utilise the contradictions of the ruling classes and their parties on the immediate issues of the people, national and international, economic and political, and all these people's struggles should be primarily aimed against the government of Indira Congress and thus defeat the enemies one by one.

But your party is proposing a general united front with opposition sections of the ruling classes in the name of building the anti-autocratic

front, which is bound to lead the working class party to adopt the bourgeois alternative.

(6) Our party firmly holds that in all phases of the struggle for New Democratic Revolution, People's War-based on agrarian revolutionary struggle - is the main form of struggle, and the struggle for agrarian revolution is the primary form of struggle in all phases of struggle for New Democratic revolution, and all other forms of struggle -- the socio-economic struggle, and political struggle, national and international, the struggle for the united front, the struggle for Civil Liberties should be linked with the primary form of struggle -- the agrarian revolutionary struggle.

Our party Document says : "The main direction of the Party among the peasants should be selection of strategic areas, concentration of cadres, formulation of fighting and agitational slogans with extensive discussions with the people of the area, mobilising the peasants for struggles on those issues, building the peasant organisations, arming the people with the locally available weapons in the anti-feudal struggles from the very beginning, organising of the Village Volunteer organisations, people's resistance to landlord-goonda-police violence and repression, and thus create, develop and defend areas of sustained resistance and thus advance to establish the base areas in the countryside. We should be conscious of the fact that all anti-feudal partial struggles should be linked with the extensive propagation of revolutionary politics of Armed Agrarian Revolution and with the building of the Party. We should adopt the necessary forms of struggles in all stages in keeping with the level of consciousness and through a long process of consolidation and expansion". The people's struggles, the resistance struggle and party building are interlinked and cannot be separated.

But your party is proposing the temporary halting of the expedition for area-wise seizure of power which at best can only mean abandoning the resistance struggles under your leadership, whatever be its character and strength. Such an orientation is against the concept of People's War and is bound to lead to the adoption of bourgeois parliamentary alternative to the present Indira Government. All your caution about exposing the opportunistic alliances, about taking the anti-feudal struggle as the key link, will not save you from such a course.

We earnestly hope that the comrades belonging to the organisation led by comrade V.M. calmly and deeply think about our criticism on the concept of National Alternative. Their concept of National Alternative is no way different from the Patriotic and Democratic Front which our Party had adopted earlier and we had to wage a fierce ideological struggle to defeat it.

Rejection of a particular individual but adoption of his political line will only lead to disastrous consequences for the agrarian revolutionary struggle in our country.

During the period 1968-70, some comrades abandoned mass organisations, mass struggles, economic and political struggles and mass resistance, and substituted the line of "annihilation of class enemies" for the correct line of People's War and brought immense damage to the cause of agrarian revolution in our country. At that time they abandoned the line of united front. Now also we see some organisations of the communist revolutionaries giving slogans of united front --anti-hegemonic front, Patriotic and Democratic front, anti-Soviet front, anti-autocratic front etc. with the idea of uniting with opposition section of the ruling classes. This line also will damage the cause of Agrarian Revolution in our country.

***Road to Liberation***

***3rd March, 1982.***

# PERVERTED BRAINS OF THE SPLITTERS

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For the last one year, the dissidents and the splitters inside the party have been doing everything in their capacity to form factions in the party, running paralld centres and finally split the party to pursue their line of class collaboration. They have openly allied with the Janata Party during the last elections, in opposition to the party line, in the name of "fighting the pro-Soviet forces".

After the elections, even this pose of "fighting the pro-Soviet forcess" was abandoned by the splitters and they openly came out supporting the CPM candidates in Sreerampur Constituency of West Bengal in the name of 'fighting the authoritarianism of Indira Gandhi'. Now they have openly and shamelessly condemned the whole Assam people's movement as anti-national and fully supporting the demand of the CPM on the Assam question. In the coming bye-elections in the 9 states, their leaders every where are campaigning to support the CPI-CPM combine to oppose "Indira's authoritarianism" and they are even propagating the idea that they will build one United Front against Soviet social-imperialism and its allies and another United Front with the CPM against 'Indira's authoritarianism'.

In pursuance of this, they have already written a letter to the CPM for discussing United Front programme with them, and not getting a reply from them. the splitters have already gone to the press criticising the CPM for being "lukewarm" towards their United Front efforts.

Now one can see that their claim of fighting Soviet social imperialism is nothing but bogus, their political line of uniting with the CPM against Indira's Fascism is becoming in essence crawling before the CPM leadership ideologically and politically and thus convert into a legal election party. This fully exposes the splitters as nothing but political degenerates.

To cover up their ideological and political surrender to the CPM, the splitters have come out with a new document, opposing the PCC political resolution "our tasks in the present situation".

What is the main attack of the splitters on the PCC resolutions ?

— That the PCC document is 'basically rightist',

— That it “denies the distinction between parliamentary democracy and fascism”.

— That it “denies the strategy of identifying and isolating the main enemy”.

— That it “represents a breed of capitulation to Soviet hegemony and fascism”.

If one really cares to read to political resolutions of the PCC on the present situation and on Afghanistan, one can easily see that the splitters have now completely lost their capacity to identify the differences, find out the ideological and political roots of these differences. They have proved themselves incapable of conducting a political debate based on reason; instead they have resorted to utter lies and slander one can discuss these lies and slander as nothing but mad ravings of political degenerates.

Let us look at the perverted thinking of these splitters on some of the questions.

## **1. International**

The splitters' main criticism is that the PCC document “pays lip-service to differentiation but in actuality denies it”

Their main ‘cry’ is that the PCC document equates both US imperialism and Soviet social - imperialism without identifying the greater danger among them. Is there any truth in this slander ?

Here is what the PCC resolution says :

“Taking the world situation as a whole, Soviet Union is on the offensive and United States is on the defensive”.

“Soviet social imperialism is the chief source of war danger today of the two super powers. Soviet Union is more ferocious, more reckless, more treacherous and the most serious source of world war and therefore Soviet Union is the greater danger to the world people including the Indian people than the US imperialism”.

Is this not differentiating between US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism ? Is there any hesitancy on our part to say that Soviet Union is

a greater danger, both nationally and internationally ? Can the splitters suggest a better language to identify Soviet Union as the greater danger ?

In the face of this fact, the splitters rush to the conclusion that this is mere lip-service, but in practice, the PCC denies it. Is there any truth in this second slander ?

***“For the Preservation of World Peace”.***

— “Mobilise the people in support of all people's struggles against colonialism, semi-colonialism, neo-colonialism, against imperialism and social-imperialism, in particular the hegemonism of the two Super Powers, Soviet Union and USA - the common enemies of the world people, taking Soviet Union as the greater danger to the Indian people, both nationally and internationally”.

— “Taking Soviet Union as the chief source of war danger today, mobilise all the forces that could be united, including the forces of USA and second world countries and their allies in India, to defeat specific acts of Soviet aggression wherever and whenever it raises its head”.

— “Combine these two struggles, advance the revolutionary movement step by step and bring about an international United Front against the Soviet Union, by uniting all the forces that could be united including the forces of USA and the Second world countries and their allies in India and defeat Soviet social-imperialism if it dares to start a Third World War”.

This is our programme for building the international United Front against Soviet-Social imperialism and defeat its plans for World War. Can the splitters specifically spell out what exactly is their programme against Soviet social imperialism ? Has any international Marxist-Leninist Party put forward a programme of international United Front against Soviet social imperialism more specifically than our Party ? We challenge the splitters to show one such statement from the official statements of any Marxist-Leninist Party.

Even such a clear cut programme does not satisfy the splitters ; why ?

Their whole anger against the PCC is that it still calls the “Two Super Powers aggressive and expansionist”.

According to the reasoning of the splitters, US imperialism is no more ‘aggressive and expansionist’, that only Soviet Union is ‘aggressive and ex-

ansionist' and that since U.S. imperialism is on the defence, it is no more "aggressive and expansionist".

As stated above, the PCC document has clearly stated that the "Soviet Union is on the offensive and the United States is on the defensive".

When compared with the Soviet Union, no doubt USA is on the defensive. Does this mean that USA is not a Super Power ? Can there be a Super Power without being 'aggressive and expansionist'? Isn't USA seriously contending with the Soviet Union for world hegemony ? Isn't USA aggressive and expansionist towards the Second and Third World countries ? Can any body deny these facts ?

Why is USA stationing armies in South Korea, if not for aggression against North Korea ?

Why is USA keeping its Naval forces in the Middle East except for aggression against the Arab countries and Palsetinian people ? Is not USA being aggressive and expansionist against the Latin American countries ? Is not USA today being aggressive against Iran ?

In their slavish attitude towards USA, the splitters don't want to see that "both the Super Powers are engaged in a fierce arms race in air, sea, and land in all parts of the world for hegemony over the world and are therefore common enemies of the world people, including the Indian people".

In spite of it being on the defensive when compared with the Soviet Union, USA is still in possession of the greater part of the world markets, in control of the greater number of countries in the world, and the people of the Third World countries are fighting US imperialism and Second World countries in greater number of places than against Soviet Social imperialism. It is the duty of Marxist-Leninists to support these National liberation struggles, against US imperialism or Second World countries while warning them about the growing danger from the Soviet Union to all the Third World countries. Only with such an approach can one advance the revolutionary movement today.

But for the splitters, any criticism of USA tantamounts to refusal to build a international United Front against the Soviet Union. They think that if we attack USA as one of the common enemies of the world people, USA will not join the international United Front against the Soviet Union. This is nothing but perverted thinking of our splitters. USA will join the interna-

onal United Front against Soviet Social imperialism not because of the practice appeals of our splitters, but only when it is convinced that it can not defend itself against the Soviet Union and that it has to unite with others to resist Soviet aggression. Only then the international United Front against Soviet aggression will become a reality.

— Another grouse of the splitters against the PCC is that it still considers USA and other Second World countries to be pursuing a policy of appeasement towards Soviet aggression.

For our splitters, to say that US imperialism and Second World countries are pursuing a policy of appeasement towards Soviet aggression is nothing but a crime against 'international United Front against Soviet aggression'.

But what are the facts ?

In the recent time, USA and Second World countries have certainly taken certain steps to strengthen their own defence capabilities. No doubt USA is concentrating in strengthening its defences in the gulf region, in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. The USA has announced its decision to increase its defence expenditure in the coming years. On the political plane, USA is trying to bring about closer ties between Egypt and some other Arab countries on one side and Israel on the other. It is trying to improve its relations with the gulf countries.

It is trying to convince Japan to increase its defence expenditure and convince the West European countries to join USA in its struggle against Soviet aggression.

These are all steps that strategically strengthen USA's defences against Soviet aggression that is why the PCC resolution has welcomed those steps. But does this mean that the West has abandoned the policy of appeasement towards Soviet aggression ? The splitters have tried their best to quote from Newsweek and Times to show how 'Cold War' has already started and 'appeasement' is a policy of the past.

While taking certain steps to strengthen themselves strategically, the Western Powers, including the USA have been careful enough not to take a single step which would force the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan.

**Do the splitters really believe that the stoppage of transfer of technical know-how to the Soviet Union, stopping of food grains exports to the Soviet Union and boycott of Olympic games in Moscow will force the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan ? If this is not 'appeasement' what would you call this ?**

**After the PCC resolution the British Government came out with a proposal for the so-called 'neutralisation' of Afghanistan which all the EEC countries supported. Is this plan not inspired by the USA ? Is this not a policy of appeasement ?**

**Is not USA again and again stressing that it has not abandoned the SALT II talks on arms control ? Is this not appeasement ?**

**Not seeing these as signs of appeasement and exposing them in time, will never help in building the international United Front against Soviet social-imperialism.**

**What we have to notice is that as Soviet Union begins to threaten the very nerve centres of the west including the USA, it will become more and more difficult for the west to appease Soviet Union. In the coming period contention is bound to become fiercer and fiercer while appeasement will become weaker and weaker.**

**But to say that 'appeasement' is over is nothing but becoming apologists for USA which no self-respecting Marxist-Leninist would do.**

**Before we conclude their subject let us remind the splitters that once in the past they proposed to remove 'chief' from 'Soviet Union is the chief source of war danger'. After the China-Vietnam border clashes, you again predicted that the world war has become 'imminent'. After some time, you again asserted that a pro-Soviet govt., in the centre in India means 'imminent world war'**

**Events have again and again proved all their 'original' thinking as nothing but lies. Now we are glad to know that you are also saying that world war could still be prevented or postponed. But does not honesty require an explanation why and when you have changed your opinions, if the change is genuine ?**

## **2. National**

**What is the position of the PCC on the urgent present national issues?**

**Analysing the respective strengths of the two super powers in India, and analysing the mid-term poll election results the PCC resolution has declared :**

— Both the super powers are intensifying their rivalry for hegemony over India.

— That both super Powers are trying to convert our country into their respective bases against other countries in Asia.

— That the danger is greater today from the Soviet Union with the pro-Soviet Indira Congress coming into power in the centre in the mid-term poll.

— That Soviet Union is in a better position to influence the internal and external policies of our country.

— That Soviet Union has gained an upper hand in its contention with the USA in India.

— That the Soviet Union and its allies, the present Indira Congress govt. the revisionist leaderships of the CPI and CPM and the pro-Soviet elements in other parties who support Soviet Union should be taken as the greater danger and are greater enemies of the Indian people.

— That we should build powerful people's movements, here and now, uniting with all those who can be united for civil liberties and to defeat the repressive acts of the Indira Congress govt. and block the road towards fascism again.

Can anybody find any political concession to Soviet social imperialism or the pro-Soviet Indira Congress government in the above formulations ? Can anybody find any 'Capitulation' in these formulations ? Can any body find any 'pro-Soviet Naxalism' in these formulations ? Only political scoundrels can find such tendencies in our resolution.

Has the PCC resolution refused to build a United Front against these greater enemies with all those that can be united ? Here is what the PCC resolution says :

**"In conducting these immediate struggles of the people, both eco-**

conomic and political, we must utilise the present contradictions and conflicts among the pro-Soviet, pro-USA and pro-Second World countries who are now in opposition on such issues as civil liberties, on the immediate economic and political issues and above all against the predominance of the Soviet Union in India ; Soviet aggression wherever and whenever it raises its head, now particularly in Afghanistan, against all concessions to Soviet Union its efforts to convert our country into its neo-colony and Indira Congress government's connivance at these efforts and its plans for world war. On such issues, the possibilities of united front with pro-USA and pro-Second world countries against Soviet Union's aggressive policies and its domination in India have grown and we should utilise these possibilities to advance the revolutionary movement in the country”.

Can anybody say that this is not a programme of United Front ? Is this not a stirring call to build the United Front on all possible issues on the question of war and peace, on the question of Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, on the question of Soviet Union's efforts to convert our country into its neo-colony etc.?

Then why are the splitters so blind as not to see this open call for United Front ? Because the supersonic brains of the ‘American trained’ professors have developed certain perverted thinking on the issue of United Front which has nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Where exactly are our differences ?

(1) The PCC, while recognising the possibility of building a United Front with the pro-United and pro-Second World forces on certain issues at the same time is of the opinion that there is no objective political situation in the country to build a general political United Front with the pro-USA and pro-Second World lobbies because these sections, because of their expansionist ambitions are for maintaining good and friendly relations with the Soviet Union. But for the splitters, when we once identify Soviet Union as the greater enemy, we should always and on all issues-build a general political United Front with the pro-USA lobby. Which amounts to nothing but political surrender to pro-USA lobbies.

(2) For the PCC building United Front with pro-USA lobby from issue to issue, economic and political, actually lays the general political United Front with the pro-USA sections when the objective conditions mature for it. Without building United Front struggles on all the immediate issues of the people, one can never build a general political United Front with sections of the ruling classes. But for the splitters, building United Front

through struggles, is no United Front, but hobnobbing with ministers of the Janata, joint statements with them on certain issues and joint appearances with these leaders in certain well-advertised public meetings-tantamounts to building United Front.

(3) For the PCC, building a United Front in the struggles against the landlords, in the struggles against the capitalists or the struggle of the students, i.e. United Front in action, with the main edge of these struggles being directed against Soviet Union and its allies-particularly the Indira Congress government both in the centre and the states, the leadership of the CPI and CPM who are mainly serving the interests of Soviet social imperialism, is the correct method of building the United Front in action. But for our splitters, United Front can be built only by unconditionally supporting the pro-US lobbies in elections. For the splitters, United Front could be built only through elections.

(4) The splitters are raising hue and cry that the PCC does not make a distinction between bourgeois democracy and bourgeois fascism. This is an utter lie on the part of the splitters.

If that is what is troubling our splitters, the PCC is always ready to say that bourgeois democracy is preferable to bourgeois fascism, and what tactics of struggle the party adopted showed during the period of bourgeois democracy or during the period of bourgeois fascism. This is not the centre of controversy with the splitters on the question of fascism.

The PCC holds that either pro-Soviet lobby or pro-USA lobby will resort to fascism if the situation so demands. The three years of the Janata and its repressive measures is a demonstration of this truth. But for the splitters, only the pro-Soviet lobby, and that too only Indira Gandhi is capable of bringing fascism and the pro USA lobby is permanently anti-fascist. the PCC holds that such an analysis is nothing but selling the party to the pro-USA lobby.

— The PCC holds that fascism, or monopoly of power, or authoritarianism could be defeated only through a protracted Agrarian Revolution and to say that these social and political evils could be defeated through the present election process is nothing but increasing the illusions of the people on the present big bourgeois-big landlord constitution, is nothing but adopting parliamentary path of struggle.

But for our splitters parliamentary form of struggle, and that too United Front with pro-USA and CPI-CPM in the elections is the only method of

**defeating Indira's fascism.**

The perverted thinking of the splitters takes one to the conclusion that Indira Gandhi is permanently a fascist. Either in power or in opposition, Indira Gandhi is a danger to bourgeois democracy, and as long as Indira Gandhi is active in politics we should always support the pro-USA sections and CPI-CPM combine because bourgeois democracy is in danger in every election and that the revolutionary party should always fight for the preservation of bourgeois democracy as long as Indira Gandhi is active in politics. The PCC holds that only those who have sold themselves completely to the pro-USA lobby or the CPI and CPM combine could pass such rubbish as Marxism-Leninism.

For the PCC, building of pockets of resistance in the rural areas and building of revolutionary trade union movement in the industrial centres are the most important tasks of the present period, and it has asked the party units to see that the immediate struggles of the people should help us in accomplishing these key tasks. Taking the strength of the party today, election should be used as a platform for propagating revolutionary politics to the people. But for our splitters election front is the only front on which the party should concentrate now.

### **Open Surrender to CPM Politics :**

The splitters know quite well that their political line is in shambles today. They themselves are not in a position today to defend their pet theory that India is under the exclusive hegemony of the Soviet Union or that Indira Gandhi is a puppet of the Soviet Union. They themselves have begun to write "if one agrees with it or not"? Then what has become of their principal contradiction, "Soviet Union Vs the Indian Nation" - Their programme of united front with the Janata is in shambles, because the Janata itself is divided into 5 parts and our splitters do not know which of them is pro-USA or pro-Soviet.

Having no one worth while to have a united front in the pro-USA lobby, our splitters have now abandoned all pretences of fighting against Soviet social imperialism as the main enemy, have abandoned all sense of shame and have now come forward with the wonderful theory of building a general political united front with CPI-CPM combine against Indira's authoritarianism. With this theory they have already supported the CPM in certain constituencies in the last general elections. They are trying to conduct "negotiations" with the CPI-CPM to build such a front against Indira

Gandhi. In pursuance of winning the favour of CPM in West Bengal, they have openly condemned the whole Assam people's struggle against economic backwardness as anti-national, shamelessly supporting the CPM line on the Assam question, and even supporting Indira Gandhi regine's barbarous repression in Assam.

We will discuss more on this new theory of the splitters in the next issue. Here we only raise certain questions to expose the absurdity of their theories.

— Is the CPM a revisionist party or not ?

— Is the Contradiction between revisionism and the ruling classes antagonistic or non-antagonistic contradiction ?

— Indira Congress government and CPI-CPM combine - do they both belong to the pro-Soviet camp or not ? Is the contradiction among them antagonistic or non-antagonistic ?

— Can any one build a united front entirely basing themselves on non-antagonistic contradictions ?

— Strengthening the position of the CPI-CPM combine - does it not still further increase the position of the Soviet Union in India ?

These questions themselves will completely expose the new fallacies of the splitters. Who has now turned our to be the 'pro-Soviet Naxalites' ? Who surrendered to Soviet social-imperialism ? The splitters have revealed themselves in their true character.

It is to cover up their shameless surrender to CPM politics they have concocted the story about the "talks with Bhuta Singh". It is to cover up this shameful political surrender, they have ficticiously tried to find 'political' surrender on the part of the PCC, when it demands the release of the communist revolutionaries. And that too to come from a person who accepted the shameful demands of Charan Singh for the release of the communist revolutionaries without the knowledge of the CC, for which he was made to openly apologise to the public.

It is to cover up this open surrender to CPM politics, that the splitters have tried to find 'capitulation' of the PCC to Indira Gandhi, when they noted the change in the govt's attitude on the Afghanistan question. Will the splitter be honest enough to publish February 18 "Peking Review" article

on Indo-Pakistan relations, even with their comments on it ?

If the splitter have the guts, let them publish it, as we are doing in this journal in other pages.

*New Democracy bulletin 1 ( May, 80)*

# THE PEOPLE'S WAR GROUP : IT'S RIGHT DEVIATIONS AND LEFT ADVENTURIST TACTICS

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Everyone now knows that the Peoples war party (PW) in Karimnagar district is responsible for the murder of our comrade Rajalingu. Their journal 'Krahti', dated 15-8-81 carried a reply supporting the murder as an action by the people. It made counter-charges against us and reeled out blatant lies. But it cannot conceal behind these lies, the murder and attacks by its leaders in Karimnagar district. The events in Karimnagar are not accidental. They are infact, the culmination of the right deviationist politics, adventurist tactics and the hostile attitude towards our Party. The events have to be properly examined and lessons drawn to defend the mass movement we have built.

Of late, they have taken to right deviations in politics and are adopting right opportunist policies in relation to the national and international spheres as can be seen from their political resolution of 1980.

## **International scene**

In the name of opposing Soviet social imperialism, they have taken up the task of forming an united front with American imperialism and are presenting theories in support of this.

## **Over-estimation of war threat**

"Clouds of third world war are looming large", they have declared. This estimate is both foolish and contrary to the real situation. While both the superpowers are competing for world hegemony and the striggle and the arms race have intensified, the contradictions between American and its west European allies have also been growing.

There has been a strong trend in west Eurpoe and America in favour of peace with Soviet expansionists. On the other hand, the contradictions and struggles between the Soviet Union and some east European countries have also intensified. The incidents in Poland show the crisis the Soviet Union is facing in those countries.

Thus both America and the Soviet Union are facing severe crises in

their respective camps. Both of them are making misleading pronouncements about "peace", the Soviet Union being more deceptive in this. In the guise of efforts for peace, they are making all-out efforts for war.

Therefore, both the policies of "contention" and "collusion" are being adopted by the superpowers. While "contention" is principal, "collusion" is temporary.

What therefore is the immediate task of the revolutionaries ? They have to tear of the masks of peace worn by both the super powers and expose the fact that both are paving the way for another world war. They have to rally the people of the world to oppose the war efforts. This is the only way of protecting world peace and postponing the threat of war. This is the immediate task before us.

P.W's resolution does not say even a word about the "peace" farce being played by the super powers or about the "forces of compromise" rising in west Europe and America.

Do they believe that America or the Soviet Union can get down to war without preparing their respective camps politically, economically and militarily? Do they think the super powers have readied their camps for war ? If the two camps are not ready for war, how can they claim that war clouds are looming large ?

It is evident that such a situation of war has not arisen. How then can P.W mouth exaggerations that "clouds of war" are looming large on the horizon ? All those itching for an united front with America have propped up the same theory. They do not see the farce of "peace" going on between the super powers. Only by defeating this plot can the war ploys of the super powers be thwarted. Showing up a bogey of war and exaggerating the threat of war will only lead to alliance with American imperialism.

## **Their shortcut to the Indian revolution**

Their assessment of the world situation has gone to the extent of making them say that India's revolutionary strategy and tactics should merge in the revolutionary strategy of all countries.

Let us see what they have to say. "As Com. Mao has said, 'at the time of imperialist war, the revolutionary strategy and tactics of individual countries merge with the tactics of the world socialist revolution'.... our tactics

should be such as to make this strategy successful". Why do imperialists prepare world war? To serve their imperialist interests during war. What then is the role of revolutionaries during imperialist war? To turn the imperialist war into civil war. This is Lenin's theory. This was put in practise by Communists under the leadership of Stalin during the second world war. If this principle is outdated, P.W should openly declare so.

World Communists have never changed this principle. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, this took the form of the world anti-fascist united front.

What was Stalin's programme during the second world war? Both the allies and the Axis were imperialist blocks. Stalin exposed the aims of both the blocks. He rendered whatever help he could to the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggles being waged against both the blocks. At the same time, he recognised Hitlerite fascism as the greater danger. He urged Britain, France and America to come forward to oppose Hitler's expansionist actions. When they did not come forward, he entered into a no-war treaty with Hitler. He broke the plan for all imperialists to unite against the Soviet Union. The war broke out between the two imperialist blocks and Communists tried to convert the war into civil war.

In the meanwhile, the Soviet Union strengthened its defences. Hitler launched his attack on the Soviet Union and the imperialist war became a world war. The Soviet Union offered heroic resistance. America, France and Britain which had been weakened joined the Soviet Union, a world anti-fascist united front was formed and the fascist powers were crushed.

Why is P.W ignoring this entire sequence? No one can say for sure when the world war will start but our friends say Indian revolutionary strategy and tactics should be merged in the world revolutionary strategy and tactics. This amounts to saying that our revolution is dependent on the world war and its outcome.

P.C. Joshi did the same thing during the second world war. He said Hitler's defeat meant the liberation of the people of all countries. He said India's liberation was inevitable. With this understanding, the Communist party helped British imperialism.

At one time, Charu Mazumdar did the same thing. Even before 1972, he said America and the Soviet Union would jointly attack socialist China. He called it a world war and said the defeat of the super powers was inevi-

table in the world war. He said India would definitely be liberated by 1975. 1975 has come and gone but India is still in the grip of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial system.

The People's War party drunk on Charu's left adventurism is harping on the same theme. They say the Indian revolution is dependent on the world revolution and would have us await it.

## **Anti-Soviet front.**

In keeping with their resolution, they say their main task is building an anti-Soviet united front. This only means that an united front should be formed immediately with America. That is why the resolution deliberately overlooks the fact that America and Soviet social imperialism are the common enemies of world's People.

Of the two super powers, the Soviet Union is more dangerous. This does not mean that both the super powers are not the common enemies of the people. P.W is trying to hide this fact.

US imperialism is suppressing the people of South America and is supporting the attacks on the African People by South Africa. It is America that is propping up the Taiwanese reactionaries against China and is beligerent towards North Korea. It is well known that the recent Israeli raids on Lebanon, the genocide it had perpetrated and the plots to wipe out the PLO were undertaken with the help of America. That is why we say both the super powers are the People's common enemies. What is our duty in this situation ?

— All anti-imperialist struggles should be strengthened.

— Soviet social imperialism should be recognised as the greater danger. Liberation and revolutionary struggles against both the super powers should be strengthened.

— Soviet interventionist actions should be defeated with the help of all forces that rally against it.

— In courses of coordinating both these functions, the world revolutionary movement should be taken forward. Calling for an anti-Soviet united front at this juncture will only strengthen the hands of America.

P.W. has declared a 17-point programme but has not said even a word

against America or its exploitation of India. This clearly shows their desire for an united front with America.

In the present world situation, America is trying to defend its imperialist empire while the Soviet Union is fighting for world hegemony. The super powers are thus locked in a fierce combat and are engaged in an arms race for world domination. This is increasing the danger of world war. While the Soviet Union will be the main cause of world war, at the same time, we feel American imperialism, though to a lesser extent, will also be the cause for such a war.

In their resolution, they have passed over the question whether America and Russia are the common enemies of the world people.

They are giving class for "joint action" against "imperialism in general" and Soviet fascist war mongering in particular. Through this formulation, they have minimised the hegemonistic, interventionist nature of America and have equated it with the imperialist second world countries.

At present, both America and Russia are mutually competing for domination of India. The Soviet Union has gained the upper hand in this but America still has strong political and economic bases in the country. While there is a need to fight against both the super powers and the Soviet Union in particular, their political resolution has ignored this task. Evidently they will take up America's case only after the destruction of Soviet social imperialism and the people would have to wait until then.

### **True face of the anti-Soviet democratic government**

In accordance with their resolution, they have stated their goal to be the establishment of democratic government opposed to Soviet fascism, under the leadership of the working class and based on worker-peasant solidarity. They have declared the need for a popular united front against Soviet fascism under the leadership of the proletariat. This they have declared as their immediate programme and have called upon the working class to take the initiative in this direction.

Being a semi-feudal, semi-colonial society, we are in the stage of the new democratic revolution. Our enemies (including social imperialism) are imperialism and the big landlord big bourgeois classes. Our allies are the workers, peasants, middle class sections and the national bourgeoisie. All these friendly classes have to be organised into a popular democratic front

under the leadership of the proletariat. Worker-peasant alliance is its base and only an armed agrarian revolution can achieve the goal.

Whatever they might have said in the past, these are the principles they accept, at least in words.

Building a popular democratic front under the leadership of the working class is our strategic objective. We cannot say this can be achieved in one step. The struggle for this might be launched in several sub-stages. In each sub-stage, the tactics necessary for the united front should be adopted according to the specific conditions prevalent.

P.W. has given a call for a united front against Soviet fascism. What are the classes that will join this front? What are the political forces and political parties representing these classes? Their resolution does not answer any of these questions. Does the front they propose include sections of the ruling classes? Does it include pro-American sections and sections that are pro-second world countries? If so, what are their political parties? If the classes have no place in the front, the only classes left are workers, peasants and the middle class. Then it is the strategic people's democratic front under the leadership of the working class. Where then is the necessity for calling it a united front against Soviet fascism?

Building "united front against Soviet fascism" is not necessary in the present national and international situation. But our friends say they will build a "united front against Soviet fascism". This only means that there is a united front with pro-American and pro-second world classes and sections.

What then is the difference between the anti-Soviet front being proposed by Satyanarayan Singh and the People's War's? What is the difference between the call given by Satyanarayan Singh in the past for a "people's democratic government" and the call for the "anti-Soviet democratic government"? Revolutionary cant cannot conceal facts.

Contradictions among the ruling classes must certainly be used in launching people's struggles. Our party has said that struggles should be launched on the issues of civil rights, Soviet expansionism, particularly the attack on Afghanistan, the Indo-Soviet military treaty, the Indira government actions in favour of the Soviet hegemony and other immediate problems. Joint action on these issues should be linked with the agrarian revolution and only in course of this can a people's democratic front be formed.

under the leadership of the proletariat.

## **Adventurist struggle tactics**

In the international field, they have taken a pro-American line in the name of the anti-Soviet united front. Within the country, they have taken up the programme of forming a united front with pro-American and pro-second world ruling class sections-programme that is purely opportunistic and rightist. To conceal this, they are adopting left adventurist struggle tactics.

Their followers are openly propogating these adventurist tactics among the people. They are calling upon the people to prepare for armed struggle in the near future. To prepare for this, they claim to be launching anti-government struggles and building "guerilla zones". All these slogans are meaningless thetotic. The emptiness of these slogans is exposed when we examine them in the light of the people's level of consiousness and preparedness for launching an armed struggle and building guerilla zones, their preparedness for struggle, the economic and political struggles to be fought for preparing th people, tactics of the united front, the state of preparedness of the party and the people's movement for launching a guerilla struggle, the people's struggles lead by the People's War party so far and the question of mass base of a guerilla zone.

Let us look at the people's level of consciousness all over the country or in Andhra Pradesh and their preparedness for struggle. It would be foolish to believe armed struggles are being fought anywhere in the country except in Nagaland and Mizoram. All over the country, we still have to work with the armed revolution as the goal. There is severe discontent among the people against the government and their conditions of life but the people's movements have not reached the stage of armed struggle.

The people are participating in strikes on their immediate problems. Sporadicaly, they are having spontaneous confrontations with the government forces. Merely on the basis of this, one should not think the movements have attained the level of armed conflict. The people are participating in class struggles. They are resisting the landlords and their goondas but when the police and military enter the scene, they are generally withdrawing. Moreover the great majority of the people haven't overcome their illusions about parliamentary institutions. People still entertain illusions about elections and the majority of the people are still behind ruling class parties and the revisionist and neo-revisionist parties. Economic and political struggles should first be fought to bring the people of any place towards

armed struggle. To pass over this stage and think of "guerilla struggle" is foolishness.

People still harbour illusions about Indira Gandhi's promises and revisionist and neo-revisionist reformism. Reformist tendencies are still strong among the people. The victory of the above parties in elections proves this.

With these realities in mind, our party has placed before the people the following tasks.

The principal aim of the party is building a revolutionary peasant movement. For this, strategic areas in the villages have to be selected and activists chosen for concentration on these areas. After extensive discussions with the people, slogans for struggle should be coined. The people should be rallied to agitate on their problems and on this basis peasant organisations should be built. Volunteer squads should be formed and the people should be prepared to resist the atrocities and repression of landlords, goondas and the police. From the beginning, the people should be armed with locally available arms in the anti-landlord struggles and in this course, a resistance struggle in rural areas should be built, strengthened and protected. In this process, armed struggle should be started and revolutionary bases built in rural areas. A strong secret party organisation should be built to carry out this programme.

Simultaneously the party has set the following tasks for the cities. The main goal in the cities is to build a revolutionary trade union movement. Ideological and political struggles against economist and legal illusions should be intensified and worker-peasant unity should be built. Volunteer squads should be formed among the workers and the atrocities of the police and managements goondas should be resisted. A secret party organisations should be built and some of the workers who volunteer consciously should be sent to build the movement in rural areas.

In accordance with the programme taken up by the party to build a resistance struggle, it has decided to work among the students, women and in the slums.

It is by integrating the people's struggle-resistance and political struggle that we are able to take forward our movement in forest and plains areas and are progressing towards the agrarian revolution.

The P.W. party does not like this programme. They have never tried

to link the mass line with the resistance movement. That is why they are giving irresponsible calls for building guerilla zones.

They have never recognised the fact that a people's struggle is a war fought by the people and that a guerilla war begins only when the people directly participate in it. What about the party leadership that conducts a guerilla struggle? What about building a people's movement? They themselves admit their party is primarily confined to students and middle class youth.

What is the condition of their people's movements? They say they have started activities among the peasants and industrial workers in several places. Conferences are said to have been held in two districts and there are said to be opportunities for conferences in four to five other districts. This clearly shows the extent of their mass base and their organisational weakness. Their magazine "Kranti" has accused us of "tall claims and little achievement" but the description applies to them accurately.

Without taking into consideration the people's readiness, they are merely misleading their followers by calling for the building of a guerilla zone.

They have been giving adventurist slogans since 1969. Since the Naxalbari, Midnapur, Mushahari and Srikakulam movements began as people's struggles, most of the people did not recognise the danger of their adventurist policies. They realised the nature of these policies only after the revolutionary movement suffered severe losses.

Now the slogans have lost their appeal and people are beginning to question adventurist tactics. Their youth are mostly drawn from the middle class with no experience of people's struggles and some have lumpen background. Implementing their slogans will inevitably lead to individual terrorism, economic raids and political degenerations.

### **Other main points of difference**

Around 1968-69 and later, Charu's left adventurism took insane forms. The P.W. party totally accepted his adventurism and hailed all his slogans.

— The national bourgeoisie in India is linked up with big capital and is an enemy. We should be hostile towards it, said Charu. Their leadership assented.

— The principle character of rich peasants in India is feudal exploitation and hence the working class has a relation of struggle with it, he said. Even this they hailed.

— "Annihilation of the class enemy" is the highest form of class struggle said Charu.

— "Annihilation of the class enemy" is the beginning of armed struggle, he said.

— In this new age in India, economic and political struggles and mass agitations are not necessary, said Charu.

— The Indian government does not have enough police force to protect its police stations.

— The government does not have enough military personnel to attack the Srikakulam struggle.

— By 1973 the red army will be marching from one end of Bengal to the other, he said.

These are the left adventurist slogans given by Charu from 1969 to 1971. The present leadership of the people's War had hailed all of these. Any one with a little knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and a little sense can understand the foolishness behind the slogans.

No sooner the Srikakulam girijan struggle broke out, the leadership gave a call for expanding it all over Andhra Pradesh and starting armed struggles in the plains. For this, it propagated Charu's shortcut --- "annihilation of the class enemy". They organised squads with some youth in the plains areas and heads started to roll. Count of scalps began and whoever had claimed more scalps was considered more revolutionary.

This head hunt gradually took insane forms. Occasionally even rich and middle class peasants were killed. Every one knows that the armed struggle they had carried out in the districts of Andhra Pradesh, particularly in the Telengana areas, was pure individual terrorism

The Andhra Revolutionary Communist Committee at that time opposed all or Charu's adventurist slogans. At that time, his policies even had international support and had a strong hold on middle class youth and students. But the committee opposed Charu's adventurism and made sugges-

tions for taking the Srikakulam movement along the mass line towards agrarian revolution. It tried its best to build a revolutionary agrarian movement. It tried to propagate revolutionary politics, build mass organisations, rally people to economic and political struggles, build village volunteer squads, offer mass resistance to oppression by landlords and the police and form people's committees in villages.

All this was totally opposed by their policy of head hunting and their leaders were up in arms against us. They said Nagi Reddy, D.V. Rao and Chandra Pulla Reddy were traitors of the revolution. They called them the latest revisionists. They gave calls of "down with armed revisionism" and "down with forest revisionism". They wrote these slogans on the walls, took them to meetings and papers.

But human history progresses on the basis of contradictions and not on the basis of anyone's wishful thinking. The bad effects of Charu's "left" slogans became evident by 1971. The people's struggles of Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Mushahari, Midnapur and other places were destroyed in the enemy's fascist attacks. Revolutionaries and the people were sacrificed. With this, a revolt against Charu's policies began. Severe debates arose among the revolutionaries on finding a mass line. In course of this, splits started in Charu's party and it started breaking up into several groups. But in Andhra their leadership was not prepared for any rethinking on their line of individual terrorism. Moreover, they branded as revisionists all those who demanded such rethinking.

The Srikakulam movement suffered a severe setback due to Charu's left adventurism. Most of the leaders had been martyred. The rest tried to organise the movement. A new Srikakulam regional committee was formed. This committee released a circular, "prepare for protracted armed struggle to attain victory". The circular brought to the fore several important issues. It called an end to Charu's attitude that economic struggles are wrong and immediately took up a programme of agitations to organise a mass movement. Re-occupying lands illegally occupied by landlords, refusal to repay inflated loans and usurious interests, seizing excess grain from the landlords or making them sell the grain cheaply, illegal extortions by forest and revenue officials and bonded labour were some of the problems on which the circular called upon the people to agitate immediately.

To an extent, the circular realised the left adventurist nature of their tactics in Srikakulam. It clearly said "our losses are not due to the battle skill of the mercenary police gangs but due to our underestimation of the

enemy's strength in formulating our tactics”.

Regarding the attitude of the party committees towards landlords, it said “we shall definitely oppose those who oppose our movement. Towards those who assist our movement, we shall adopt a suitable attitude”.

The leaders realised that the movement had suffered a setback. The circular clearly said “we are trying to organise our forces which have been put in disarray in this time of a setback”. These were the words of comrades who had directly participated in the Srikakulam struggle. This was their first attempt to come away from Charu's path.

But the P.W. leadership did not pay heed to this. In reply to this circular, they sent another circular in 1971, which called upon the members to “oppose revisionism at every step”. They once again firmly supported Charu's foolish arguments”. 1960-70 is the decade of liberation! Victory is at hand, they shouted.

They opposed the stand of the Srikakulam committee saying “it is an illusion to think that economic struggles build the consciousness for an armed struggle. It is the road to revisionism”. They endorsed Charu's “conspiracy methods” saying “from organising the people to hitting out at the enemy, guerilla tactics have to be implemented”. They regretted that Charu's “annihilation of the class enemy” was not properly implemented in Srikakulam. They said the movement had suffered losses due to this.

“The foundation for a red army and for liberated zones is laid only through carrying out the war of annihilation of class enemies in a wide region on a large scale”, they theorised. The movement in Srikakulam had suffered a setback as this “great task” was not properly carried out, they said.

They accused the Srikakulam committee of giving way to revisionist thinking. They opposed taking up economic problems and called it a betrayal of the revolution to differentiate between landlords.

We have to clarify a point here. Charu's left adventurism had been exposed all over the country by 1970. There was rethinking among revolutionaries but the P.W. leaders in Andhra refused to learn through the movement had suffered severe losses all over the country and in Andhra also. They implemented annihilation as their lone policy. With this, the Srikakulam committee broke away from them. Gradually the committee joined .

**Andhra Revolutionary Communist committee and they have been working as a single body ever since. People began to abhor annihilation, valuable cadre had been sacrificed and the leadership at all levels was weakened. Exactly at this stage, their annihilation of class enemies took wild forms.**

**The gathered village level anarchist forces (lumpen types), formed squads with these elements and middle class youth had directed them to implement the annihilation line but the squads did not have the former strength to implement it. Gradually the anarchist elements in the squads gained the upper hand. They started raiding the houses of some individuals and began robbing them. It became difficult for the leaders to convince others that they were struggling for “annihilation of the class enemy”. They started calling them economic raids.**

**With these raids, the anarchist elements in villages and town started gathering around them in larger numbers. Middle class youth and intellectuals who believed in revolution, mass line and left policies began to gradually decline in number and the hold of the anarchist element on the squads was strengthened. The uncontrolled raids and other actions of these elements did irreparable damage to the very concept of mass struggle but their leaders refused to face the truth. They hailed the raids as revolutionary actions. With this, the anarchist elements found a good “political” shield.**

**They supported their arguments until the end of 1974. They continued to organise some youth here and there along with anarchist elements to carry out “economic raids” at some far away place and “take shelter” in some other place. They tried to present these as “revolutionary” struggles. All those who opposed these practices were branded revisionists.**

**As these actions were unconnected with the people, their movement suffered severe setbacks. Splits became inevitable among the groups under their leadership and they broke away into splinters.**

**Because of these splits, they needed new friends. The C.O.C. was formed in February 1974 but the annihilation programme in our state continued without any change. They started supporting Charu's faculty theories with the help of new arguments. The group published a book “The criticism of disruptionists against Charu Mazumdar” aimed at supporting Charu's old theories with the aid of new interpretations.**

**— They denied saying that the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants would not be members of the national united front. They accepted**

that both the classes would join the front. At the same time, they said struggles would have to be conducted against the above classes in the beginning. Only after rallying the democratic classes under our leadership, we shall adopt the tactics of unity with the rich peasants and the national bourgeoisie, they said.

In effect, this is supporting Charu's theory of hostility towards the above classes.

— They blindly supported Charu's "annihilation" theory for some time but gradually found it difficult to support it. "It would be wrong to presume 'annihilation' would do everything for us", they said but added it would continue as a form of struggle. Economic and political struggles would have to be conducted along with this and the building of mass organisations should be done in tandem with "annihilation", they said. This is nothing but implementing "annihilation" in a new form and this is what has happened till the end of 1976.

— Charu prophesied that India would be liberated by the end of 1975. Their leadership unquestioningly accepted this. By the end of 1974, it became extremely difficult to support this. They reinterpreted it calling it a slogan to enthuse the people and the cadre for the imminent revolution. While most of the revolutionaries in the country were changing their views their leadership blindly implemented "annihilation" till the end of 1974. In addition to this, their other anarchist methods have to be seen.

— They said bourgeois courts had to be boycotted. They issued a "heroic" statement that they do not recognise the magistrates. All those who said the courts would have to be utilised depending upon the level of the movement were branded "traitors of the revolution".

— The very same people who called it revisionism to differentiate between landlords later would have to be utilised. For this, they discovered a easy formula. They would call a landlord "small", declare him "progressive", take shelter with him and attack his opponent. They implemented this crude policy in Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts. They even embroiled themselves in disputes between Congress landlords.

This they theorised as utilising the conter directions between the enemies and deceived themselves. They carried out this programm until the end of the emergency and did severe harm to the revolutionary movement. Ultimately, they degenerated to the extent of supporting robberies in the

name of "economic raids". The entire programme had helped only the landlords and the congress governments.

— Lastly, they wiped out all distinction between the party and mass organisations, in practise. Even on fora organised with the mass organisations of others, they violated agreements. They used these fora for propogating their party slogans and giving calls for annihilation of the class enemy. We have seen the disruption of such mass organisations.

## **Somersaults upon somersaults**

The emergency was lifted in 1977 and parliamentary elections were held. The people were angry with the Congress and beleived the false promises of the Janata and elected it to power.

With this, new political conditions were created in the country and the revolutionaries started changing their tactics.

Our party changed its policy of boycotting elections adopted until then. It decided to participate in the elections keeping in view the level of the people's movement and their consciousness. It decided to intensify class struggles with the agrarian revolution as its principal goal. To help achieve this aim, it decided to participate in elections.

Immediately the leaders of the People's War party were up in arms. They called it betrayal of the revolution and declared they would continue the "armed struggle" until the red flag is hoisted on the red fort. They declared from jails and the courts that the armed struggle would continue.

A few months after making these "valiant" declarations, they announced withdrawal of the "armed" struggle.

These are not the people who had started the Naxalbari or the Srikakulam struggles. What they had conducted was not armed struggle. From beginning to end, it was mere "annihilation of the class enemies" and towards the end, they conducted merely "economic raids".

It is sheer deception to announce that they had started an armed struggle, conducted it and had called it off.

They took to naked opportunism and this lead to another split in the party. The Rouf group which had imbibed the annihilation and economic

raids theories even more than them, broke away as the re-organising Committee. During the Janata rule, they said they had changed their struggle tactics. They said it was wrong to claim annihilation as the only path of struggle. But they still said annihilation was a struggle tactic. They said annihilation should be linked with other economic and political struggles basing on the immediate problems of the people and the building of mass organisations. while it is left adventurism to say that annihilation is everything, it would be right opportunism to deny annihilation of the class enemy as a form of struggle they said.

While they accepted that boycott of elections was not a question of strategy but one of tactics, at the same time they said they would call for passive boycott of elections. All these are in essence, reinterpretations of Charu's old policies.

But we still expected that their announcement of struggles on the people's immediate problems and building of mass organisations would bring about some good. WE HOPED THE ADOPTION OF MASS LINE to any degree would to that extent discourage "annihilation of the class enemy" and "economic raids". But from the Janata days, their practise has not been in accordance with the mass line.

At first they took up people's problems here and there and conducted mass agitations. They were able to build up an anti-landlord struggle to an extent in certain villages of Jagityal taluk in Karimnagar district.

But due to their deep-rooted left adventurism and lack of deep understanding and believe in mass line, they were unable to conduct the movement properly. An examination of their movement over the last three, four years shows this clearly.

It has become their practice to mobilise the people of some areas on their immediate problems and withdraw from there as soon as repression begins. It is their habit to abandon one centre for another. That is why they have not been able to build a sustained mass movement anywhere in the state.

First they started working in Jagityal, later they moved to Panditapuram and they are now speaking of Indravelli. All this shows their failure in building a sustained mass movement.

Let us examine some incidents. At one time they said Lothunuru and

Muddunuru in Jagityal taluk were their main centres. After a firing, they fled from there. Now the people of the same villages are opposed to them.

Later they said Panditapuram in Khammam district was their main centre.

After a firing, they fled from there also. All their followers have joined the CPI and Congress-I. At present, they are speaking of Indravelli and repression has begun even there. It remains to be seen where they will reappear.

This is how they are building a people's movement. Due to the repression resulting from their activities unconnected with the people's movement, they are shifting centres and deceiving their followers that it is expansion of the movement. Whenever repression grows, they form a squad with some of their followers and launch attacks on some persons and kill some of these they methodically present as heroic deeds. Due to these policies and work methods, the anarchist elements in their party have come to the fore. At some places, these are leading the party, The compromise with landlords, robberies and physical attacks on our party by these elements in Karimnagar district is the culmination of this trend.

## **Attitude towards elections**

In 1968 Charu Mazumdar said that elections should be boycotted as a matter of strategy throughout the period of the new democratic revolution. Even at that time, several had opposed this. But these leaders supported this thesis. Later they said the principle was outdated and declared the question of elections to be a tactical and not a strategic matter.

But they said they will not participate in elections under any circumstances. This shows the inconsistency between their thinking and their practise. They said it was their aim to make general propoganda for boycott of elections. This is merely a continuation of their boycott of elections. To support this, they are unable to find reasons in the country and say the principal reason is the world revolutionary situation. However, the revolution in a country mainly depends upon the conditions in that country. Participating in or boycotting elections is dependent on those conditions. These are the only people who say it depends upon the world situation.

They carried out general propaganda for boycott of elections. Even this has turned out to be a farce as can be seen from several incidents.

Every one knows that their followers had worked for the victory of a CPM candidate during the 1978 elections to the Assembly in Nalgonda. During the present panchayati board and samiti elections they directly participated in them from villages where they have connections. We can even give the names of the villages. It is an open secret that in the Vemulavada samiti elections, their followers opposed our candidate and worked for the victory of landlords who had been exposed as oppressors of the people.

Outwardly they boycott elections and in practise they participate in them.

## **Mass organisation**

Earlier they had said that mass organisations and trade unions were not necessary and abused us for starting mass organisations. But now they accept the necessity of mass organisations and say they will build them but they have an anti-Marxist understanding of mass organisations.

The basis of the party is Marxism, Leninism and Mao thought. Its path is the path of armed agrarian revolution. Mass organisations have a broad mass base and conduct struggles on the economic problems of different oppressed sections. The organisations consist of party members and non-members. Most of them are not party members. It is foolish to say that Marxism, Leninism-Maoze dong thought should be the criterion for membership of the organisations. This merely erodes the mass base of the organisation.

Mass organisations are not party organisations. To say that the mass organisations should implement the slogans of the party is to reduce them to party branches. In the present conditions only the new democratic revolution can liberate the people that is why it is necessary for the mass organisations to have the new democratic revolution as their goal. The working class takes up the leadership in the mass organisations.

This is the Marxist-Leninist conception of mass organisations and we have following it. But the People's War's thinking is entirely opposed to this. They have announced that Marxism-Leninism-Maozedong thought is the criterion for membership of the mass organisations. (Whether they are following it is a different matter) From these forums, they have been giving party slogans of "annihilation of the class enemy" and armed struggle. In practise, they are reducing them to branches of the party. Moreover, they have been following the same policy while working in organisations with

others and have caused their disintegration.

## **Different lines — different results**

Over the last 13 years, a severe ideological struggle has taken place between our party and the People's War party over building the revolutionary movement. These are two different lines. The correct line is decided upon by the results in practice.

### **Results of our line**

— We were able to build up a movement over a vast area in the Godavari valley forest and protect it. The movement which started in Mulug taluk spread to the forest areas of five districts. We protected this movement in the face of severe repression and the movement is growing. People have occupied lakhs of areas of forest lands and are conducting class struggles over several problems.

— We were able to build a strong mass movement in Khammam, Warangal, Nalgonda and Karimnagar districts. We are conducting anti-landlords struggles and are trying to build a resistance struggle. The movement is growing. Among these, the Karimnagar movement has grown strong. It has been growing in the face of the Disturbed Areas Act, police camps, raids, firings and tortures. What started in 20 villages in Sircilla taluk has spread to four to five taluks and has developed into a strong anti-landlord struggle.

— At one time, we had a limited student movement. Today, we have been able to build a strong student movement in the state.

— Earlier, we had no working class base. Now, the party is working among workers in textiles, tobacco, chillies, fertiliser, beedi, coal and other industries. It is building a strong worker's movement in some centres.

— Due to concentrating on the various oppressed sections of people in some areas, we have been able to build a stable mass movement in some places and a stable resistance movement in the forest areas.

— We have been able to unite with the revolutionaries in Srikakulam, Visahkapatnam, Ongole and Nellore districts. Today, our party is the strongest force among revolutionaries in the state.

In this process, our party has emerged as the strongest among all the revolutionary organisations in the State and is standing before the people as a growing political organisation.

## **Results obtained by the People's War Party**

We urge the people to compare the results obtained in implementing our party line with those obtained by the People's War party. From 1969 to 1976 their programme was "annihilation of the class enemy" and "economic raids". The people of Andhra know what result they had obtained.

From 1978, they said they were linking the mass line with annihilation. This has in practice led to adventurist tactics. With the growth of repression, they are leaving their old areas and searching for new ones. This is why they have never been able to build a stable mass movement.

Even now their movement is mainly confined to middle class students, youth and intellectuals. Their mass base is limited.

Above all this, we have been observing splits among them right from 1971 as the Charu group C.O.C. and now the People's War.

They say their main centre is A.P. The people of Andhra know what place they have here.

## **Incidents in Karimnagar district -- murder politics**

It is our firm opinion that the district leadership of the People's War party has taken to murder politics in the district. The leadership of the district party has gone into the hands of anarchist elements. The leadership has taken shelter with landlords and has compromised with them. Oppressors of the people have been given the title of "progressive" and their agents, goondas and a robber gang have been given the title "radicals". In collaboration with them, the leaders have been conducting attacks and murders among our Rythu-Coolie Sangham activists. The government and the police fully supported these raids. Their practice shows that the People's War leadership in the district has fallen into total political degeneracy.

Their state leadership has taken to right deviationist political policies, adventurist slogans and a sectarian and hostile attitude towards us. It has lost the ability to control their followers in Karimnagar district and is coming forward to defend its followers politically with naked lies and unashamed

counter allegations.

This is not a sudden development but is the culmination of their policies and tactics since 1977. When the emergency was lifted in 1977 our movement was confined to merely 20 villages in Sircilla taluk of Karimnagar district. According to our party's decision, we participated in the 1978 Assembly elections and fully utilised other legal opportunities. As a result, we were able to take revolutionary politics to people all over the taluk.

We selected some centres in the taluk, allotted organisers and studied the conditions of the people deeply. We decided the agitational slogans on the problems of landless labourers and poor peasants. We decided the slogans against the landlords and the government. We took up the problems of washermen, barbers, shepherds, potters and other artisans. We organised the rural poor in the Rythu-Coolie Sangham. Agitations were conducted on the issues of banjar lands, lands illegally occupied by landlords, forest banjars, exploitation by forest officials, tendu leaf picking, interests on loans, bribes extorted by landlords and forced labour. Strikes were conducted and forced labour, bribes and extortions by officials were stopped.

Along with these struggles, we took up anti-government agitations on behalf the middle class and rich peasants.

We united all the people of the village against the landlord and achieved some victories. Landlords employed goondas to suppress the movement and launched attacks. We rallied the people and resisted the attacks. We took up one problem after another and built mass organisations. Propagation of revolutionary politics, anti-landlord struggles and resistance to landlords attacks were seen at several places. The Rythu Coolie Sangham gained the upper hand in villages. With this, there was an awakening in the villages of Sircilla. Coolies and poor farmers formed peasants and workers associations in all the villages. The red flag started flying in every village.

People of several villages united and conducted an open trial of Prabhakar Rao, landlord of Boyinapalli, who had committed atrocities against women. They tied him up and paraded him in all the surrounding villages. They later handed him over in the police station. With this, the landlords started fearing the people and they fled to towns.

All the landlords who fled sought the aid of the Congress ministers and bribed them. The government came out in support of the landlords. Sircilla and Jagityal were declared "disturbed areas". The government deployed police in their hundreds, police camps were started and attacks on

the people began.

They beat up and arrested all those pointed out by the landlords. They destroyed the people's properties, took away their crops and raped women. Cruelty ruled the villages.

In those circumstances, our party implemented the following programme in district.

— All the chief organisers in the villages should evade arrest. They should work secretly among the people.

— People should be rallied to prevent arrests.

— Comrades in jail should struggle for their rights.

— Village level party organisation and the mass organisations should be consolidated.

— Village volunteer squads should be formed to resist the atrocities of landlords, goondas and the police.

— In the face of repression by the enemy, people and villages of the struggle areas should not be left alone and all connections should be maintained.

People should be rallied in large numbers under the leadership of the volunteer squads to fight back against repressions. To rally the people, their political, economic and social problems should be taken up. The people's resistance should be linked with the struggles on their problems. Secret and open activities should be coordinated. Open and loud propaganda should be stopped. People should be made accustomed to secret meetings. Agitations for civil rights should be intensified in the district. Agitation should be launched all over the state against the repression in Karimnagar district.

The movement should be expanded from Siricilla to neighbouring taluks. Through this programme, the Siricilla movement has consolidated itself and has spread to other taluks. The Congress government launched a smearing campaign against us, calling us thieves but could not convince any one with its naked lies. Civil rights organisations from other states and from the state toured Siricilla and Jagityal taluks and revealed the truth to the world. They said it was an anti-landlord struggle and that the government

was unleashing brutal repression against it.

Newspapers and magazines sent their reporters who visited the areas and at least to an extent revealed the truth to the world. This was a political defeat to the government.

The landlords tried to incite quarrels among the people and thus disrupt the movement. We defeated their plots by uniting the poor of all communities.

In these conditions, elections were declared to Parliament in 1980. We contested from Karimnagar and propagated revolutionary politics and the need for agrarian revolution all over the district. We participated in the election while the disturbed areas Act was still in force.

People in four to five taluks moved in a big way and hundreds of activists came forward to organise the people. The landlords and the police were taken a back at the re-emergence of a movement they thought had been suppressed. They started plotting again and arrested Com. Chalapati. People from several villages rallied together and about 7000 persons demonstrated before the Siricilla police station. The police took this as an excuse and conducted a lathicharge and firing upon the people. A farmer, Jakkula Elanna died in the firing and eight persons were severely injured. This happened a few days (3-1-80) before the elections. Police repression started in the villages again. People in several villages were not allowed near the polling booths. Party representatives were not allowed near the place of counting of votes.

After the parliamentary elections, people are again coming forward in anti-landlord struggles and several struggles were conducted in Jagityal taluk. In Kodurupaka village, the people beat up the landlord. J. Venkatrao and his goondas. In Adavi Padira village people of a Lambada hamlet resisted the atrocities of the police. A farmer was killed in the police firing and a woman was injured.

Throughout Metpalli taluk, a big movement was launched demanding higher price for maize crop. A huge procession was taken out in Metpalli with 5000 persons. They achieved higher rates for the crop. They conducted another struggle demanding higher price for milk and succeeded. Another movement was conducted throughout the taluk against the extortions by village officials. The extortions were stopped. We were able to make the people give up child marriages. We conducted successful strikes in three

taluks demanding higher wages for collecting tendu leaf. Recently, agricultural workers in 12-15 villages of Metpalli taluk went on strike demanding higher wages and were successful.

At the same time, the student movement in the district has grown and is being consolidated.

The movement which started in 20 villages of one taluk has spread to over 300 villages in eight taluks. The movement has grown due to our adopting the mass line by organising the people on issues, organising resistance, building the party and propagating revolutionary politics in course of our work. This is one of the biggest mass struggles in recent times after the Srikakulam and Godavari valley girijan movements. It has attained recognition all over India.

Neither the people of Andhra nor the people of Karimnagar district believe the cheap propaganda of the People's War that it is a movement that has compromised with landlords. A militant peasant-worker movement came forward in Sircilla taluk in 1978-79 but the People's War party never recognised or supported the movement.

At that time a militant anti-landlord struggle was launched in some villages of Jagityal taluk under the leadership of the People's War. Our party hailed and supported the movement. We propagated both the movements among the people of the state and all over the country. We condemned the repression on both the movements.

Police and landlords repression increased in Jagityal taluk also. Landlords opened fire on the people in Chinametpalli and Lothunur. Two persons died in the firings. Government repression also was intensified. The People's War leadership did not patiently organise the people to resist the repression and build a resistance movement with a mass base. Their left adventurist tactics came forward and they took up tactics unconnected with the people. They organised squads and started individual attacks. With this the militant mass movement was affected. The people were terrorised their activists became passive and the main leadership left the area itself.

With this, the anarchist elements gained the upper hand in the party. They started "annihilation of the class enemy" and "economic raids" became their line of struggle.

After the firings in China Metpalli and Lothunur villages, they have

conducted no mass agitations in those areas. The disruption of their movement when we see that they have not conducted any mass struggle, or organised the people on any problem in Jagityal taluk during 1979-81.

In 1978-79 while a militant peasant movement was progressing in Jagityal taluk, they started befriending landlords in Sircilla taluk. They started a campaign among their cadre against us. Even in meetings held along with us to condemn the murder of their activist by landlords in Timmapuram village, they launched a campaign against us.

Moreover, the goondas of Chakapalli Baghavantrao and Kodurupaka Venkatrao took out processions saying that theirs was a Radical Youth League. We mistook it as a ploy by the goondas to mislead the people as we were not yet fully aware of the developments.

When representatives of our state committee met the representatives of People's War, we brought this issue to their notice. They said they were not aware of it and denied any connections with the landlords.

But they did not condemn the atrocities of these landlords against the people and the revolutionaries. The goondas still continued to parade themselves under the name of RYL. On the other hand, their district leaders and activists started false propaganda that our's was a revisionist party. Their links with landlords is clear from this.

The consequences of these actions were even more unfavourable to them in Jagityal taluk. People of Lothunur and Bankura villages which were once centres of struggle, threw their activists out of the village. Until two years ago, Mallanapeta and the surrounding villages were considered their villages but the people of those village, fed up with robberies, have come over to our Rythu Coolie Sangham. The struggles against landlords were intensified and the landlords there had to yield to the people. With this, their leadership nakedly took the side of landlords and is conducting raids on the people on their behalf.

The People's War leaders have formed alliances with landlords like Baghavanta Rao of Chakapalli, Venkatrama Rao of Kodurupaka, Narsan Rajaiiah of Mallanapeta, Mohan Reddy of Almaspur, Linga Reddy of Gollapelli, Venkatrao of Sanugula, Jaggarao of Jogapuram, Dhammal Rao of Lingappuram, Satyanarayana Rao of Pegadapalli, Venkatrao of Tandryal and Divakar Rao of Takallapalli village. They have given them titles of "progressives" and are acting as their agents. All the landlords are parading

as Naxalite lords and the party leaders have joined the faction fights between landlords. They are gloating over this as their mass struggle.

They are projecting landlord's goondas as Radical Youth League activists and are concealing their atrocities.

In Siricilla and Jagityal taluks, they are befriending thieves like the Sukla gang. They are giving titles of "Radicals" to all these. They are taking shelter with bootleggers and police agents like Sankarreddy.

They are trying to re-establish in the villages all the landlords who had surrendered to the people and who are being subjected to a social boycott. This is how they are utilising the contradictions between landlords.

In 1979 they expelled landlords in the villages of Jagityal taluk and in 1981 they are re-introducing the landlords in the villages. They are converting the contradictions between people into antagonistic contradictions, taking the side of one section and are attacking the other. They have come down to politics of murder, having compromised with landlords, their agents and thieves.

Their organising of people's struggles is even more curious. As soon as they make some promises to the people who meet them. They do some general propaganda among the people on the problems they are taking up, they gather a handful of people or the activists themselves attack the enemy or their opposition faction leader and get him to concede their demands. Of late, they have given up mobilising the people on the issue of wages for picking tendu leaves and are bringing pressure on the contractors with the help of a few people. They have likewise stopped the sale of arrack. Their activists attacked a hotel owner in Ippapalli village and made him serve tea to Harijans. Six of them attacked landlord Venkatrao in Vemalapurthi village. They project such actions as heroic actions in which hundreds of people had participated.

These are acts which reduce the people to mere spectators and exhibit the "personal heroism" of some. This is based on the faulty conception that the people will move spontaneously after the attacks by a few persons. Their denial of reports in Vimochana that they have connections with landlords, convince none. We have given the names of several villages and dozens of landlords they are connected with. Writings in Kranti might deceive a few for some time in other districts but there are hundreds of thousands of people in Karimnagar who are witness to their deeds. None can deceive them with

lies.

## **Murder of Rajalingam**

A supplement of Vimochana has already published all the details of this murder. In this connection they are making the fantastic allegation that we are admitting into our party people they had expelled for being thieves and police informers.

Gunjamadugu Narayanareddy and Boddila Rajamallaiah came to us from the People's War as they said they had been expelled for opposing raids. We did not admit them immediately but asked them to work in a given place and prove their good behaviour. Members of our state committee told all these details to members of their state committee.

Coming to Rajalingam, he first worked with their party for some time. At that time, landlord Narasan Rajaiah got him and five others arrested. People's War itself took this to the people at that time.

After the declaration of the disturbed areas, Rajalingam opposed their programme of raids. He came out of their party and started working in our Rythu Coolie Sangham and rallied people against the atrocities of Narsan Rajaiah. With this, their party strengthened its links with the landlord.

They took up a campaign that Rajalingam was a thief and a police agent. They joined hands with Narsan Rajaiah and murdered him. People's War has ignored the normal political convention that if any person, who is in a party, is accused of being a police agent, the matter is brought to the notice of that party for inquiry and action if necessary. They knew very well that Rajalingam had connections with our party.

Poor peasants and labourers in the villages keep joining the parties they know and keep changing parties. When different revolutionary organisations are working, these changes are inevitable branding people as thieves and police agents and killing or maiming them whenever this happens is inhuman. People's War has been committing such atrocities in Karimnagar district. They cannot protect their party by such murders nor can they prevent change. This is merely another example of their political degeneracy.

Their district committee which is acting in collusion with thieves, landlords, goondas and police agents has no moral right to make allegations

against Rajalingam.

Then there is the instance of Koteswararao in Guntur district. There is no revolutionary in Andhra who does not hate him. When he was arrested, he made a written statement giving all the details of where he took shelter, who gave him food, names of couriers and the location of dumps. Police officers themselves spat on his face at his treachery. This traitor was expelled from the party in 1971.

Their state leadership is now parading this traitor as their leader in the district and is showing him up as a political teacher.

At the state-level meeting between the two parties after the murder of Rajalingam, they denied all connections with the murder. They said the people of Mallanapeta had killed him. Gradually they started propagating that they had committed the murder and that any one who opposes their party would meet with the same fate.

Even after the murder of Rajalingam they does not stop attacking our activists nor did they stop taking the side of landlords and village elders and sabotaging mass struggles. When our party was waging a struggle in Siricilla taluk in Novembe-December 1981, of agricultural workers, they held meetings in Yellareddypet and Padira villages, with the help of landlords, saying that farmers would go bankrupt if wages are increased. They colluded with tendu leaf contractors and opposed the struggle of tendu workers. They have thus come out openly in support of the People's enemies.

They attacked and beat the sarpanch of Padira village Com. Kumbala Mallareddy, who was leading the struggle of agricultural workers, at the bus stop in Yellareddypeta. They beat com. Balaiah, leader of our Rythu Coolie Sangham in Dharmaram village. They beat and threatened with a revolver 10 women of the village for participating in the tendu leaf struggle. They attacked and beat the sangham members in Dumala village. They attacked with axes, Com. Bhoomiah and two other activists of Mothkurrao pet village, who were working in the tendu leaf struggle. In Satakkapalli village of the same taluk, Mettupalli, they attacked people of the village along with 50-60 goondas.

In Pegadapalli, Cherlapalli, Lingapuram, Adpapalli, Kalleda, Takellapalli and other villages in Jagityal taluk, they joined hands with the landlords and attacked our sangham leaders. In Adpapalli village they attacked the people in support of a robber gang. In Kalleda village, they

colluded with village elder Gangam Ramaiah who had occupied the land of a agricultural worker, Gandla Rajanna and attacked Rajanna. In Lingapuram village they came out in support of Dhamalrao and Sankariah who had raped Harijan women, and attacked the people. In Pegadapalli village, they attacked the people in support of Satyanarayana who had misappropriated the school budget, books and scholarships. People in their hundreds retaliated against all these attacks. The P.W. activists in several villages confessed their crimes before the people but the P.W. party has not made any official statement on these. Moreover they are supporting the attacks.

In the January 5, 1983 elections to the state Assembly, our party contested the polls from Jagityal and Medaram constituencies. In Sircilla constituency, it supported an Independent candidate. The P.W. party openly supported the Telugu Desam candidates in Sircilla and Jagityal constituencies. In Mettupalli taluk where our movement is strong, their RYL leaders Tandryala Venkatrao, Tikkalapalli Divakar and others were the chief camapigners for the Congress-I candidate and former labour minister. V. Venkateswara Rao. In Jagityal, Narsan Rajaiah has worked as the chief camapaigner for the present Excise Minister T. Jeevan Reddy. The Jagityal town RSU leader Devender Reddy was the backbone of the camapign machinery.

In addition to supporting the Telugu Desam and Cong-I candidates they in addition to the police machinery, tried their best to obstruct our election campaign. They tore up our party banners, wiped off our wall writings and severely tried to attack our activists. On 27-12-82, they attacked and beat our main activists Com. Chandram and Com. Mallesh in Kalleda village. In Maddutla, they tried to murder Com. Ram Reddy. They released a pamphlet during the elections saying that the relationship of the P.W. with our party was that of a class enemy. All the above attacks took place after distribution of this pamphlet. All their activities during the elections resembled the attacks of the police. During this time, they committed robberies in Sircilla and tried to foist the crime on us. They created disturbances in four villages of Jagityal taluk by uprooting statues of village deities. Through the election period they tried to attack us with explosives.

To this day they are continuing their attacks. They are colluding with the class enemies and are causing severe damage to the revolutionary movement.

What is clear from these is that the clashes in the district are not between the P.W. and our party but the clashes between the oppressors of the

people-landlords, their goondas, thieves, police agents and politically degenerate anarchists and the oppressed masses. Merely by anointing them as "Radicals", landlords, goondas and police agents do not become revolutionaries.

What is happening in Karimnagar is an anti-landlord struggle by the people and our party is leading it.

## **Principal differences between the two parties**

To clarify the differences between the two parties briefly :

— Our party considers both the superpowers to be common enemies of the people. The Soviet Union is the more dangerous enemy.

P.W. is showing the Soviet Union as the lone enemy of the people. It is trying to form a united front with USA in the name of anti-Soviet united front.

— Inside the country, the Soviet lobby is the more dangerous enemy. The plots of both the superpowers in the country should be exposed and their ruling class lobbies should be exposed before the people. At the same time, joint action should be taken up with opposition ruling classes on problems like immediate issues, civil rights, and definite Soviet expansionist actions. This programme should be conducted along with the agrarian revolution. Only in this process is a people's democratic front formed under the leadership of the proletariat. This is our party's opinion.

The P.W. party is jointing hands with opposition ruling class parties in the name of an anti-Soviet united front. Thus, it is our firm opinion that both nationally and internationally, P.W. has taken to right deviation in politics.

— Depending upon the level of the movement and the people's consciousness, we should participate in elections. The place and form of participation should be determined in each election. While the struggle for agrarian revolution is principal, the election programme should assist it. This is our opinion.

The P.W. strikes a "left" pose on the elections question. At first they said it is treachery to participate in elections through the stage of the new democratic revolution. Even now they are continuing boycott of elections.

Even this is only a pretention. Their followers are participating in elections at several places. At some places they are even shamelessly supporting Congress landlords.

— Practise has shown that “annihilation of the class enemy” and economic raids have caused severe damage to the revolutionary movement in the country. They are notatall struggle tactics and are opposed to Marxist thinking.

From the begining some of the revolutionaries have been opposing this trend and tried to implement the mass line. Mass struggles, political struggles and mass resistance -- these three should be linked in practise. Only in this process can the people be prepared for armed struggle. This is the line of struggle we have been adopting.

P.W. has all along praised annihilation and economic raids and implemented them. Later, they said they have changed their policy. But they still argue that annihilation and economic raids, though not their sole tactic are nevertheless a tactic. In practise they are degenerating to individual terrorism. Their practise over the last three, four years proves this.

### **Indifference to unity of revolutinaries hostility towards our party**

The above differences are serious issues. They involve theoretical problems and political assessments. They cannot be resolved merely through discussions and debates but only through practise--through the progress of the agrarian revolution and experience.

All revolutionaries are united on questions (semi-feudal, semi-colonial society, stage of agrarian revolution, principal allies, people's democratic front and mass line) of strategy.

United action on issues and friendly debates will in course of the development of the revolutionary movement pave the way to unity of revolutionaries. For this, a fraternal attitude towards other groups is necessary. With this aim our party has from the beginning been friendly with other revolutionary organisations.

We took the initiative for joint action with P.W. in 1974, 75, 76 and in 1978, 79 but our efforts were not fruitful because of the indifference of P.W. towards unity and its hostility and sectarian attitude towards us.

P.W. believes unity is not possible as our policies are revisionist. Kranti has come out with political justification of the murders and attacks by their party on us in Karimnagar even after a joint declaration by a meeting of 13 parties, calling for unity of revolutionaries.

## **Lessons**

It is necessary to draw lessons from our 13 years experience with the leaders of P.W. the theoretical, political struggles with them and the incidents of their attacks on us.

From the beginning they have no believe in mass line but believe in adventurist tactics. They depend mainly on a few middle class youth and intellectuals. That is why their resolutions and practise show left and right deviations. In essence, their line is "resistance without the people". That is why they have not been able to build a definite base among the people or in an area. Due to their individual attacks and economic raids, anarchist elements have joined their party in large numbers and in some places they have assumed leadership. In Karimnagar district our party has to get into clashes with these politically degenerate elements.

Deu to their left adventurist methods, annihilation and raids that are unconnected with the masses, their state committee is unable to control the anarchists in their party in Karimnagar. They are not able to separate the sincere revolutionaries in their party from the anarchists. They are being pushed to the helpless position of supporting the murders and collusion of these elements with landlords.

The P.W. leadership has taken up right deviationist policies both nationally and internationally. To cover up this, they are giving left adventurist slogans. They are adopting a hostile, sectarian attitude towards our party. If this continues, their political ruination is inevitable. To avoid this, a change in their attitude is necessary.

## **Harm done by them to the revolutionary movement in Andhra**

The leaders of P.W. supported the wrong line of Charu in 1969 when the Srikakulam struggle was progressing and class struggles had broken out in other districts. They have played a major role in diverting the Srikakulam struggle to a left adventurist line.

They indulged in individual terrorism in the plains districts in the name of annihilation. It supported "economic raids" in the plains and consequently the movement suffered severe setbacks in the plains areas. Their activities have helped the Marxist party, CPM which had lost its base, regain support as some of the revolutionaries went back to it.

When our movement was being consolidated in the Illendu forest area of Khammam district in 1971-72, their squad which had no connections with the people there murdered a liberal landlord in Ramagundam, who was friendly with us. With this their squad was ended but our movement had to face severe repression.

According to a plan they launched individual attacks in areas we were working in with the sole intention of disrupting our movement. Such incidents took place regularly in Nalgondá and Manukota areas. In Ongole district, they put up poster and wrote hostile messages against us. They attacked our student activist in Kavali.

Now when the attacks by landlords and the unleashing of fascist attacks by the Indira government have increased, P.W. is indulging in physical attacks on us in Karimnagar district.

These actions are giving a fresh lease of life to revisionists and are helping the landlords and the government. There is a danger of the mass movement being diverted and P.W. will have to accept total responsibility for these actions which are causing concern to our friends.

While P.W. is hostile towards us we have condemned attacks on them by the government. Our party has condemned the attack on the people of Indravelli. It rallied people in the state against it. We distributed pamphlets and put up posters against it and called for a bandh in Karimnagar district. The P.W. used the joint meetings with us to propogate their left adventurist policies.

The revolutionary movement in Andhra is facing severe repression today. The P.W. group in Karimnagar and the Rauf group in Warangal are indulging in attacks on us.

Our stand is that :

— The differences between P.W. and our party are chiefly connected with question of theory, political problems and tactics.

**We shall carry out a principled political struggle against all their wrong policies. Most of the persons in P.W. still sincerely desire a revolution but due to their impatience are being subjected to left deviations. They are hostile to us. We have to carry out a theoretical, political struggle with them and also support their efforts however limited to build a mass movement.**

**— We have to protect our mass movement from the attacks by anarchists among them and resist the attacks.**

**We should separate the sincere revolutionaries among them from the anarchist elements.**

**Most important of all — people in the entire district should be mobilised to mass struggles. We can defeat these anarchists by implementing the mass line with more determination. We make an appeal to the top leaders and the members of People's War.**

**The present attack by you on us will harm the revolutionary movement, affect the unity of revolutionaries and only help the enemy. We urge you to give up your hostility towards us and observe the harm done by your attitude to the revolutionary movement. You are travelling in the same path again and this will severely harm the revolutionary movement.**

**We call upon all supporters of the revolution to come forward to halt this dangerous trend “Kranti” has said they are prepared to the constitution of an impartial committee. We made our proposal on this even before the announcement. You are still persisting in physical attacks on us in Karimnagar and are running a hostile campaign against us. Unless you stop the attacks and the campaign the committee cannot be formed or work effectively.**

**We request all supporters of the revolution to help implement our suggestion.**

**Defeat the anarchist forces in Karimnagar !**

**Condemn disruptionist actions !**

**Continue in the path of agrarian revolution !**

**Long live unity of revolutionaries !**

**10-2-83**

# PEOPLE'S WAR PATH - LESSONS OF CHINA

(FROM THE MILITARY WRITINGS OF COM. MAO)

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## Foreword :-

Today the world is in a new revolutionary era. The People of the world are waging struggles against American imperialism, Socialist Social imperialism and other imperialist Powers. We are in the era when the world capitalism heading towards its dooms day. We are living in an era, where the forces of Socialism are destined to achieve world wide final victory.

75 Crores of Chinese People, under the leadership of communist party of china, had conducted protracted armed struggle against imperialist powers and the nature reactionary forces. They had achieved final victory, and are advancing in the path of Socialism.

The Protracted Peoples War path followed by the Chinese People has shown the way to liberation for the exploited People of the world. Today the exploited People of Asia, Africa, middle east and South American countries are conducting protracted struggles in the Peoples War Path. China has become a centre for the revolutionary forces fighting against the imperialists of the world.

Since last three years, under the leadership of Communist revolutionaries, the People of India are conducting armed struggle. At present they are conducting armed struggle to liberate themselves from the exploitation of big bourgeois - big landlords. The armed struggles being conducted in various areas of our country are marching ahead over conducting many difficulties.

Today, in India good revolutionary situation exists and is gradually developing .

Today, the main weakness is lack of a strong broad mass based Communist Party with basis of Marxism-Leninism and Mao-ze-dung thought, to utilise these revolutionary conditions to successfully accomplish the new democratic revolution in India.

The main weakness being faced by us today is lack of unity among

communist revolutionaries in various parts of our country, who have accepted Mao-zedong thought and fighting for Peoples War Path. Dis unity among the Indian Communist revolutionary groups has come into existence as a result of the adventurist policies and groupism resorted to by Charu Mazumdar group. Today's primary task is to achieve unity on the basis of Mao-ze-dong thought among different groups of Communist revolutionaries.

We have to draw Proper lessons from the protracted peoples War path followed by the Chinese People. We have to apply those lessons to the Indian conditions. We can achieve unity among different groups of Communist revolutionaries on the basis of Mao-ze-dong thought and Peoples War path.

The main aim of these lessons is to provide to our people the lessons of Chinese Peoples War path. All these formulations are directly taken from the military writings and other lessons of Com Mao-ze-dong.

We are hopeful that this book will help to understand the People's War to be conducted in our country and to help achieve unity among Communist revolutionary groups in different states of our country.

## **I. Various stages of Chinese revolution - Main enemies - Main friends - united front.**

The revolutionary struggle of Chinese People mainly passed through four stages.

Upto 1924-27 this struggle was conducted on the basis of united front of Kuomintang Party and the Communist Party. During this period, the foreign imperialists, the Warlords having connections with these imperialists bureaucratic officers, comprador bourgeoisie, big landlords and the intellectuals who had lined up with the reactionary forces were isolated as main enemies and the struggle against them was conducted. Working class, agricultural workers, plasantry petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie were taken as friendly classes. In the middle class, while one section stood against the revolutionary forces another section had swung towards leftism and joined hands with the revolutionary forces. Efforts were made to bring into the united front all the friendly class on the basis of unity between Kuomintang party, a bourgeois party and the Communist party of China.

At this stage the international working class, Chinese working class and its leader the Communist Party were having political influence over Chinese bourgeoisie. That's why it was possible to achieve united front of national bourgeoisie and the working class. But yet in the struggle Communist Party could not play decisive leadership role. It had underestimated the role of armed struggle in the revolutionary struggle. That was why Chiang Kai-Shek the representative of big bourgeoisie in Kuomintang Party could betray national revolutionary struggle in 1927. He was able to drown the revolutionary struggle of 1924-27 in blood. The big-bourgeois-big landlord classes under the leadership of Chiang Kai Shek were able to capture power. As a result of this, the Chinese revolutionary forces, working class and the Communist party had suffered severe losses.

### **The first civil war 1927-36 armed agrarian revolution under the leadership of Communist Party.**

During this period Chiang Kai - Shek govt. and the big-bourgeois and big landlord classes were identified as main enemies. During this period national bourgeoisie had acted as a tail to the big bourgeoisie. During this period the working class, agricultural labour, peasants, small landlords, rich peasants and some sections of national bourgeoisie were identified as friendly classes. Efforts were made to rope in these friendly classes into united front. Efforts were made to wipe out foreign imperialist exploitation through armed agrarian revolution. Under the leadership of the working class and Communist Party. Armed agrarian revolution was conducted.

### **1936-45 Struggle against Japanese imperialism**

During this period, the Japanese imperialists had conducted war of aggression on China to occupy it. Against this war of aggression the Chinese Communist Party united all the Chinese People and conducted national liberation struggle.

During this period, the Japanese imperialism, the war lords who had joined with it, the big-bourgeoisie and big-landlords were identified as main enemies. Efforts were made to bring into the united front the sections of big-bourgeois and big-landlord classes also, who stood against Japanese imperialism. In this period the national bourgeoisie was considered as vacillatingly. During this liberation struggle in order to defeat Japanese imperialism efforts were made to unify all the Chinese people. The Chinese working class and the Communist Party led this liberation struggle.

***1945-49 civil war - success of New Democratic revolution under the leadership of Communist Party.***

During this period, foreign imperialism, mainly American imperialism and big-bourgeois-big landlord classes were identified as main enemies. The main aim of New Democratic revolution was defined as ending the exploitation of the foreign imperialism and of the big bourgeois-big landlord classes. Efforts were made to bring into New Democratic revolution the middle bourgeoisie, small landlords and rich peasants. Efforts were made to bring in the workers, peasants, military personnel, intellectuals, businessmen and all other exploited classes into the New Democratic revolution. In this united front, the unity of workers and peasants was taken as the basis. The Chinese working class and the Communist Party led this united front.

Since the Chinese revolution had successfully rallied all the friendly classes, that were opposed to imperialism and big-bourgeois and big-landlord classes into the united front, the New Democratic revolution in China succeeded. The New Democratic revolution succeeded because worker-peasant unity was taken as the main basis for united front. The New Democratic revolution in China was successful since the working class and the Communist Party had provided unswerving leadership to the united front. Because the Communist Party of China had built a strong red Army, and conducted Protracted Peoples War, the Chinese New Democratic revolution was successful.

## **II. Main form of struggle - Protracted armed struggle**

When the contradictions among different classes, different nations, different govts. and different Political groups reach severe antagonistic forms the form of struggle that is to be launched to resolve those contradictions is called armed struggle. Even since the classes and individual property had come into existence, the antagonistic contradictions among different classes have been resolved through war only.

The key task of revolution is to capture Political Power through armed struggle. This is the highest form of revolution.

This is a general formulation applicable to all times and to all countries. But the working class will implement this formulation depending on the specific conditions of their countries.

In the Capitalist countries in internally bourgeois democracy reins.

Moreover these are independent countries and will not stay under the domination of foreign imperialism. Moreover, these countries will be suppressing and exploiting the backward countries. On account of these qualities of the capitalist countries, the Communist parties of these countries have to continue legal activities for a longer period. Through these activities the working class should be made conscious. Finally in order to overthrow the capitalist govts. some strength has to be gathered. That is why in these countries legal struggles have to be conducted for a long time. The Parliamentary system has to be utilised and political and economical struggles have to be conducted. Trade unions have to be formed. In this stage, for a long time the organisation of communist party will remain open and the struggles will be conducted legally. In the conditions, when the Capitalist system is weakened and when the rural masses are ready to support the armed struggles in towns by the workers, Communist Parties will launch and conduct armed revolution. When such situation arises, the Communist Parties will strive to launch armed revolution throughout the country at the same time. At that time the Communist Parties will first liberate the towns towards and later liberate the rural areas.

China's condition was entirely different to this. China was not an independent country. It was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. Internally, the country there was not even an iota of democracy. It was a country kept oppressed under the exploitation of big-bourgeois, big-landlord classes. China was a country oppressed and looted by foreign imperialists. China had no Parliamentary system. There was no Possibility for legal activities. In such conditions there was no other option for the Chinese Communist Party except following the Peoples War path and liberate at first the rural areas and then finally towards by conducting protracted armed struggle.

In conducting the armed struggle it is important to correctly assess the subjective fighting forces. Over estimation of the fighting forces leads to adventurism. That is why the fighting forces suffer set-backs. Under estimation of the fighting forces leads to rightism and consequently the fighting forces will be weakened. That is why at every stage correct assessment of the fighting force will be an important aspect.

The revolutionary forces can decide the correct Political and military strategy by assessing the political situation in this country.

**Com. Mao explained Political situation of China in 1930 as follows :**

(1) In China the revolutionary forces are weak. At the same time the exploiting classes in power, their govt., armed strength and their political parties also are weak. The ruling classes of China are continuing their exploiting rule depending on a weak and backward social and economic system. That is why in china chances exist for the revolutionary forces to develop very fast.

(2) On account of the betrayal of revolution by Chiang Kai-Shaik in 1927, the revolutionary forces are very much weakened. Though they are weak at present they will definitely and very quickly develop. The sporadic armed struggles going on in the country are the proof of this. China is in a situation where a small spark ignites a prairie fire.

(3) The counter revolutionary forces should neither be under estimated or over estimated. By such mistakes the revolutionary forces will degenerate either into taking to adventurist or rightist methods and suffer losses.

(4) The objective conditions are to be correctly assessed. The form of the struggle has to be decided keeping in view the total situation conditions and as such, the tactics of armed struggle should not be decided based on an incomplete assessment. First of all the question to be carefully considered is whether the revolutionary conditions do exist and are developing in the entire country or not ? This is the key factor. The future of the armed struggle being conducted in an area depends on the development of revolutionary conditions in the entire country. Mao has made clear that the struggle against big-bourgeois-big-landlord classes in China will be a protracted armed struggle. He has explained the following reasons for this.

(1) The first characteristic of the Chinese revolutionary struggle is that it will take place in a vast, semi-feudal, semi-colonial country. The political, economic development in China is uneven. A revolutionary struggle for national democracy already took place.

(2) The second characteristic of China revolutionary struggle is that the Chinese ruling class have a vast army. The Kuoming Tang became the ruling class captured power and sustained to some extent in the power. It is supported by main imperialist forces. With the assistance of imperialist powers, KuomingTang reorganised and modernised the army. Therefore compared to Red army, KuomingTang forces are stronger and powerful.

(3) The third characteristic is that Chinese Red army is smaller and

weaker. Chinese Red army came into being and grew up at a time, there was to some extent economic and political stability in the world capitalist countries. It grew up at a time when the reaction forces within China were strong. The Chinese Red army had no support from any foreign country. It was small and weak.

(4) The fourth characteristic of Chinese revolutionary struggle is that the Communist Party of China was leading it. The revolution could continue in form of Armed agrarian revolution.

The above mentioned characteristics determine the political line, military strategy and the tactics of armed struggle. Also due to same characteristics Chinese revolutionary struggle will assume the form of protracted armed struggle.

The protracted armed struggle is a struggle between exploiting classes and exploited classes. This struggle is bound to assume the form of guerilla struggle.

It is impossible for the revolution in a backward country like China to take the form of universal insurrection. Here the People's War path of forming revolutionary bases in country side through armed agrarian struggle, liberating the country side and finally liberating the urban areas should be adopted.

Com. Mao made it clear that the struggle against Japanese imperialism would be a protracted armed struggle. The reasons are :

(1) Japan is a powerful imperialist country. Japan's War with China is counter revolutionary war. Though Japan is waging war based on its military, economic and political might, it has neither economic base nor peoples base required to wage a protracted war. They get very little help from foreign countries.

(2) China is weaker country in terms of economic, political and military strength when compared to Japan. But Chinese people are fighting for their national liberation. As such their war is a just war. This war is led by Chinese Communist Party and Red army. China is in a developing stage with vast territory large population. It has the economic resources and peoples base to wage a protracted struggle. The just war of Chinese people shall be supported by the people all over the world.

Due to the above reasons the anti Japan struggle will continue as a protracted armed struggle and Chinese people are borned to win.

We have to clearly distinguish between the revolutionary guerilla war on nationality issue and class issue. Both are revolutionary in content. National (liberation) revolutionary guerilla war encompasses the whole people. All classes, political parties join hands under the aegis of a nationalist govt and fight against foreign aggressor. Compared to revolutionary class war, this has broader mass base. The guerilla war during civil war is different case. The guerilla squads will develop faster during revolutionary civil war. But when the country is under foreign occupation the importance of guerilla squads is less. In a civil war guerilla squads play a prominent role. Since all of them have same ideological footong, unifying the forces is easier. As they speak same language as the enemy soldiers do, they stand a better chance of winning over enemy forces. Whereas in a national war these chances are less. This is the difference between the two types of guerilla wars. Gaining the peoples trust politically and militarily ; we ourselves striking the first blow these aspects are shared by both the wars. Learning from one, the other should improve.

It is necessary to know the strategy of the whole war to continue guerilla warfare same on a long term basis. Only by knowing the war situation and strategy in totality can the war in a part of it be properly couducted. Victory is possible only when the war situation, different phase of war are fully known and a comprehensive military strategy is formulated. The total war cannot be won through victories in different tactical conflicts.

At the same time the whole war cannot be viewed in separation of different local combats. The final outcome of the whole war depends on the sum of victories in local combats.

In other words, only by achieving victories in the local combats which are an integral part of an overall military strategy of the war can we achieve final victory.

Therefore the political and military leadership should focus its attention primarily on the crucial aspects of the total war.

The art of waging war should be learnt assiduously by making indepth study. Learning by merestud is difficult ; even more difficult in putting into practice what we learnt. Our military leaders should adopt proper methods of study. They should collect full details of our conditions, the

**enemy's conditions and the relation between us and him, study them in detail and formulate appropriate military tactics.**

**Victory is possible only when the military leadership makes subjective decisions which correspond to the objective situation and implements them. When the subjective decisions have no relation to the prevailing objective situation, we will suffer losses.**

**Protracted Peoples War path is not a smooth road. It is fraught with many hardships and goes through many ups and downs.**

## **How revolutionary bases were established in China**

**When the representative of the reactionary ruling classes Chiang Kai-Shaik was in power the Communist Party of China established revolutionary bases. Banking on these new bases, the Communist Party of China was able to lead the protracted armed agrarian revolutionary struggle and make it a success. How was it possible to establish new bases under the leadership of CPC when the whole country was under the rule of reactionary govt.? Mao says it was done to the following factors :**

**1. China was a backward semi-feudal, semi-colonial country with a self-reliant economy. Strong contradictions existed among various imperialists on the question of exploitation and domination of China. These resulted in strong contradictions among Chinese big-bourgeois, big-landlord classes. These contradictions have been continuing from a long time and some times they even took the form of armed conflict.**

**2. In the pre 1927 period, Chinese people have participated in national revolutionary movement in a big way. Peasants, workers, soldiers participated in these struggles. It was possible to build revolutionary bases in places where such struggles took place. In other words establishment of revolutionary bases was possible only where people had a tradition of democratic struggles.**

**The crux of establishment of revolutionary base is the cooperation of conscious people. The struggle for establishment of revolutionary bases will be successful only when politically conscious people participate in it.**

**3. Establishment, or defence or expansion of revolutionary bases is feasible only when revolutionary conditions exist and are developing throughout the country. If the revolutionary condition throughout the coun-**

try are not developing then establishment of revolutionary bases is not possible.

4. A strong, regular Red army is a pre-requisite for establishment of revolutionary bases. If only local guerilla squads exist, they can fight the armies of local war lords but not regular army of the enemy. Only a regular Red army can fight with enemies regular army and defeat it. Only then can revolutionary bases be established and defended.

5. Revolutionary bases need extensive territory with natural protection. Only when extensive territory exists can the guerilla army shift its operational base, carry out sudden attacks on enemy forces and defeat it. This is how a small guerilla force fight and defeat a numerically superior enemy force.

To establish & defend revolutionary bases, a Communist party organistaion with extensive, strong mass base and capable of waging protracted armed struggle is required. Such a Communist Party should have correct political and military line.

Where the situation is not fully ripe to establish revolutionary bases, we cannot establish revolutionary bases. Even if we did we cannot defend them.

For establishment of defence and revolutionary bases along with all the above conditions, the existence of deep contradictions and conflicts among ruling classes is an important condition. Taking advantage of the deep conflict and contradictions among the ruling classes, the revolutionary forces may build up militant struggles; expand revolutionary bases. Some times the ruling classes may achieve stability temporarily. On such occassion the ruling classes will unite to crush out the revolutionary bases. At this juncture the revolutionary forces instead of advancing will have to concern trate on defending the revolutionary bases. But the peace of ruling classes is transitory and the conflict will escalate and again the ruling classes will become unstable. Revolutionary forces will intensify their struggle against ruling classes and will advance.

We have to note that the tactics of struggle adopted by us while the contradictions and conflicts among the ruling classes are escalating should not be utilised when there is a temporary compromise among the ruling classes as this will cause losses to revolutionary movement.

Only working classes, its political party the Communist party can decisively lead, carry the struggle to its end and make success people's Democratic revolution.

In different phases of Peoples Democratic revolution petty bourgeoisie may join the movement. But they are a very vacillating ally who do not want to continue revolution to its end.

Rural and Urban middle class will fight strongly to make success the revolution. But these sections have small producer mentality and therefore cannot give correct political leadership to make Peoples Democratic revolution a success. Therefore only political working class and its political party the Communist Party can provide decisive leadership for Peoples Democratic revolution.

### **Three phases of protracted People's War forms of struggle**

The War waged by the oppressed against the reactionary ruling classes, takes the form of protracted war. It will continue in 3 phases as the Chinese experience shows.

#### **First Phase**

The armed forces of ruling classes are superior to revolutionary forces in terms of arms and numbers. That is the military advantage lies with the enemy forces. Revolutionary forces have fewer military squads.

In this phase armed forces of exploiting ruling classes continuously attack revolutionary forces. The numerically inferior Red army is compelled to fight and save itself. That is in this phase the Red army wages a self-defence stage to save itself from a superior enemy force.

In the first phase enemy will be superior and will be strategically on the offensive. Revolutionary forces are strategically on the defensive.

Though they are strategically on the defence the revolutionary forces wage severe struggle to defend itself from enemy attacks.

In this phase Red army adopts basically mobile warfare technique. (That is, changing places and making lightning raids on the enemy). It also uses the guerilla warfare and positional warfare techniques.

In this place the enemy's strength slowly dissipates. Through resistance struggle and correct political line the Red army and Communist party increase their strength.

## **Phase Two**

In the first phase the resistance struggle weakens enemy forces. Gradually the Red Army gains strength gradually. At one stage the Red Army and enemy forces will achieve parity. The enemy forces do not have the capacity to destroy the Red Army. So also the Red Army does not have the capacity to destroy the enemy force. The stage when the Red Army and enemy forces are militarily equal is called the Second phase.

In this Second phase, the enemy forces on one hand try to consolidate their occupied territories and on the other carry out attacks to crush revolutionary bases. The enemy wages a ruthless war on the revolutionary movement.

The Red Army is compelled to wage a bitter struggle to defend itself. This struggle will continue for a long time.

In this struggle in the phase two, the people in the revolutionary bases of the Red Army have to put up with severe hardships. There is a danger of some people who are unable to put up with the hardship advocating compromise with the enemy. The Communist Party should fiercely resist such defeatist ideas and defeat them politically.

In this phase the Red Army adopts basically guerilla warfare tactics. It will in addition employ tactics of mobile warfare.

Due to the correct political line and line of struggle the Red Army will gather more forces than the enemy forces. That is through the military line adopted, the Red Army will gain military superiority over enemy forces.

## **Third phase**

The revolution enters the third phase when the Red Army attains superiority over enemy forces. Now the Red Army takes strategic offensive against armies of reactionary ruling classes. The task of this strategic offensive is to liberate all areas under the enemy occupation. In this phase the Red Army is on the strategic offence and the enemy force is on the strategic defence.

In this phase the Red Army primary pursues mobile warfare line. At the same time the prominence of positional warfare tends to grow. The guerilla warfare plays a supportive role to both these lines.

It is clear from the above mentioned issues that the peoples war consists of three distinct strategic phases.

In the first phase enemy will be in the strategic offensive stage and the Red Army will be on the strategic defence. Primarily mobile warfare method will be utilised and positional as well as guerilla warfare tactics will be subsidiary.

In the second phase, both sides are militarily balanced Red Army mainly utilises guerilla warfare tactics. Mobile and Positional warfare will be subsidiary.

In the third phase Red Army will be on the strategic offence and the enemy on strategic defence. Red Army mainly uses mobile warfare. But at the same time the importance of positional warfare increases.

Throughout the Peoples War, mobile warfare will be of primary importance and guerilla warfare secondary importance.

Here we have to bear in mind another aspect. Guerilla warfare has to accomplish two tasks. One : It has to play a supportive role to mobile warfare as well as positional guerilla warfare. Two : It has to at the same time develop into a full fledged mobile warfare.

## **V. "Encirclement and suppression campaigns offence- self defence, centralisation - decentralisation"**

In the outset of Peoples War, enemy forces will be numerically weapon-wise superior to new army. So it tries to crush Red Army in the beginning itself through its 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns.

Red Army has to strongly result and defeat these 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns of the enemy. To defeat these enemy campaigns the Red Army also uses 'encircle and suppression' schemes.

Enemy's 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns, Red Army's 'encircle and suppress' campaigns - the whole People's war continue in the form of 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns.

Encirclement and suppression campaigns against Red Army takes two forms. One : Taking the whole country into consideration being numerically superior, it attacks Red Army. That is a vastly superior if enemy force always encircles a small Red Army. Two : At revolutionary base level also, every revolutionary base is encircled by enemy forces.

Similarly Red Army encircles enemy force in two forms. One : When a superior enemy force attacks Red Army from all sides simultaneously, the Red Army disipates.

In over whelming numbers encircles and destroys a weak part of the attacking enemy forces. Two : Though individual revolutionary bases are surrounded by enemies, taking all the revolutionary bases into consideration, revolutionary bases together have encircled enemy forces.

When the Red Army's fight against 'encirclement and suppression' fails, Red Army loses partially and for the time being. Red Army really loses only when it is fully annihilated.

When the enemies "encirclement and suppression" campaign meets with failure and he is forced into a self defence state then we can say enemy is defeated.

The state of conducting frequently "encirclement and suppression" campaign will come to an end when Red Army gains strong upper hand over enemy and is capable of launching strategic offensive.

## OFFENCE - DEFENCE

The fight against "encirclement and suppression" campaign of the enemy has two struggle forms offence, defence

Phase one : In this phase enemy attacks Red Army. Red Army will be in defensive state and will fight to save itself. This is the first phase of struggle against enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign.

Phase two : In this phase enemy will be in defensive stage and will fight to save himself. Red Army will be on the offensive. This is the second phase of the fight against enemy's encirclement & suppression' campaign.

Thus every resistance struggle against enemy's "encirclement and

suppression" campaign is conducted in these two forms - Defence & Offence. Through out the People War period these two forms Defence-Offence frequently oscillate between the two sides.

Though the two forms defence-offence are oscillating between two sides, for each phase the intensity of war escalates.

Every revolutionary war is a strategic offensive against enemy classes. Though the force of the oppressed is militarily small in the beginning, it will wage a revolutionary war to overthrow enemy classes from power. so the revolutionary war is by nature a strategic offensive. But self defence and retreat are integral part of this struggle.

As the revolutionary forces are smaller at the beginning they are compelled to be on the defensive politically and militarily. By using self defence tactics the Red Army was able to defeat enemy forces during Russian Civil war.

When the imperialists attacked Soviets, it waged war in the name of defending the Soviets. Even the great October Revolution was found in the name of defending the principal city. In all just wars the tactic of self defence will confuse the enemy and helps in educating the people and mobilising the backward classes into the just war.

At the time the revolutionary struggle is launched the exploiting classes will be in power through out the country. The Red Army will be a minor force. Therefore the enemy will be vigorously pursuing the "encircle and suppress" campaigns. From this level, the Red Army must increase its strength to a level where it can launch the offensive against the enemy forces. Till the time it attains the strategic offensive capacity, it must continue self defence struggle.

There is a possibility of committing two types of mistakes in strategic defensive struggle. One is under estimating enemy capabilities and resorting to adventurist actions and the other, over-estimating enemy forces and running away in the face of enemy attack. Both the trends cause losses to Red Army. Self defence struggle is of two types. One : Defending one self by evading enemy and not engaging him in any type of confrontation. Second : Fighting with enemy at each and every step and defending oneself. The latter is called active self defense :

The type of self defence in which one avoids confrontation with en-

emy is not suited for Red Army as this self defence without struggle will lead to inertness and loss of initiative on part of Red Army and leads to its elimination.

The active self defence which fights enemy will be the real self defence struggle of the Red Army. A crease self defence helps Red Army in its strength and dissipate that of the enemy. Thereby the Red Army attains strength for the strategic offensive on the enemy.

Both the forms, Offence - Defence go together in Peoples War. Of these strategic self defence is fraught with many difficulties.

### **Preparatory streps for resistance of "Encirclement and suppression" campaigns**

The enemy implements this "encirclement - suppression" campaigns according to a plan. So without taking necessary, preparatory steps Red Army should not hastily make attempts ro resist the enemy. While the enemy is making preparations for "encirclement and suppression" campaign the Red Army should make its preparations to resist it.

It is important that the time to start preparations for resistance to enemys "encirclement and suppression" campaign should be concretely fixed.

Usually when the Red Army is on the offensive and the enemy is on the defensive, he would plan another "encirclement and suppression" campaigns. The preparation would done secretly, and if the Red Army makes its preparation to resist it too early or too late, Red Army would suffer losses.

If the preparations are made too early, Red Army would be lying marking time for the appearance for enemy. As the enemy forces are not coming as per Red Army's timing, Red Army is compelled to close its plan attack the enemy forces. If the enemy plans another "encirclement and suppression" campaign, then Red Armyis forced to confront enemy forces unprepared. This would be disastrous for Red Army. If the preparations were made later, Red Army loses inisiative and suffer losses.

Therefore the timing to resist the "encirclement and suppression" campaign and the preparations for it are the key. It should be noted that preparations made well in advance rather than at the eleventh hour would be more effective.

The preparatory steps should be taken keeping in view the enemy's condition, our army's condition and the relations existing between them.

Information should be gathered on People's mood economic, military and political situation etc. of the enemy in the occupied enemy territories. Enemy's full might should be assessed. Enemy's defeats should never be over estimated and enemy should never be taken lightly. At the same time, the impact of the defeats suffered by the enemy on his morale, internal contradictions in enemy occupied territories, economic hardships etc should be fully considered.

With regards to assesment of our forces, our victories should not be over estimated. yet while assessing our strength they should be taken into consideration.

Preparatory steps to smash the "encirclement and suppression" campaigns of the enemy ; (1) Withdrawal of Red Army, (2) Mobilising Red Army and the people politically, (3) Recruitment of new soldiers, (4) Mobilising war materials and finances and (5) Keeping a tight grip on political opponents.

The key task in smashing enemy campaigns is to politically mobilise the soldiers in Red Army and the people in revolutionary base. Red soldiers and the people should be clearly informed that the enemy is going to attack on a large scale within a short time. People should be told of the consequences of the enemy attack and hardships and losses they have to face. At the same time the weaknesses of the enemy, the chances of defeating the enemy should be made clear to the people in no uncertain terms. People and Red soldiers should be given confidence that the enemy attack can be smashed. As far as possible, all informations except military secrets should be fully disclosed to public.

To carryout preparatory steps to resist the "encirclement & suppression" campaign, the Red army should be withdrawn. But it should not be withdrawn to such a long distance that it is physically tired but to a place convenient for counter attack on enemy. The ground work to attack enemy in the areas from where the Red army has withdrawn should be done fore hand.

While recruiting soldiers two aspects should be kept in mind. One is that the population in the revolutionary base and the level of peoples consciousness should be considered. The second is that number of new recruits

should be fixed keeping in view the losses suffered by the Red army in the earlier confrontations and the estimated losses in the future confrontation. The food supplies financial resources, armaments etc should be arranged in sufficient quantities to last till we can resist and crush the enemy forces with extra allowance for a longer "encirclement & suppression" campaign by the enemy. While collecting the food & other resources not only the needs of the Red army but also of the people in the revolutionary base should be borne in mind. A continuous vigil should be kept on political opponents. But with mere suspicion that they would resort to betrayal draconian actions should not be taken. We should differentiate between landlords, rich peasants and traders. More important is to convince them politically and make them neutral. People should be mobilised to keep watch on them. Drastic steps like arrest should be taken only against die hard enemies.

To what extent can we smash the "encirclement & suppression" campaign and how great victory we can achieve will depend on the preparatory steps.

### **Strategic retreat :**

When a strong enemy attacks a weak Red army, the Red army to preserve itself and gain strength to defeat the enemy has to make a strategic retreat.

During strategic retreat the Red army should not wage decisive battles. It should continue its retreat till situation becomes favourable to launch counter offensive.

It is historic fact that in the preliminary stages of war, a weak army fighting a stronger enemy has to make strategic retreat.

To conserve its strength and enhance it to launch a counter offensive - this is sole aim of a strategic retreat.

In the process of making strategic retreat, the Red army should fulfil atleast two of the following preconditions to qualify for counter offensive against enemy forces.

- (1) Active people's support to the Red army.
- (2) Terrain geographically suited for a counter on the enemy.
- (3) Concentration of the main force of Red army (in that attack).

**(4) Knowledge of enemy's weak point.**

**(5) A tired & demoralised enemy force.**

**(6) Deceiving the enemy & force him to make mistakes.**

Only when it is able to satisfy atleast two of the above conditions should the Red army in strategic retreat launch a counter offensive.

Active People's cooperation is the key issue here. Red army retreat to hinterlands of revolutionary bases only to gain active people's participation. Moreover Red army gains active people's cooperation in the hinterland more than in the borders of revolutionary base.

It would be convenient to decide upon the convenient place to counter attack the enemy. The enemy would be tired in the interior revolutionary base by his travel into revolutionary base and so would be target. Enemy can be tricked and made to commit some mistakes and create complications for him. He would then be an easy target for counter attack.

While retreating into revolutionary base it would be easier to identify the weak flank of the enemy forces, attack and destroy it. When the situation is not favourable to Red army though the enemy forces have come into the target area, the Red army should continue its retreat.

When a strong enemy force attacks a weak Red army only by retreating into revolutionary base can a parity achieved between both forces. During the retreat the Red army in resting recoups its forces. In contrast the enemy force is tired. So a sort of parity can be achieved. Or the absolute strength of the enemy can be changed into relative strength. Utilising other favourable factors counter offensive can be launched on the enemy.

During the strategic retreat, we should create favourable conditions to counter attack the enemy. But this does not mean we should continue strategic retreat till all favourable conditions exist. It is neither necessary or possible to create all the above mentioned favourable conditions. Retreat should be continued till favourable conditions compared to the actual situation of the enemy exist.

There are three tricky questions regarding commencement of strategic retreat. When to begin (date), where to begin (place), and preparing people and cadres.

Preparing for retreat at the right time as per plan facilitates creation of right conditions for counter offensive. Retreating before or after the opportune movements causes losses. But starting retreat earlier is better than starting later.

It is very difficult to convince people and cadres of the need to retreat when they had no previous experience. It is possible only when the committees which decide on retreat have sufficient influence among people and cadre.

## **Retreat Areas**

Retreat areas should be selected bearing in mind the war situation in totality. It would be wrong to decide an area to be favourable for counter offensive by taking a partial view.

As a general principle, we should permit the enemy to enter our revolutionary base when he attacks the people's army in large numbers. The Red army should retreat deeper into revolutionary base and then launch counter attack on the enemy.

There are three types of retreat areas in revolutionary base. The advance area, central area, rear area of the rev. base.

Similarly there are three types of retreat areas in enemy occupied areas.

Area adjoining a revolutionary base, Areas facing a revolutionary base, areas at the rear of revolutionary base.

Due to our retreat deeper into the revolutionary base a part of the revolutionary base will come under enemy's occupation temporarily. As the battle takes place in our territory, the enemy will wreck havoc on the land. Our people will be compelled to face hardships.

Taking note of these losses, some 'leftists' argue that the retreat and the consequent loss of territory, hardships to our people, levastation of our territory are not necessary and reject the principles of retreat.

They argue that instead of retreating into the revolutionary base, we should engage the enemy outside the revolutionary base and if necessary use positional warfare tactics.

Though these arguments sound very leftist they are nothing but adventurism.

We'll lose a part of our revolutionary base while retreating into a rev. base. This is a temporary loss and as soon as we counter attack and defeat the enemy, we'll win back not only our territory but also some enemy occupied territory.

As far as devastation wrecked by the enemy and the hardships people would suffer at his hands, they have to put up with temporary hardships to gain permanent relief from the enemy.

Those who argue that we shouldn't lose our territory and there we should not retreat do not see the connection between today's gains with tomorrow's gains and one area's interest with the collective interest. They dogmatically cling to temporary, partial interests.

Correct decision on the place and time of retreat comes only through experience. Cadres should gain experience in this regard to be able to take correct decision. Meanwhile some losses are inevitable. But failure is the stepping stone to success and cadres should be willing to learn not only from their own experience but also from that of others. Refusing to learn from the experience of others is nothing but stupidity.

The question whether or not we can convince the people for retreat mainly depends on whether or not we can convince the cadres. So it is important to convince cadres for retreat.

Strategic retreat is undertaken, ultimately for counter offensive against the enemy. Strategic retreat is the first phase of strategic defence. The crux of the overall strategy is to achieve victory in the strategic offensive.

## **Strategic offensive**

In the strategic retreat, to defeat a superior enemy army, we bank on creating conditions which are favourable to us and hostile to the enemy. But the favourable conditions by themselves do not help us defeat the enemy. It is the decisive battles with the enemy that decide the result. The central task of strategic offensive is to wage decisive battles with the enemy. So the offensive on the enemy continues for a considerable period of time. The counter offensive is the ultimate stage in strategic defence. When we say active defence, we mean this counter offensive.

The period of decisive battles is very turbulent and fraught with thorny issues. The situation continues to be in flux. Of the whole war this phase puts both sides to severe test.

In the stage of counter offensive also the condition favourable to us will increase. By utilising them properly we can expedite our victory.

### **Launching of counter offensive :**

In the period of counter offensive we have to resolve many issues. The most important of these concentration of man power, waging mobile warfare, waging wars of quick victory, wars to annihilate the enemy.

The same principles hold good for offensive or counter - offensive.

The following aspects should be borne in mind to achieve success in the counter - offensive.

1) The first battle should always be won. Therefore it should be fought only when the conditions are favourable and victory guaranteed.

2) The first battle should be a part of the overall battle plan.

3) We should be prepared for the post counter offensive phase.

4) Concentration of forces, adoption of principles of mobile warfare and of battles of quick victory and waging war to annihilate enemy - These are the main key points for victory:

## **CONCENTRATION OF FORCES**

The most important task of these is concentration of forces. By concentration of soldiers we can change the relationship between us and the enemy forces.

### **One :**

It brings change in advance and retreat conditions. Initially enemy advanced and we retreated. By concentrating our soldiers we won the first war against enemy. This influences the whole war situation. The enemy retreats.

Two :

If effects changes in offence - defence situation. Initially enemy attacks us and we defend ourselves. By concentrating our forces we will be able to counter attack the enemy and the enemy goes into defensive position. We will be in the offensive.

We have to note here that though we are on the offensive here, taking the war picture in totality, the nature of war still continues to be defensive. His offensive is not launched with the purpose of annihilating the enemy and clinching final victory.

After some time the enemy will mobilise his forces and attack us. We'll again be on the defensive. Therefore through this phase over offensive against the enemy will be the last step in smashing the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign.

Three :

The relationship between the cadres inner circle and outer circle of the party Red army and enemy forces can be changed only through concentration of forces.

At the outset the enemy implements the "encirclement and suppression" vigorously with his superior forces. The enemy fights from outer circle and we from the inner circle. But fighting from inner ranks is a very difficult task and our Army has to function in a very inimicable conditions.

The enemy's strategy is to mobilise his forces from all sides simultaneously. We will select the weaker flank of the enemy, mobilise our forces overwhelmingly on that segment, encircle it and destroy it. That is, as the enemy encircles us as a strategy, we will in local battles encircle the enemy forces and destroy them. This can be done only in some specific situations. We should have absolute superiority over the enemy forces. Then the enemy will be fighting from inside and we shall have surrounded him and will fight from outer circle. This is called inside circle waging war with outside circle. This is our waging "encirclement and suppression" campaign within the confines of enemy's "encirclement & suppression" campaign. When the enemy is attacking simultaneously from all flanks, it is wrong to fight battles with the enemy on all flanks.

To advocate fighting with enemy on all fronts at the same time would

**be useless not only to strategic defence but also to strategic offence.**

**All forces except the minimum required to keep enemy at bay should be deployed to combat the weaker enemy flank.**

**The attitude of fighting the enemy on all fronts stems from the urge to demonstrate numerical parity with to the enemy that we are as strong as he is. This attitude stems from the fear of losing part of our territory to the enemy.**

**When the Red army is unable to the enemy forces which are in the revolutionary base, it should enter enemy occupied territory and fight. This will compell the enemy to evacuate revolutionary base and run to protect its territory.**

**But some people oppose such tactics of struggle as they are afraid to venture far away from revolutionary base. This fear stems from lack of complete trust in the people of revolutionary base.**

**If we formulate that we should concentrate our forces and counter attack the enemy, it does not mean we are for seeking people's guerilla warfare. While the main section of Red army fights the enemy forces at one place, the guerilla squads mobilised from the people will wage guerilla war on the enemy in other places. Red Army and peoples guerillas are complementary. We take into consideration the existence of armed people in the revolutionary base when we say we can defeat enemy forces in a revolutionary base. That is why enemy forces are afraid of entering the revolutionary base.**

**Our army should be mobilised to maintain absolute superiority over enemy forces. Sometimes we have to concentrate ten soldiers for every one enemy soldier.**

**It is a fact that concentration of man power is hampered by the conditions of the battle field, transport, resting places etc. At the same time it should be remembered that the Red Army can put up with more hardships than enemy forces.**

**Our strategy is to defeat a strong enemy force with weak force. Our tactic is to overwhelm a weak enemy force with a strong Red Army and defeat it.**

## **6. GUERRILLA WARFARE - MOBILE WARFARE & POSITIONAL WARFARE**

In all the three phases of protracted people's war the guerilla, mobile and positional warfare tactics play a crucial role. Let us study in depth, the salient features of these tactics.

### **Geurilla warfare**

The general principles of geurilla warfare are :

— Our forces should be decentralised for political work among the people. Our forces should be centralised for attack on enemy forces.

— We'll retreat when enemy advances; harass when enemy is resting; attack when the enemy is tired; pursue when enemy flees.

— Stable revolutionary bases should be developed step by step. When a stronger enemy force attacks us, we should evade them and tire the enemy.

— In mass work our aim should be optimum utilisation of the available time to politically educate the maximum number of people using sophisticated techniques.

The same guerilla principles were used to smash the "encirclement and suppression" campaigns.

### **Mobile warfare**

In the begining the enemy forces are superior in term of numbers and weapons and likewise. Red Army would be weaker. Red Army has no reserve to supply weapons continuously. In every revolutionary base, Red Army will wage battles against enemy forces. As long as such situation exists, positional warfare will not be suitable and therefore tactics of mobile warfare should be adopted.

So when the enemy forces are strong and Red Army is weak, we wage mobile war. This means that we have no fixed battle field. It is continuously changing. This is one of the characteristics of the war waged by the Red Army.

In which ever direction Red Army advances to fulfil its task, it will

be useless not only to strategic defence but also to strategic offence.

All forces except the minimum required to keep enemy at bay should be deployed to combat the weaker enemy flank.

The attitude of fighting the enemy on all fronts stems from the urge to demonstrate numerical parity with the enemy that we are as strong as it is. This attitude stems from the fear of losing part of our territory to the enemy.

When the Red army is unable to the enemy forces which are in the revolutionary base, it should enter enemy occupied territory and fight. This will compel the enemy to evacuate revolutionary base and run to protect its territory.

But some people oppose such tactics of struggle as they are afraid to venture far away from revolutionary base. This fear stems from lack of complete trust in the people of revolutionary base.

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Our strategy is to defeat a strong enemy force with weak force. Our tactic is to overwhelm a weak enemy force with a strong Red Army and defeat it.

In the above four situations, we should not engage enemy forces and avoid confrontation by going away. This is the main principle of guerilla warfare. The other important issues in conducting successful mobile warfare are : Establishment of machinery to monitor enemy movements; proper decision making, proper deployment of army for battle, shielding the military leadership from the enemy, concentration of armies, advancing, division of armies, attack, pursuing, surprise attacks, positional self defence, developing ability to fight sudden encounters with the enemy, retreat, fighting night battles, fighting special battles, evading a strong flank of the enemy and fighting with a weak enemy flank, encircling the enemy and cutting off his supplies, attacking under cover, fighting a series of battles with in a short time, protecting ourselves from enemy planes, fighting with several enemy forces simultaneously fighting with backs to the wall, taking rest, regrouping our forces. By successfully tackling these issues the mobile warfare can be successfully waged.

### **Key principles of guerilla and mobile warfare**

Between 1928-36, Red Army used guerilla and mobile warfare techniques against the armies of Chaing Kai-shaik. Mao fully developed the guerilla and mobile warfare principles which were gained through experience and utilised in Anti-Japanese war. Let us study these principles in detail.

A small, yet powerful imperialism Japan invaded a big but weaker country China. At that time Japan imperialism is on the decline and China is in ascent. Therefore Com. Mao made clear that the war between these two countries would be a protracted rukless war and the China should use guerilla and mobile warfare tactics to fight the enemy.

The aim of all varieties of military actions is same while protecting our forces destroying enemy forces. In a revolutionary war this aim is linked up with the fundamental political tasks.

By utilising tactics of guerilla and mobile warfare China will conserve and develop its forces, gradually destroy enemy forces ad ultimately achieve victory.

Red Army comes into existence from zero and then grows into strong force. It defeats the enemy. The principle of guerilla and mobile warfare help achie this end.

**These are the six cardinal principles of guerilla and mobile warfare**

1) Taking offensive while on the defensive, fighting wars of quick victories in the protracted war, taking initiative to fight war from outside circle (i.e., encircle and smashing enemy) while fighting war from inside circle (i.e., fighting an enemy when encircled from all sides) changing tactics and plans according to the exigencies of the battle.

2) Coordination in a regular war

3) Establishing revolutionary bases

4) Strategic defence, strategic offence

5) Developing guerilla warfare into mobile warfare

6) Maintaining proper relations between military leadership of different levels.

In China the Communist Party of China fought against the reactionary forces and made success the New Democratic revolution. The exploiters who were in league with the imperialists UK, US were represented the Kuomintang (National People's Party). The Kuomintang was led by Chiang Kai-Shek. In 1925 he was commander-in-chief of Kuomintang armies and in 1928 he became President of the government. He was finally arrested in 1949 and fled to Taiwan when he established the government. In 1950-40 he conducted seven major battles to crush out the Communist forces. These famous battles are called "encirclement and suppression" campaigns. At the height of the fight some involved 2-3 lakh soldiers. The Red Army using different tactics smashed these attacks by the reactionary forces. The enemy forces referred to in this article are Kuomintang forces.

The words self defence and defence are used interchangeably excepting a few specific cases.

To convey the chain of thought of comrade CP, the article has been translated the same way it was written in Telugu. Only a few minor technical changes were made in the text.

-- Editors.

Military lesson (brief) in 1969-1970 China. Two whole of military printed. This is published. The various stages were enemies of allies in the each

stage. In all stages how to concentrate our forces and attack enemy. What is guerilla warfare, mobile. What are revolutionary bases feature their feath discussed here a weak force can fight military a strong force to defend revolutionary bases and *Taking offensive while on the defensive wars of quick victory in the protracted war Taking initiative to wage battles from outside circle within the confines of battle from inside circle. change of tactics according to the occassion and planning.*

A strong country Japan is invading a weak country China and China is waging a just war to defend its independence. Anti Japanese imperialist struggle will continue as a protracted war. The Chinese will wage strategic defensive war still they are in a position to launch strategic offensive on the enemy.

In this situation Japan wages war against China from outside circle and China from inside the circle.

Here we have to keep in view another aspect. Though enemy forces are powerful interms of weaponry chinese army is numerically superior. Moreover Japan wages war of aggression. Chinese army is defending this aggression on its own soil.

Keeping in view the above scenario, we have to adopt the following strategy. While being on the strategic defence, for tactical considerations counter offensive should be launched. With the confines of strategic protracted war, local battles which give quick victories should be fought. With the confines of fighting from inner circle strategically, local battles should be fought from outer circle.

This is the battle strategy to be adopted throughout the anti Japanese war. This strategy applies to regular as well as guerilla war.

In the gue.illa war the attacks are always surprise attacks. Surprise attacks are made more frequently in guerilla war than in regular war. Compared to regular war, in guerilla war, the local battles waged for quick victories should be clinched quicker. Compared to regular war, in guerilla war, we will be surrounding the enemy forces in a very small areas. These are the differences between regular and geurilla war. But the principles for both are same.

So, keeping in view the above principles, the maximum number of soldiers should be mobilised for guerilla war. A surprise attack should be launched. A victory should be achieved in the shortest possible time. In guerilla war, attacking the enemy is the key task and mere self defence, prolonging the conflict, dispersing our forces before the conflict would be wrong.

As a tactical measure we would resort to self defence even in guerilla war. In a battle when the enemy forces attempt to block our path near narrow passages or strategic places, or when resisting enemy forces near villages or river crossings, instead of offensive we will resort to self defence.

In guerilla war, offensive (attack) is primary. The intensity of attack in a guerilla war will be more than in regular war. This intense attack also should be made suddenly and swiftly.

Guerilla war continues in a extensive area. Guerilla army adopts the principle of decentralisation to harass and slowdown the enemy forces, and to scatter them, and to make political propoganda among the people. To annihilate the enemy it adopts the principle of centralisation (of forces).

Taking anti Japan struggle as a whole ours is a strategic defensive struggle. But within the confines of this, strategic defensive struggle, many guerilla and regular wars, counter offensives against the enemy will be launched, quick victories achieved. Only such victories achieved such raids through will change the war into a protracted war. We will develop capacity to continue the protracted war till favourable conditions develop inter relationally as well as in Japan. And ultimately annihilate the enemy.

In the strategic defence or strategic offence condition by centralising soldiers, many local battles should be fought from outside circle. In those local battles the weaker enemy flanks should be encircled and maximum number of soldiers annihilated.

But initiative of the Red Army is the three key tasks launching offensive in the strategic defensive stage, wars of quick victories in the protracted war, fighting battles from outside circle within the confines of waging a war from inside the circle, making changes in the army deployment as per the requirement of the situation, proper planning are crucial.

## **Initiative**

**In any war or battle field, every army tries to take initiative into its hands. The side which loses initiative will be forced into inactivity. It cannot take appropriate stages and faces defeat.**

**Gaining initiative depends on proper assessment of both sides. It depends on political and military decisions based on this assessment. Wrong assessment of objective situation will lead to loss of initiation and immobility and inevitable defeat.**

**Gaining initiative depends on conduction war of your capacity to wage war and on how well you utilise the enemy's weaknesses. i.e. subjective conductance of war.**

**When you are on the offensive or waging war from outside circle, it is relatively easier to gain initiative than when on the defensive or waging war from inside the circle.**

**If the objective positions of Japan and China is assessed it would be clear that Japan had initiative in its hand in the beginning and China gradually captured it.**

**Japan has three fundamental weaknesses.**

- 1) It had shortage of manpower**
- 2) It is waging war on a lein land**
- 3) It under estimated Chinese capacity. It was being weakned by its internal contradictions and committed blunders in conducting war.**

**On the other hand, China and vast army. It is waging a just war to defend sovereignty of the country. It used correct military tactics through mobile warfare. Due to the above reasons it was inevitable that the initiative changed hands.**

**The Red Army had to fight strong enemy forces in a very difficult situation. It had no hinterland (to retreat if necessary). It had little experience in fighting wars. Yet by taking advantage of the enemy's weaknes, Red Army gains initiative.**

**Taking advantage of shortage of manpower of enemy forces, it will intensify its attacks in a vast area.**

By mobilising the majority of Chinese into a just war against a war of aggression by Japan, it can mobilise people in vast areas into attacks on enemy soldiers.

Taking advantage of the mistakes committed by the Japanese military leadership, it can goad them into making mistakes and launch sudden attacks on him.

It can concentrate large number of soldiers on a weak flank of enemy and achieve quick victories. Sometimes when faced with a superior enemy force Red Army avoids a battle, moves to a place favourable to it and there gains initiative. All this depends on redeployment of Red Armies as per the need of the situation and proper plan.

It can overcome the weakness of the guerilla army in the process of struggle.

## **Deployment of the army according to the need of the hour**

To be specific, whether or not we can keep initiative depends in our hands depends on the deployment of the armies according to the need of the situation. Redeployment of the army according to the need of the situation is crucial in gaining initiative.

Depending upon the target set up, army should be carefully utilised. Keeping in view the enemy's condition, topography, local people, changes should be made in deployment of armies, the crucial task in conducting war in making changes in the deployment of soldiers. This is a very difficult task. Especially so when a lesser force is fighting a stronger enemy. To overcome the confusion that exists in the war, lack of information about enemy, uncertainty, to achieve clarity and proper form of battle, the subjective capacity of higher order to conduct war is pre requisite. Having such capabilities alone will enable the military leadership to make timely change in the deployment of armies.

Changes in deployment of armies according to the needs of the situation depend upon centralisation and decentralisation of army and change of combat zone

## **Decentralisation**

Decentralisation of forces should be done in the following situations.

1) The enemy is on the defensive and we are, for the time being, unable to concentrate more forces on him ; We have decided to attack the enemy head on, in an extensive area.

2) To harass and scatter the enemy forces where he is already weak.

3) We are encircled by the enemy and do not have capacity to smash the encirclement and hence want to escape from the encirclement.

4) Our route is blocked due to non-receipt of our supplies or topography.

5) We have decided to conduct mass activities in a vast area.

While decentralising the armies two points shall be borne in mind.

1) The forces being decentralised need not be divided equally. They should be decentralised in such way that they can face up to any hostile situation and if necessary can be regrouped into a strong army.

2) The decentralised forces should be assigned specific tasks. They should be clearly instructed about the mission to be accomplished, the time schedule fixed for that mission and where to regroup.

## **Concentration**

Soldiers (armies) should be concentrated to annihilate the enemy who is on the offensive, and to destroy the enemy forces, who on the defensive are camped at one place.

Concentration of army doesnot mean full mobilisation of soldiers. It is concentration of soldiers to be sent in one direction, keeping sufficient number of soldiers to stop enemy in other places, harass and disrupt them and to work among masses.

## **Changing battle field**

When the enemy perceives threat to his soldiers from guerilla forces, he will send reinforcement to fight guerilla army. The guerilla army should quickly take stock of the situation. If possible it should fight the reinforcement from the same place. Or if necessary it should shift to another place to fight. As soon as it finishes destroying a flank of the enemy it should attack

another flank. If the guerilla force feels that the situation in that area has become adverse, it should disengage, shift to another place and continue fighting. As the guerilla army perceives danger to its forces, it should immediately change the battle field.

The change of battle field should be done secretly and swiftly. It should make attempts to feed mis information to the enemy about the guerillas where outs and the places of attack. It should pretend to attack from east and attack from west.

Initiative can be gained in guerilla war by effective implementation of centralisation and decentralisation of armies, changing battle field. Inactivity will lead to immobility and static situation and causes losses. Therefore the guerilla military commander should gain experience in concentration, decentralisation and change of battle field. These three aspects should be used in right time by taking stock of the situation. To acquire such capacity commanders should make deep study. They should try to know all facts and study in detail what they have come to know.

## **Plan**

It is impossible to win in guerilla wars without preconceived plan.

It is most important to plan out in advance the battle activities of a guerilla unit or unity in a specific area or throughout the guerilla zone. Proper assessment of the situation, formulating targets, distribution of soldiers between different units, giving military and political training, proper maintenance of the weapons, mobilising supplies, proper utilisation of peoples cooperation all such tasks should be conducted by the guerilla commanders carefully.

But the guerilla war doesnot permit planning to the extent possible in regular war. But plans should be made to extent possible. Planning is necessary for successfull attacks on enemy.

War has high level of uncertainty and so it is very difficult to fight according to the plan. Neverthelss without preconceived plans, it is impossible to win wars.

In any war total uncertainty is impossible but relative uncertainty exists. We know our position but uncertainty exists vis-a-vis enemy's situ-

ation. Yet we shall have some indicators to gauge his situation. Based on these plans can be drawn up. Modernisation and development in information technology is affording a chance to make war plans. Yet non-flexible or comprehensive plans are not feasible as they should be revised as per developments in the battle field.

The plans for offence or defence may have to be changed several times a day. The plans for war in the whole area will hold good till that war is clinched. But before that war ends, some times, they have to be modified partially or fully. The strategic plan based on the overall war situation will be more stable. When the stage of war changes they too have to be changed.

Comparatively, the battle plan for a war in a area will remain unchanged for a shorter period compared to strategic plan. The battle plan for a local war will remain unchanged for a even shorter period.

Some people argue erroneously that as the battle situation changes continuously, making plans is useless. This is completely wrong. Without a relatively stable plan for a specific period, it would be impossible to win in guerilla war.

## **Wars of quick victory**

The strategic protracted war and the wars which give quick victories in battles in one area or in a specific war are two sides of a coin. In civil wars or revolutionary wars both types of wars have equal importance.

As the reactionary forces are stronger than revolutionary forces and as the revolutionary forces develop gradually and slowly, the rev. war continues as a protracted war.

The reactionaries get assistance from foreign imperialists. Till the revolutionary forces are strong enough to defeat the local and international reactionaries, till the international revolutionary forces are strong enough to check the international reactionary classes, the revolutionary forces have to continue protracted war. So, as a strategic requirement, revolutionary forces have to continue protracted war. At the same time, in the battles in a limited area, or in a battle, wars of quick victory should be fought. This is necessary due to two reasons : (1) Red Army does not have resources to replenish immediately its exhausted armoury. (2) Enemy forces consist of several division of forces. Red Army has only one and the same soldiers have to fight with different divisions of enemy soldiers. (3) Though the enemy forces

attack Red Army from several directions they are available to one another. Therefore Red Army has to fight battles of quick victory. They may last 1-2 hours, or in some case 1-2 days.

When the enemy has set up a base and is staying we have to encircle and fight for a longer time to cut off the relief suppliers to the camp. Even here our task is to achieve quick victory over the reinforcements coming to the enemy camp.

In spite of being on the defensive strategically, while doggedly fighting to defend a particular area, we have to fight for a longer time.

Smashing the "encirclement and suppression" plan of the enemy will be a major war. Here also the principle of waging wars of quick victory should be adhered to. Taking into consideration the population, financial resources, military strength of a revolutionary base individual battles (or local skirmishes) can not be sustained for long.

Our general principle is to wage wars of quick victory in individual battles and local battles. But it should be noted that impetuosity or impatience would be dangerous.

The political and military leadership of the Red Army should consider the actual condition of both the sides. It should not lose heart at the enemy's strength. It should not get disheartened by defeats should display exemplary courage.

The enemy utilises his superiority and tries to implement the principle of wars of quick victory. But we, as a strategy have to wage protracted war, How ?

In the first two phases of protracted war, being in the strategic defensive, offensives against the enemy should be carried out as a tactic. Within the frame work of protracted war, wars of quick victory should be continued. Within the frame work of waging war from inside circle, battles should be fought from outside circle. In the third phase strategic counter offensive should be launched.

Waging wars of quick victory cannot be done as per our wishes. It can be done only in specific situations. The main pre-requisites are : concentrating a long number of soldiers, completion of preparatory work, deciding opportune moment for the attack battle field with topographical ad-

advantage to us, enemy is on the move or enemy has set up a base and is yet to consolidate it. All these conditions should be satisfied to wage a war of quick victory.

In general, to clinch quick victory, sudden and swift attack should be made on the enemy on move. A convenient place of ambush should be selected on the confirmed route of the enemy and large number of soldiers should be stealthily deployed. As the enemy approached, he should be surrounded and before the enemy realises what's happening, attack should be launched and battle clinched. In this attack, a considerable section or the whole of enemy force should be destroyed.

Such victories boost the morale of our soldiers and dishearten enemy forces.

After fighting several wars of quick victory the enemy forces lose their upper hand and gradually Red Army gains upperhand. That is, major change in the parity of forces occurs. Apart from this, other changes in both sides, international cooperation etc. contribute to Red Army gaining parity with enemy forces and then gain superiority with this, the Red Army launches its strategic offensive and annihilate the enemy.

## 2. Coordination with regular war

Coordination of guerilla war with regular war is the second strategic issue in the guerilla warfare. A clear war perspective on this issue plays an important role in defeating the enemy. Coordination between guerilla war and regular war be it overall strategic war, or local war or individual war is vital. Guerilla warfare in enemy occupied areas weakens him. It ties up a part of enemy forces there. It sabotages enemy supply lines. This enthuses the soldiers in regular army as well as the people throughout the country. This is how the regular war and guerilla war are strategically linked.

When the regular army is fighting the enemy forces the guerilla forces in the nearby area will make guerilla attacks on the enemy forces and disrupt their supply lines. Thus the guerilla army will supplement regular army.

When the regular army is fighting a battle with the enemy from the inner circle, guerilla army will take specific actions which will compliment the actions of regular army. Acting on the instructions of the commander of the regular army, the guerilla army will tie down a section of enemy forces,

disrupt enemy, act as rout guides to regular army.

Even in absence of specific instructions, the gurrella army shall perform above duties and under no circumstances shall sit idle.

### **3. Establishing Revolutionary bases**

Revolutionary war continues for a long time. It is a ruthless war. Establishment of revolutionary base is primordial importance. Without revolutionary bases protracted war cannot be waged. Establishment of revolutionary bases is the third strategic issue in gurrella warfare. Gurrella actions should be conducted throughout the enemy occupied territory and the battle field extended. Till the enemy occupied territory is liberated, the gurrella war should be continued with perseverance. The enemy wages a ruthless war to wipe out gurrella armies. Considering the protracted nature of the war and its ruthless nature, it will be seen that without establishing revolutionary bases it will be impossible to continue protracted gurrella war in enemy occupied territory.

#### **What is a Revolutionary base ?**

Revolutionary bases are the foundations for achieving the strategic tasks of the gurrella armies. Revolutionary bases play a crucial role in sustaining and nurturing the revolutionary forces, and ultimately annihilating the enemy. In an enemy occupied area, revolutionary base serves as a rear area (reserve area) for the gurrella armies.

Without defeating the theory of building revolution through roving rebel band without building revolutionary bases, it is impossible to establish revolutionary bases.

Revolutionary bases are of three types :

(1) Revolutionary bases in mountains (2) Revolutionary bases in plain areas (3) Revolutionary bases in river valleys, lake side areas.

The revolutionary bases in mountaineous regions are the best. These revolutionary bases with natural topographical protection can be sustained for a long time. Comparatively revolutionary bases in plain areas are less useful than these. They have no natural protection. But with active people's cooperation, a comparatively stable revolutionary base can be built up in plain areas. As the enemy launches ruthless raids to wipe these out and

things come to a stage where the enemy attacks cannot be repulsed, the guerilla armies have to seek protection temporarily in mountaineous areas.

The chances of establishing revolutionary bases in river valleys and lake sides are better than in plain areas, but lesser than in mountaineous areas.

### **Guerilla zone - revolutionary base**

Revolutionary base is established in enemy occupied territory where the enemy armies are wiped out. In enemy occupied territory some areas are controlled by guerilla armies for some time and by enemy forces for some time. They cannot be called revolutionary bases. They can be called guerilla zones. A severe guerilla war has to be waged, enemy forces should be wiped out or defeated on a large scale, puppet govt. over thrown. People should be inspired and activated. Mass organisations should be set up. Local armed peoples armies should be mobilised. Peoples power should be established. Only then can the guerilla zone be changed into revolutionary base.

Converting guerilla zone into revolutionary base is a very strenuous yet creative work. This depends on to what extent have we wiped out enemy forces and how far have we politically educated the public. Many areas will remain as guerilla zones for a long time. The enemy cannot establish a stable puppet govt (administrative setup) in these areas. At the same time, how ever bitter guerilla war we may wage, we cannot establish peoples power here.

The guerilla war can extend to only periphery of areas such as big cities, railway stations, strong enemy bases, in plains. It can never extend deeper into these areas. So in such areas, the enemy has relatively stable puppet administrations.

Some times, due to the mistakes committed by our leadership, or due to pressure of the enemy a revolutionary base may change into guerilla zone or a guerilla zone into a enemy occupied territory. Guerilla commanders should carefully monitor such situations.

After bitter struggle between enemy forces and guerilla forces, enemy occupied areas can be classified into three types. (1) rev. bases (2) enemy occupied area (3) guerilla zones with severe tussle between enemy forces, and guerilla forces.

Red Army continuously strives to extend area of 1st and 3rd type and to shrink areas of type 3.

The following conditions should be satisfied to build a revolutionary base (1) Building up of armed forces - By making public politically conscious and building up guerilla squads, guerilla army, regular army in that order. Establishing of revolutionary bases is possible only when strong regular armies exist.

(2) Armed forces and the people jointly should defeat the enemy.

(3) Doing one's best, people should be mobilised into practical work

(4) An extensive area, an area with topography suitable for defence

(5) Economically, revolutionary base should be self sufficient.

### **Extension and consolidation of revolutionary base :**

The guerilla struggle should be conducted continuously, limiting the enemy to certain areas only.

The revolutionary base should always be extended. Then only the army of the enemy will lose its mental balance. The requisite conditions for the strategic counter attack of the Red Army will be created.

At the same time it is also an important thing to consolidate the revolutionary base. Here, inspiring the people politically, consolidating the people in various mass organisations and training the guerilla squads and the local armed squads are important things.

Only when the revolutionary base is consolidated like this, it will be possible either to conduct the protracted struggle or to extend the revolutionary base. If we go on simply extending the revolutionary base area without consolidating it we cannot resist the enemy's attack. Then there will be a danger even for the existence of these revolutionary base, leave apart its extension.

Our principle must be to extend the revolutionary base, while consolidating it. Then only we will be able to conduct offensive and defensive struggles. Sometimes, we have to concentrate on the extension of the revolutionary base. And on some other occasions, we have to concentrate on the

consolidation of the revolutionary base. As to when and on what we have to concentrate, will depend on the specific conditions.

#### **4. Strategic defence - strategic offence**

Among the strategic problems of guerilla struggle, the fourth one is strategic defence and strategic offence. Both in the conditions of strategic defence and strategic offence, the Red Army will conduct many small attacks on enemy's armies. All these will take place inside and around every revolutionary base.

##### **Strategic defence :**

After the Red Army has conducted the guerilla struggle to certain level with enemy's armies, the enemy will utilise all his energies to terminate the people's army and the revolutionary bases. To exterminate the revolutionary base, the enemy will attack on the revolutionary base from many sides at a time. When the guerilla struggle attained serious proportions when the revolutionary base area is formed in a key area, when a danger has arisen to the key areas and transport routes of the enemy, the enemy will attack very carefully. It is proved that how much serious the attack of the enemy will be, that much powerful the guerilla struggle will be conducted there.

The enemy will be in offence position, when he conducts attacks on the revolutionary base from many sides at a time. From outside ranks, he will be attacking. We will be in defence position and will be fighting from the inside ranks.

Then, we have to use our second prominent armies to halt the remaining enemy forces, concentrating the main section of our armies and launch a sudden attack on a section of the enemy's army, encircle it and exterminate it either completely or a major portion of it. This attack has to be launched when the enemy's army is in mobility.

By conducting many such sudden attacks, the enemy will get weekend. A situation will be created for the enemy to retreat from the middle of the way. We can further weaken the enemy by chasing his army, when the enemy is retreating.

At the time of attack, the enemy could occupy some towns in the revolutionary base. We have to encircle such towns and ensure that they do

not get additional help and food grains supplies from the enemy. At the time of the retreat of enemy's armies we have to resort to their abolition.

After our army has smashed a section of the enemy's army, our army has to quickly move to smash another section of the enemy's army.

Generally, we have to keep our main army in the inner circle, when the enemy is attacking the revolutionary base from many sides at a time. Armies of second prominence (ie., local, district guerilla squads, some sections of regular Red army) are to be deployed to the outer circle and ensure that the enemy does not get additional help. We have to disrupt the transport routes of the enemy.

When the enemy's army has entered the revolutionary base and our army could not defeat it and consequently when the danger of the enemy's army with standing there, our main army has to enter the area occupied by the enemy's army and start a war front there. Then in order to face our main army; the enemy's army has no other way except going back to its area leaving our revolutionary base.

When the enemy is attacking the revolutionary base from many sides at a time, all the self-defence squads and the mass organisations have to be brought into the field completely. All the self defence squads and the mass organisations are to be pressed into the field to strengthen our defence positions and to gather the agricultural produce from the crop fields. To suppress the traitors and to stop our information from reaching the enemy military rule has to be enforced locally.

The enemy will resort to burning of our villages and towns and cause serious destruction at the time of his retreat. It should not be forgotten that by doing so, the enemy with his own hands will destroy the sources of food grains and defence supplies necessary for his second attack.

At the time of the enemy's attack on our revolutionary base from many sides at a time, our leadership should not vacate easily the revolutionary base and resort to change to some other one. Even after serious struggles are conducted, change of revolutionary base has to be thought of only when it is proved that it is impossible to safeguard the revolutionary base. If we adopt correct principles, generally we can foil the attacks of the enemy on our revolutionary bases situated in mountain areas. A necessity may arise to think about the change of the revolutionary base when faced with a strong enemy attack only in plain areas. In such situations some guerilla squads

are to be left behind to conduct military actions in the revolutionary base of plain area and the main guerilla army has to be shifted to mountain areas temporarily. After the main sections of the enemy's army has left the revolutionary base, our guerilla armies have to reenter there and continue their activities.

### **Strategic offence :-**

After smashing the attack of the enemy once, the enemy will be in strategic defence position before he resorts to another attack. We will be in strategic offence position.

Under such circumstances, our army should not resort to attack the fortified enemy bases. To defeat such enemy bases is still beyond the capacity of our armies. During that period, Red Army has to fight systematically to exterminate the small armies of enemies and touts in some areas. The revolutionary base has to be extended. The people are to be politically inspired against the enemy. The lost sections of the Red Army are to be replenished. New guerilla squads are to be formed. They have to be trained. If the enemy is still in the position of strategic defence, our revolutionary base has to be further extended. The towns and transport routes, having enemy's weak protection, are to be taken into our control. As long as possible, they should be kept in our control.

These are our tasks, during the period of strategic offence. The aim of these tasks is to increase our strength utilising the situation arising out of the strategic defence position of the enemy. By fulfilling these tasks only, we will be in a position of potentially resisting another attack of the enemy.

To give military training to our army is a most important thing. We will be having a good opportunity for this when the enemy is in a strategic defence position. This does not mean that we should sit giving only this training, leaving aside all other works. While fulfilling the three tasks extending the revolutionary base, exterminating the small armies of the enemies and inspiring the people politically, our army has to be given necessary training and rest.

The most convenient time to gather food grains, clothes for the soldiers and other articles is the period when the enemy is in a strategic defence position.

When the enemy is in a position of strategic defence, the guerilla

comanders should not feel giddy with success. The strength of the enemy should not be underestimated. We should not neglect the programme of achieving unity among our soldiers, consolidating our revolutionary base and consolidating the people. We should be very vigilantly observing all the arrangements being made by the enemy for another attack. When we do like that, then only we can effectively defeat when the enemy resorts to another attack.

## **(5) To change guerilla war into mobile war**

The fifth one among the strategic problems of guerilla war is to change the guerilla war into mobile war.

Since the revolutionary war continues for a protracted time and since it continues very cruelly guerilla squads get necessary training, steeled and develop into regular army definitely. Guerilla war definitely takes the form of mobile war gradually. Guerilla commanders should clearly see the necessity of changing guerilla war into mobile war and the possibilities for it. Two things are to be done to form a regular army, which conducts mobile war, out of guerilla squads, which conduct guerilla war. They are (1) to increase the number of soldiers and (2) to develop them qualitatively.

By merging the small guerilla squads regular army can be formed. As the soldiers become steeled in the struggle, by gathering good weapons the guerilla soldiers can be developed qualitatively.

We face two kinds of difficulties, when we merge the small squads in the regular army. Firstly, local interests come in the way of the principle of centralisation. Secondly mere military outlook gives complete prominence only to centralisation and neglects the local interests.

Local mentality will be deeply rooted in local guerilla squads and in local governments. These people will be giving more prominence to the local interests and will be neglecting the total interests. Keeping this aspect in view, we have to deal with more vigilantly at the time merging the local squads with the regular army. The local squads are to be merged with the regular army in a systematic way but not in a dictatorial way. It should be seen that the regular army and the local guerilla squads participate in joint military actions. Like that, through practice the necessity of the local squads to merge with the big army is to be made recognised.

With only military point of view, some commanders will neglect com-

pletely the local interests and aim at taking steps to centralise all the local guerilla squads and weapons in the regular army. These people will try only to improve their strength, but will not make any effort for the development of the local guerilla squads. These people will be thinking that changing guerilla war into mobile war is stopping the guerilla war completely. It is not at all correct. On the basis of conducting guerilla war with full intensity and in a wider area, guerilla war has to be changed gradually into mobile war. A regular Red Army, which can conduct mobile war has to be built up. Even after the formation of regular Red Army, the guerilla squads will remain and the guerilla war will be continued in a wider area. Such guerilla squads and the guerilla war being conducted by them will be able to give powerful help to the regular Red Army and the mobile war. Guerilla squads will be acting as a basis for a continuous growth of the regular Red Army.

That is why the military commanders should not neglect even to the smallest extent the local interests of the local people and the local governments. We should be continuously striving to build up local guerilla squads and to develop them.

To develop the guerilla squads qualitatively, their political and organisational level has to be raised. Weapons, military efficiency, tactics and discipline have to be developed. Politically, the consciousness that guerilla squads are to be developed into regular army has to be raised. The military and political net-work, method of work, regular supply of goods and medical aid necessary for the formation of the regular Red Army have to be arranged. Various kinds of good weapons are to be collected. Modern news service systems has to be created. The military efficiency and tactics necessary for a regular army have to be learnt. All these cannot be acquired in a day. Through efforts over a long period only, we can achieve them. But towards achieving this goal, we have to develop gradually.

## **(6) Relations among different kinds of military leaderships**

The sixth one among the strategic problems of guerilla war is the relations among different kinds of military leaderships.

Guerilla squads will be operating in a wider area. The extent of centralisation possible in the method of regular war is not possible in guerilla war. That is why if the principle of centralisation, which will be implemented in regular war is also applied in guerilla war, the initiative and the capacity to change according to the needs of the time of the guerilla squads will be destroyed.

But at the same time, without a sort of centralised leadership guerilla war cannot develop.

In the wider area when regular war and guerilla war are going on, coordination between these two military leaderships is essential. That means, strategically united leadership is essential. In a guerilla zone or in a revolutionary base, there will be many guerilla squads. The regular Red Army will be there. Under a united command when the enemy's army is attacking us, united leadership and centralised leadership becomes necessary for our different military wings operating in that area. That is why in guerilla war either the principle of complete centralised leadership or the principle of complete decentralised leadership is not suitable. Strategically, the principle of united leadership will be followed and for the wars conducted in an area or for the wars conducted separately the principle of decentralised leadership will have to be followed. Strategic centralised leadership means to lay down the strategy and plan pertaining to the whole guerilla war and the tasks for a war to be conducted at a particular time. In each combat zone it achieves coordination between regular and guerilla battles. For all the military wings of a guerilla zone or a revolutionary base it provides centralised leadership. In general matters ie., regarding problems pertaining to strategy, the lower units should be taking advices from the higher units. Centralisation has to stop here. In implementing the advices of the higher committees the higher units should not intervene in the details as to when, where and in what manner the lower units have to deploy their armies and conduct the battles. In such battles, the lower units must have the freedom to decide as to how the advices of the higher units are to be implemented. Here the principle of decentralised leadership has to be implemented. The lower unity will be in a better position to decide how to conduct war in the specific conditions and the principle of decentralised leadership has to be implemented. If the higher committees wish to convey any information to lower committees, it should be in the form of advice and not instruction.

As the battle field becomes extensive, as the war becomes intense, as the lower and higher committees become in-accessible greater freedom should be given to lower committees to take certain war actions.

When a large army is attacking enemy force, the principle of centralised leadership has to be adhered to, as the top leadership will be aware of the battle field conditions. When this large army is made into small groups it should again implement the principle of decentralised leadership.

If the principle of centralised leadership is not implemented when it

is required, it reflects the inability of the upper committees. Or that the lower committees themselves are exercising the authority of higher committees. Conversely if the principle of decentralisation is not adhered to, it means that the higher committee have usurped the powers of the lower committees or that the lower committee are not taking initiative, These two are unpardonable mistakes in guerilla war.

## **Positional warfare**

Considering the level of military skills of the soldiers and of weapons in a guerilla war, it can be said that positioned warfare is unsuitable, be it in the stage of self defence or offence. So in guerilla warfare, positional war can not be considered either as a cardinal principle of war or as an important principle of war.

In the third stage also the revolutionary army is weaker than the enemy army. Therefore throughout the peoples war period it is the guerilla and mobile war fares that play the prominent role.

The following principles of struggle should be implemented in the third phase.

1) Enemy should be attacked in many several places. Those sections of enemy forces which are isolated from main army should be attacked first.

2) Small & medium towns and vast rural areas should be occupied first. Subsequently the big towns and cities.

3) Our main task is to annihilate the major military force of the enemy. Defending a town or an area is not the important thing.

4) In all battles the enemy forces should be surrounded by overwhelming number of our soldiers. In some instances as high as six times the number of enemy soldiers. Cutting of all escape routes they should be completely wiped out. As far as possible, the task of battle should not be confined to weakening the enemy only.

5) Without doing the ground work (preparatory arrangements) a battle should not be fought. Battles where victory is not possible should not be fought.

6) All our fighting skills should be fully used. Exemplary courage, preparedness for any sort of sacrifice should be shown.

7) Enemy forces should be annihilated when the enemy is on the move. At the same time tactics of positional warfare should be mastered and utilised to capture enemy's fortifications and the towns.

8) In capturing towns those towns and fortification which are weak should be first captured. At the opportune moment some what stronger enemy fortifications and towns should be captured. We have to wait till the situation becomes favourable.

9) Our soldiers should be reequipped from the soldiers and weapons of the enemy forces. The soldiers and weapons for our army should be procured from the battle field.

10) The full period between two major battles should be utilised to rest the soldiers and to retrain and consolidate the army.

## **Wars to annihilate enemy forces**

The key task of the war is to preserve our forces while annihilating the enemy's. At the outset enemy has the strategic superiority as well as strategic initiative. Therefore only by waging wars be it local battles or separate skirmishes to annihilate the enemy forces can the superiority of the enemy forces be smashed and initiative seized from him. Through such wars Red Army over comes its weaknesses and improve its position nationally and internationally.

We can fight wars of quick victory only by implementing principles of mobile warfare such as centralisation of soldiers, fighting battles from outside circle, encircling or attacking from sides of the enemy forces. Only thus can the enemy forces be wiped out.

While annihilating the enemy forces a vigorous political propaganda should be conducted among the enemy soldiers. Winning over the enemy soldiers politically to our side expedites annihilation of enemy forces.

## **Gaining from enemy's mistakes**

The enemy usually under-estimates the strength of the revolutionary force. Yet, when guerilla war is going on in a vast area at the same time the

Army does not have sufficient manpower to launch offensives on us in all fronts. Due to people's opposition, he cannot get as many soldiers as he would like. Also with the intensification of guerilla war, the army of the reactionaries faces shortage of men.

The reactionary army does not have any protection in their attacks on guerilla armies and the attacks in different areas lack coordination.

Internal contradictions weaken the enemy. He lacks the skill to utilise strategic opportunities. Though it surrounds our armies many times, it can capture only a few soldiers. By proper utilisation of the weakness of the enemy, Red Army can defeat him. In addition to these, the Red Army should take steps to mislead the enemy and force him to make mistakes. These also will contribute to Red Army success.

Those are the general principles of combat to be adopted by the Red Army in protracted people's war. Some people may misrepresent them to be principles to avoid fighting with the enemy. This is a fallacious argument.

Our fight with the enemy is a uncompromising struggle which continues for a long time. In this struggle the above principles prevent us from falling into a trap and be wiped out with the first blow of the enemy. They help in waging a protracted people's war. There is no other way to final victory in people's war.

## **People's War and People**

Victory is possible in protracted people's war only when all the oppressed people participate directly. Revolutionary war is a war with people's participation. Though weapons play an important role in achieving victory, they do not play a decisive role in war. People and people alone will play a decisive role.

Guerilla war is basically a war organised by the people. It is distanced from people, it can neither survive or develop. If the extensive guerilla war fails to attract people it will not develop.

Rousing the people who, since thousands of years, have been exploited, deceived and oppressed and make them recognise the need to wage armed struggle is a very difficult task.

By waging economic and political struggles for democracy and bring-

ing the urban, middle class peoples into such struggle alone can the revolutionary typhoon engulf the whole country.

In the people's war, army is the main form of organisation and struggle the main form of struggle. At the same time, other mass organisations and forms of mass struggles should continue. These mass organisations and mass struggles should play supportive role in war activities.

In the peoples war the armed struggle and the mass struggle of youth, women, workers, peasants should be openly and correctly coordinated. The armed struggle for power should be coordinated with economic and ideological struggles.

Protracted peoples war can be continued only when the people's revolutionary base and enemy occupied territory are politically motivated and they are inspired to participate directly in armed struggle.

Our political aim should be extensively propagated among the people. We should explain the political programme to be implemented to achieve this political aim. Through meetings, pamphlets, magazines, books, dramas, cinemas, political schools, in mass organisation. This political campaign should be conducted. This campaign has to be conducted among the people repeatedly.

To integrate with the masses, programmes should be chalked out taking into consideration their needs and aspirations. Programmes should be drawn up to satisfy whims and fancies of a few but should be based on the demands of the people. In some instances people desire material changes but do not come forward to fight for those changes. In such instances we should persevere till people consciously recognise the necessity for such change and are prepared to fight to achieve it. We should not try to bluff about the changes for the people, till they are willing to act on their own.

Only by implementing a political programme for conforming to the people's wishes in that area, at that time can the people's support be won for the armed struggle.

The people in any area can be classified into three types. Relatively bright, mediocre and the backward. While basing on the bright efforts should be made to raise the level of the mediocre and win over the backward to the cause.

Accurate information on the peoples lives should be collected by going into masses. Studying the data collected, demands on which peoples struggles can be conducted should be formulated. The demands should be extensively propogated and struggles built up. Learning from the experience gained from these struggles new people's programme has to be formulated and implemented among the masses. This is called mass line. This mass line has to be implemented again and again.

Case should be taken to ensure direct participation of the people in revolutionary base in all aspects of peoples war. People should participate directly in village committees, village govts, guerilla squads, regular armies, peoples defence squads.

All the people in military area should be given arms. They fall into two categories. (1) Those who leave civil profession and become full time guerilla squads. (2) Those who while continuining civil professions would join civil defence squads.

In the peoples war civil defence squads are good instruments to impart military training to people. The recruitment shall be voluntary and by no means forced. All men and women in age group 16 - 45 should be organised into peoples defence squads. All those who join peoples defence squads shall continue in their civil professions, work in their native areas earn their living. In special cases, when they have to go to far off places to discharge their duties, the govt. will bear their expenses. So while imparting (military) training and while mobilising people through extensive propaganda, peoples individual intiative should be developed. Imposed decisions and programmes do not succeed. The weapons for these peoples defence squads consists of swords, spears, country made guns and field guns etc.

Whenever the enemy enters or a chance of enemy's entry exist, guerillas should be organised from the peoples defence squads of that area. Each guerilla squads consists of 3-10 members. They should be local people and excepting when they are in guerilla activities, they should be in civil professions.

Doing local sentry duties, implementing scorched earth policy when necessary, gathering information about the enemy ferretting out people enemies and punish them, providing supplies to regular army and guerilla, clearing up the battle field these are the areas where the peoples defence squads would assist.

## **8. Peoples government in revolutionary base its tasks**

During the first civil war (1928-36) in China, in revolutionary bases, peoples power was established in country, district and town level. This people's power was called workers peasant govts.

- A general body of all people elected these govts.
- The people elected workers, peasants and military council and the executive committee.
- The Executive committee consisted of four members - Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Red guards committee, the squad commander.
- The task of the govt. is to implement the agrarian revolution programme in the revolutionary base.

But the workers, peasants and military, council lacked active functioning. After elections they rarely met. In practice the govt. power was exercised by the executive committee.

Vigorous propagation of the necessity of democratic methods should be done among the people. We have to inculcate among people that by pursuing democratic methods alone we have succeeded in mobilizing people into revolutionary struggle. By running the mass organisation on principles of democratic centralisation alone can the people be mobilised into revolutionary movement.

During the anti Japanese struggle, in the revolutionary base united front govts of all revolutionary forces opposing the traitors, reactionaries and imperialist aggression. The aim of the govts was resistance to foreign aggressor and fulfilling democratic tasks. They functioned as united front govts of revolutionary forces implementing democratic dictatorship on the traitors and reactionaries.

The united front govts comprised of 1/3 rd Communists, 1/3rd non-party left progressives, 1/3 centrist groups.

But this principle should not be implemented mechanically. Depending on the specific situation existing in each area, the proportion may be changed. The proportion can be changed to prevent infiltration of feudals & opportunists into lower ranks of administrative machinery.

**Peoples power should be elected by people. There govt. at all levels should function on the basis of principle of democratic centralism.**

**Every adult irrespective of sex, caste religion and educational qualifications has right to participate in election and to be elected as a representative.**

**The programme of these govts. was resistance to imperialist aggressions, protection of people participat in the resistance struggle, coordination between various social forces opposing imperialism, ameliorate condition of workers and peasants, controlling traitors and reactionaries, mobilising peoples support to armed struggle etc.**

### **Economic issues in Revolutionary bases**

**During the first civil war the main programme of the peasant worker govt in revolutionary bases was to divide the land-lords land to poor peasantry, implementation of land agrarian revolutionary programme was the main task.**

**As a general rule in many parts of china land concentrate was high. Landlords controlled 70% land and of peasants 30%. In such a situation, majority people and can be mobilised to distribute landlord's land.**

**The rural population consisted of three groups (1) Big and middle landlords (2) middle-minor landlords and rich peasants (3) middle peasants and small peasants.**

**During the first civil war period the lands of big and middle landlords were distributed. The lands of middle group, that is, minor landlord & middle peasant lands were also distributed to a certain extent.**

**The interests of rich peasants are linked with those of minor landlords. If the lands of the rich peasant and minor land lords are including considerable amount of land would be available for distribution. So the lands of middle and minor landlords of the rich peasants were distributed. Utilising their influence and power in the society, the rich peasants and minor landlords threaten the poor peasants and try to have the land distribution programme postponed as long as possible. When land distribution becomes un avoidable they misrepresent their holdings are try to get away with big holdings.**

We should not forget the reality that the poor peasants will come forward to distribute the lands of the minor landlords and rich peasants only when the revolutionary movement is continuing vigorously and only after the military capabilities of the Red army have been proved and many successes were achieved over the army of the reactionaries.

In the forest area, each village consists of a clan. These people have group mentality and not class consciousness. So developing class consciousness in them is an arduous time consuming task.

As long as the red army has upper hand, minor landlord and rich peasants will be low. As the revolutionary army approaches the revolutionary base they will prepare to join enemy camp.

The war between rev. base and enemy occupied territory is very bitter. It would be as intense as a war between two nations. Enemy imposes economic blockade on liberated areas. Trade between two areas comes to a stand still. Essential commodities become scarce. Goods that are usually exported from liberated areas cannot be exported. This situation cannot be borne by the common people and the Red Army for a long time.

In times of such blockades there is a possibility of rich peasants and minor landlords join hands with the enemy.

## **Distribution of land**

A town or village was taken as basic unit for land distribution. In the mountainous regions with little agriculture land 3-4 villages formed a basic unit. Initially both man and women were given equal shares of land. Later drawing from this experience this method was discarded and land was given keeping in view the person's capacity to work. Those who can put in more labor was given more land. The rich peasants oppose the principle of more land to hard worker or of equal land to every one. They argue that as they can invest more capital and harvest more, they should be given more land.

In the liberated areas 20% of the produce was taken as tax. But where the poor have hand to mouth existence no taxes were imposed.

In the anti-Japan war period all the peasants was mobilised to side the economic issue in a revolutionary base.

The direction of economic construction was to provide food and cloth-

to Red Army, amelioration of living condition of the people and thereby inspiring them to take part in revolutionary programme, consolidating worker-peasant unity, strengthening worker-peasant democratic dictatorship.

The economic programme consisted of selling bonds for economic construction in liberated areas, developing cooperative movement, connection of godown for food, transports of food grains from surplus area to deficit areas, Exporting goods from liberated areas to enemy occupied areas, importing essential supplies from enemy occupied areas, abolishing to the extent possible, private trade in food grains and essential supplies export and import, production of agricultural implements and provide of other important commodities. The main issue would be production of food grains.

We have to remember that the constructive work taken up in peace time should not be of long term economic construction. It should be of use to armed struggle directly.

In the economic construction people should be mobilised into mass organisations. But it should not be a forced affair. Making people consciously educated and encouraging their participate in economic construction programme voluntarily is important. Large number of cadre be entrusted to the task should of programme of economic construction. Economic construction, land distribution, labour of laws, peoples cultural programmes, political education of people, expansion of Red Army -all such issues should be coordinated and implemented.

The economic front in liberated areas consisted of 3 sectors. Govt sector, Private sector and cooperative sector.

Govt. sector shall be encouraged wherever possible. All facilities shall be provided for the development of private sector. Maximum support will be given to develop cooperative sector. Govt. leadership on private sector shall be gradually developed. This facilitates the advance to socialism.

The cardinal points in developmental activities are boosting industrial and agricultural products, increasing trade with outside world and promoting cooperative movement. The principle for resource mobilisation for liberated area govt is through economic construction.

No wasteful govt expenditure should be permitted. The workers issues should be carefully resolved and their standard of living boosted. But

no adventurist(left) steps should be permitted. Increasing wages to und high level or reducing number of working hours too much is wrong. A general principle well adopt 8 hr working day. In some divisions 10 hr working days also exist. Where a settlement is reached between the workers and the management, the workers should abide by it and have discipline. The profit earned by the capitalists give scope to such occurances this is not curbed factories will be closed down. Especially in the rural areas, the living condition of peasants should not be boosted too highly should very high should be given.

## **land issues**

The full distribution of land to be carried out in Agrarian revolutionary phase is not implemented in this phase. In this phase reduction of interest rate and share cropping share on landlords lands were taken as the main issues. The share cropping share should not be reduced to rock bottom. The basic rate is 25% share in the produce. If the peasants demand more it can be raised to 30%. This rate should not be reduced. The interest rate also should be fixed at such level so as to not stop the money lending altogether. The control of the land will be in landlord's hands and peasantry benefited from reduced share cropping rate. This is our policy.

## **Taxation policy**

Taxes should be in proportion to the income. Every one with income should pay tax to govt. The poorest shall be exempted. The burden of taxes should not be on only landlords and capitalists. Peasants also shall contribute to the kitty. Arresting individuals, imposing fines on them is wrong.

## **Civil rights**

All the capitalists and landlords who are opposing Japanese imperialism shall have same and equal rights as all other people have.

## **9. Our attitude towards enemy soldiers**

The counter revolutionary forces can be curbed only by ruthless suppression of hardcore traitors and anti Communists.

At the same time, killing of large number of people should be avoided and no innocent be punished. Those who were forced to join enemy camp against their will and the vacillating sections in enemy camp should be treated

liberally. Hanging should not be a punishment for routine crimes. For prosecution of any person strong evidence must be produced. If necessary those who are extremely hated by all people should hung. But this tyrants requires permission from higher official bodies.

In the life and death battle enemy may resorts to some vile tactics. He may train some traitors to work as fifth column nists among our guerilla squads. By developing the political consciousness of the people, people should be roused to keep an eape on such fifth columunists. Those who infiltrated our ranks should be eradicated. While removing them, all squad members should gather expose their heinous role and see that all people hate and condemn their activities. Some traitors may have come into responsible position and in such cases their activities should be tracked with utmost caution and skill and they should be weeded out.

Those thieves and enemy soldiers who rebel against their govt and join us should be invited into our fold. But while reforming them adequate attention should be paid to find out who are genuinely opposed to the reactionaries and who are joining us in that garb to carry out conspiracies among us.

We should ceaselesly work to politically win to our side the lower rank soldiers in enemy army. Even the captured enemy soldiers should be won over to our side. Insulting or killing the captured enemy soldiers is prohibited. After we have explained our political tasks, those who wish to join our army should be permitted to do so and those wish to return home should be given journey fare and sent off.

## **10. Red army and discipline**

Without Red Army people do not gain anything

Characteristics of Red Army :

- Discipline based on political consciousness.
- Consciousness to fight for the interests of the whole people and not for their own. The motto of peoples army is public service.
- Red army is invincible. It will continue to fight till the enemy is filly wiped out. How adverse the situation may be it never surrenders to the enemy. It will keep fighting till the last soldier.

--- In the Red Army good rapport exist between officers and soldiers, and between soldiers and people. Good rapport exists between Red soldiers and peoples govt organisation.

--- Red Army adopts correct attitude towards enemy soldiers who have surrendered or have been captured. If politically wins over the enemy soldiers to its side.

--- It adopts correct strategy, tactics and principles of guerilla and mobile warfare.

--- In the intermission between two wars it undergoes military training.

--- Whenever necessary, it assists the people in economic activities. To reduce the strain on the people, Red Army harvest crops for its own consumption.

Every guerilla squad has to fight with enemy, continue protracted war. So its cadre should consist of cadre who are brave, active and are willing to participate in national liberation struggle without any reservations. Apart from the general characteristics they should have the following qualities. (1) They should be hard working and exemplary to their followers (2) They should have close contacts with people and integrate with them (3) They should develop ability to develop and maintain rapport between leaders and cadres (4) They should fully comprehend the details policy of national united front. This is necessary to avoid mistakes in guerilla programme (5) They should fully grasp our strategy and tactics of struggles and be familiar with latest developments.

A guerilla force comprising of such cadre is invincible. One cannot expect a guerilla having all these qualities from the minute he became a guerilla. The first and foremost quality desirable is the preparedness to sacrifice everything in the national liberation struggle. This is a prerequisite for all other qualities. The gurella cadre should comprise of locals. They should have close contacts with the people and will be familiar with the terrain. Without mobilising more cadre from the locals, it would be difficult to wage protracted war. By holding training camps, cadres should be mobilised.

Voluntary recruitments is the main principle in guerilla squads. Any forced activity should be discouraged. Social inequalities should not hinder

the guerillas. The stellar qualities of a guerilla are perseverance and courage. Equipped with these qualities guerillas can face any hardship and fight for any length of time. Those who cannot maintain discipline, anarchists, and riff raff who cannot be reformed should not be taken into guerilla squads.

Red Army consists of two divisions. They are regular army and local army. Apart from these people defence squads, local armed squads also will be functioning. While the regular Red Army fights major battles with the enemy forces, local armies, peoples defence squads and local armed squads fight to defend their areas.

## **Democratic in Red Army**

A peoples army fully adopts democratic methods of functionary. Ordinary soldiers, commanders carry out democratic campaigning in the army. This campaign should help in achieving political unity, betterment of living condition of soldiers and to develop military skills and tactics. This campaign should be conducted in a democratic centralised manner.

Ordinary soldiers should have to right to criticize the weakness, and mistakes of the military cadres. Ordinary soldiers certainly respect good cadres. In specific instances, ordinary soldiers should be afforded a chance to elect leaders of lower wings. When there is a severe shortage of cadres, such electoral process comes in handy. But this method should be used only when necessary.

Democracy should be established in peoples army through three methods.

(1) Discipline should not be implemented dictatorially. It has to be a voluntary (self imposed) discipline based on political consciousness.

(2) Equality between officers and soldiers should be established.

(3) Various sections of army should have equal right to participate in military actions.

In critical situation the political and military leadership should accompany the army and lead it. Thus the morale of the army will be boosted and unity between officers and soldiers and the leaders will be achieved.

## **Some wrong trends in Red Army**

There is a possibility of wrong trends raising head in Red Army, some soldiers develop pure military outlook. These comrades refuse to see that military actions are only vehicles to achieve political aims and counter pose military affairs and political affairs. They feel that expertise in military affairs is expertise in all affairs. They do not bear in view that Red Army is military organisation formed to achieve political tasks of the revolution and consider Red Army to be a military organisation only. Apart from military struggle Red Army has to fulfil political tasks like conducting political campaign among the people, organising people, arming them and establishing revolutionary political power.

So these comrades look down on the wings of Red Army which carry out political tasks and argue that military wing should have the authority to take final decisions on all matters. They neglect not only the military squads which conduct political propoganda among people but also formation of military committees in the army and mobilising peasants and workers into mass organisation.

Comrades with pure military out look are elated with a victory and are depressed by a defeat.

Comrades with such out look will never care for military unity except their own. They feel as if they alone are fighting. They feel that they can crush the enemy provided their strength is intact. Therefore they evade confrontation with the enemy and preserve themselves. There is a chance of such comrades resorting to adventurist action due to revolutionary impetuocity, without proper assesment of subjective and objective situations. They hate strenous work among the people. They yearn for big actions only.

Comrades with pure military outlook have low level political consciousness. They do not recognise the importance of political leadership. They exhibit employee mentality. They do not have necessary trust on people.

Some people in Red Army talk about democracy. These who advocate ultra democracy try to implement democratic centralism in reverse. They argue that higher bodies should take decision only after lower bodies have discussed all issues. .

Some people in Red Army keep disobeying party decisions and discipline.

They do not recognise the point that though the minority though they do not argue with, the majority, it has to implement majority decision. The minority can try to have the decision on which they are not agreeable changed at subsequent meeting but meanwhile they should implement the majority decisions.

In the name of internal criticism they leave out important issues and hit out at individuals. Self criticism also is not done in party organisation but outside. Thus they violate discipline of party organisation and party unity.

--- Some Red soldiers argue for full equality. They claim that in all matters in allowances, carrying loads, etc., all should be equal.

As for as possible distribution of materials, should be equal. At the same time full equality is impractical and will hamper battle preparations.

while criticism mistakes of individuals, political and organisational aspects should be stressed and not individual weaknesses. If the individuals weaknesses are criticised. The spirit of the criticism should be to help the comrade overcome his weakness and correct his mistakes. It should not make the comrade despirited. Some people do not consider this while making their criticism.

Some comrades exhibit subjective attitude in their work. They bear grudge against those who criticised them. They serve the interests of the group alone in which they work. They have clerical mentality and behave as if they have mere clerks obeying orders of higherups. They yearn for easy life. When the decisions are against their desires, they will keep still. They will be anxious to leave work in Red Army and go to work in local area.

Some people in Red Army do not recognise the necessity of establishing a revolutionary base through bitter struggles and advocate the theory of roving rebel bands.

Some people in Red Army propose adventurist actions. Without taking into consideration subject and objective situations they resort to adventuristic actions. They do not implement strongly the party programme in cities and towns. In some situations especially during defeats, they violate military discipline. In some cases they even burn down houses. They demand that the cowards who desert the army should be shot dead.

All the above stated wrongtrends blunt the fighting spirit of the Red Army. They should be organisationally, politically and ideologically com-

bated. We should recognise that these wrong trends raise their heads as the majority peasants in Red Army are from the middle class. It should be noted that they raise their ugly heads as efforts were not made to give deeper understanding of the party programme to Red soldiers and not waging correct ideological and political struggle against such wrong opinions.

Each branch of Red Army should and must have political organisers. They will come out the tasks of political education of red soldiers and guiding the mass programmes along the correct track etc.

## **How to select the members of guerilla squads**

Guerilla squads can be formed in the following ways

- (1) Squads formed directly from the people
- (2) Guerilla temporarily deputed from the army
- (3) Special military force which will be exclusively used for guerilla actions
- (4) Joint squad comprises of guerilla from army and guerilla from the people
- (5) Guerillas formed from local militia, police etc.
- (6) Guerilla squads formed by guerillas who were in enemy army but revolted and joined us
- (7) Guerilla squads formed with dacoit gangs etc.

**First :** Guerilla squad formed directly from people is the most important type. The brutal acts of enemy soldiers whip up anti Japanese feeling among population and some of the advanced will come into anti Japanese resistance struggle. Of these the bright and brave are selected and formed into squads. At the outset the weapons for them are damaged rifles, country guns, swords and spears. Some people may say "he is just an ordinary guy". They are just a bunch of academic students. We should tell these people that they are wrong. The separation between a soldier and commoner is not unsummontable. If one wills, be he a academic student or a common man, can become soldiers in a flash. If you have a weapon in your hand you are a soldier. If you are organised, you are a part of army. Guerilla struggle is

like a military college. If you have with stood certain tests in the battle field, you will become an efficient general and will be many times a better soldier than a person called ordinary soldier. So the most important component of guerilla struggle are guerilla squads formed directly from people.

**Two :** Temporary guerilla squads formed by soldiers from Red Army for exclusively for guerilla actions. Depending on the situation, for some special missions, even a large company be deployed to engage enemy in skirmishes. The military leaders leading these squads should strive to change their old habits and develop initiative, discipline and skill and utilising tactics of guerilla war in the subordinate officers and soldiers. Since this programme is of temporary nature, they should train local peoples guerilla squads to carry on struggle after their departure.

**Three :** The guerilla squads formed by soldiers from regular army permanently for guerilla action cannot be clubbed with other squads. In some areas they are sent to operate behind enemy times. In an sudden advance by the enemy, those Red armies which are cut off from the retreating Red Army and are stuck up in enemy territory may also function similarly.

**Four :** The joint squads of small armed squads and local guerilla squads. This unison helps develop fighting capabilities of guerillas.

**Five :** Squads formed for local staff, police, village defence squads etc. They exist in northern China. As the squads formed they lack discipline, it should be developed. These squads can sustain capabilities by taking some their fighting courageous people with initiative into squads. By forming squads with patriotic youth guerilla war can be continued without a break and desertion from squads will come down. The Red spear society and such small organisations which became guerilla squads belong to this category.

**Six :** Squads formed with soldiers who rebelled in enemy armies and joined us. We should have regular contacts with such armies and by continuous campaigning organise rebellions. We should be prepared to accomodate those who rebel and join us. With the permission from the rebel leaders and with support from the active members, political and organisational changes should be made in these soldiers. Once this is successful, these rebel soldiers will become good guerilla squads. It is very much necessary to conduct political campaigning among them.

**Seven :** Guerilla squads made from bandit gangs. This is a very difficult task which should be done assiduously. We should ensure that the en-

emy does not utilise bandit gangs for his advantage. In the garb of anti Japanese guerilla many bandit gangs are playing their trade. Whenever possible we should develop contacts and politically educate them. It is easier to reform those who resort to high way robberies and who also survive as peasants.

All the above mentioned categories & guerillas together form the vast guerilla army. As the saying goes 'As the sea absorbs all rivers from smallest brooks to biggest river, it becomes an ocean', the guerilla army also should be similar to ocean, to fulfill its key task. All patriots should note this.

## **Equipment for guerillas**

Lets study the issue of what equipment do the guerillas need ? How is it supplied ? (1) Guerilla squads are lightly armed teams which make lighting raids. So their equipment also should be light and under no circumstances become burden for them. (2) It should be appropriate for the specific situation and task to be carried out. (3) The equipment depends not only on necessity should be developed slowly and there is no point in demanding all at the same time. Bearing these three points in mind, the issue should be solved.

Guerillas equipment is - weapons, ammunition, clothing, bed rolls, communication equipment, medical equipment, supply aids, propaganda aids.

Though it is difficult to procure weapons & ammunition for guerillas in the beginning, it is not possible. Squads organised from people in the nascent stage should fight with country made riffles, shot guns, country field guns, swords, spears. Modern weapons will be given in meagre quantities. Slowly they have to acquire better arms, in larger numbers. In battles with enemy, they have to be acquired from people and mainly from the enemy. The best way is to conduct lighting raids on enemy supplies. Every guerilla zone should have a weapon repairing centre. It should be developed into a bayonet, bullet, grenade & riffle manufacturing unit. Yet we should not depend to greater extent on our products. We should depend mainly on the enemy for all the equipment of guerilla squads. To destroy bridges, railway stations, trains & roads and to collect requisite material different methods should be employed. For this teams of experts should be formed and attached to all guerilla squads. They constitute special sabotage teams.

**Clothing :** Every guerilla needs two pairs of summer clothing, a pair of winter clothing, two caps, a blanket, a pair of slippers and a bag for food. We should not depend on the enemy for these and should be procured by us.

Forcing the captured enemy soldiers and officers to take off their clothes should be launched.

Guerillas in primary stages need not wear uniform. Small squads do not require radios, telephones etc. Large sections like regiments etc require those equipments. As far as possible each guerilla base should have a medical team. It is important to procure medicines along with men. When modern medicines are not available, country medicines(herbs) can be used.

### **Methods of material supply :**

In Eastern China men do not carry materials. Mules and Horses are used. Small guerilla squads do not require animals but large squads should fix quotas for animals for specific jobs.

**Propaganda Equipment :** Bigger squads require cyclostyling machine & stencils and paper etc. for pamphletering. Also colors & brushes are required for posters. A stable area may have a printing machine & litho machine. These are used to educate not only the people but also our guerilla cadre.

Recognise the importance of anti-Japanese struggle, the regular army commander should take the responsibility of supply to the guerillas those items which the guerillas are unable to procure. Yet guerillas should not forget the cardinal principle that they should equip themselves. Depending on outsides undermines the guerilla fighting spirit and morale.

**Disciplinary rules in Red Army :** Red army must obey the following 3 cardinal principles (1) On all matters, instruction from above should be obeyed. (2) Even a needle or a string of thread should not be taken from the people (3) All seized materials should be surrendered to the committee.

The Red Army should be vigilant about the following eight points.

- 1) Be polite
- 2) Pay reasonable price for everything you buy.

- 3) Return everything you borrowed from people.
- 4) Pay reasonable compensation for all damaged articles.
- 5) Do not intimidate or man handle people.
- 6) Do not damage people's crops.
- 7) Do not insult women.
- 8) Do not torture captured enemy soldiers.(ie., prisoners)

## **10. People's war & the communist party**

To win the revolution a revolutionary party is required. Without a communist party based on the revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism, it would be difficult to lead the struggles of the working class & oppressed masses aimed to defeat imperialists and their puppets.

Without a revolutionary theory, knowledge of history, grip over the practice & movement, a political party, revolutionary movement cannot succeed. The communist party would assimilate both patriotism & proletarian internationalism.

The main task of the communist party is to make success New Democratic Revolution & Socialist revolution. No bourgeois or petty bourgeois party other than communist party can lead till last. Only the communist party imbued with bolshevik spirit can successfully lead the two revolutions. Only a communist party with mass base throughout the country can carry out the two tasks. It is the duty of each and every communist to build such a communist party.

The communist party should mobilise all the anti imperialist, anti-bourgeoisie, anti-big landlords revolutionary forces into a broad national united front under its leadership. United front with other revolutionary forces ideological and political struggle with united front forces where necessary-are the two tasks of the communist party.

The Communist party should lead broad national united front i.e. in all fronts, the communists should do exemplary work for all the revolutionary forces in national united front. To successfully lead the revolutionary struggles of crores of oppressed people, the key issue is to train required

number of party cadres. Once the correct political line is laid down, its fortune is decided in the hands of the cadres. So large number of cadres capable of carrying out party programme in all fronts should be trained in a planned manner.

Cadre should be assessed carefully and assesment based on an incident or topical programme would be wrong. Each cadres party life, his party activities should be assessed and thus the cadres be assessed.

Cadres should be selected for differents fronts based on the following points can they firmly implement party programme or not ? Will he aside by the party discipline or not? Whether or not he has close contacts with public? Whether or not he can show initiative? Whether or not he works actively? Whether or not he is a hard self less worker?

Any partiality on part of leadership committees in selecting cadres will disrupt party organisation.

Cadres should be nurtured carefully and carefully trained. The following points should be noted.

-- Cadres should have freedom of action in day to day functioning. They should be trained to talk such responsibility. At the same time they should be adviced on the implementation of party policy. Thus their initiative should be encouraged.

-- Efforts should be made to boost the political, ideological and organisational level of cadres, They should have time to study. They should be afforded chance to develop ideologically and politically.

-- Cadres programme should be frequently checked. They should be assisted in reviewing their experience and knowing their mistakes. Gains should be consolidated. Without checking frequently taking into consideration only when they made serious mistakes is wrong method. This method does not help to develop cadres.

--In case of cadre who made mistakes, efforts should be made to make the cadre recognise their mistakes. Only those who made mistakes and refuse to head the guidelines from higher committees should be dealt strictly.

-- Share the cadres difficulties. When they are ill, have personal or economic problems, domestic problems, give advice on those matters and

lend helping hand.

## **Democratic centralism**

All party organisations should be based on democratic centralism. All party members shall have full rights in formulating party programme, formulating day to day programme and criticising the wrong. At the same time, all party organs should implement principles of democratic centralism from top to bottom.

- The individual should obey the party organisation
- Minority will obey majority decisions.
- Lower committees must implement decision of higher committees
- All party members shall obey the central committee.

Here we have to remember some aspects. When upper Committee make correct decision they can correct lower committees to implement them. If the higher committees make erroneous decision, they are bound to face resistance from lower committees. So how far and how well can the principle and democratic centralism can be implemented depends upon the extent to which higher committees take correct decisions.

## **Criticism - self criticism**

Utilisation of criticism - self criticism in proper manner is vital in making the communist party a truly revolutionary party.

A communist party based on Marxism-Leninism, a communist party which has the cooperation of peasant and workers need not be afraid of criticism. By proper utilisation of criticism or self criticism communist party can remove its short comings and eradicate wrong trends in it. This is one of the major difference between a Communist party and other political parties.

Mistakes committed in the past should be severely criticised. But this should help us in avoiding such mistakes in the future. Criticism should help the comrades who committed mistakes in correcting them and not humiliate them. Strict measures should be taken against only those who refuse to correct their mistakes.

**Criticism should be aimed at major political and organisations mistakes and not at trivial individual mistakes.**

**Criticism should be made within party organisations in organised fashion and never without organisation.**

**Every political party or individual commits mistakes. Through the method of criticism and self criticism they should be corrected as quickly and as fully as possible.**

### **Unity between locals and non locals**

**While developing armed struggle in an area, new cadres from outside have to be sent. The unity between outside (non-local cadres) and local cadres is crucial in developing the armed struggle.**

**The locals will be of low level politically, organisationally and ideologically. They have little initiative. Cadres from outside are politically, organisationally and ideologically of higher level and have more initiative. But as the local cadres come from local people, know local condition well, they play an important role, in penetrating into masses. Deserving local cadres should not be denied promotions to leadership positions under the pretext of low political consciousness. Non-local cadres should change the attitude of looking down on local cadres and insulting them and try to integrate with them. Similarly local cadres should strive to learn ideological, political and organisational issues from the non locals. Thus unity between these two sections forged.**

### **Ideological struggle against left and right trends**

**Throughout the period of protracted armed struggle, the communist party of China based on Mao Thought waged a relentless ideological struggle against left and right deviation. The peoples war won in China only due to the continuous struggle to eradicate under the leadership of Com. Mao, by adopting mass line the left and right trends which raised their heads in the communist party. It is able to make success peoples democratic revolution and advance in the path of socialism.**

**History has proved that correct political and military does not come up, by itself peacefully. Only through relentless struggle can the correct military and political line be forged.**

211212The various contradictions between classes in the society and the contradiction between old and new are bound to reflect in the party also. The right and left trends are only reflections of the contradictions in the society. By basing on Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought and eradicating the left and right deviation only can the armed struggle succeed.

*By CP. Reddy*

*August 1970*

# **BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TO DEFEAT FASCISM**

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By the time this journal is out May Day would have come and gone. May Day is the international Festival of the Proletariat throughout the world. On this day the proletariat everywhere reviews its struggles, takes its lessons and determines its new tasks.

Today in India, we are celebrating May Day in very peculiar circumstances. The revolutionary movement in India under the leadership of the CPI(ML) and other revolutionary groups has passed through many ups and downs. In spite of our failure in the beginning due to the "left-adventurism" of the leadership, we have been able to create certain pockets of resistance and a mass base for the party in certain provinces. In spite of the present split engineered by a handful of splitters, the party retains its base in all the states where the Party is at present functioning.

On this May Day, we pledge to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maozedong Thought as our guide to action. We pledge to mobilise our people for the preservation of world peace, taking Soviet social imperialism as the chief source of war danger today. We will continue to reject the Parliamentary path peddled by the CPI and CPM, the revisionists and the neo-revisionists, who are faithfully serving the interests of the Soviet Union both in India and abroad. We pledge to pursue the path of people's War, based on Agrarian Revolutionary struggle as the only path for the complete liberation of the Indian people. We will continue to work for the unification of all genuine Communist Revolutionaries into a single party CPI (ML).

Today the revolutionary movement is facing many urgent tasks. War clouds are gathering over the world. Soviet social imperialism in its drive for world domination, has already forcibly occupied Afghanistan, and is feverishly preparing for new aggressions towards the south in order to outflank western Europe.

As of today, when the Soviet Union is already occupying a predominant position in the Indian situation, a pro-Soviet Indira Congress govt. in power in the centre, with CPI-CPM leadership occupying half the seats in the opposition, constitute a special danger of our country becoming a neo-colony of the Soviet Union and its war base for aggression in Asia. That is why our Party has declared that the Soviet Union and its allies-the Indira Congress, the CPI-CPM leadership and the pro-Soviet elements in other

parties constitute the greater danger and are greater enemies of the Indian people. Our party has to unite all the forces that can be united against these greater enemies, intensify the immediate struggles of the people by pursuing the path of united front, isolate the main enemy from issue to issue and finally defeat the enemies one by one.

Another most important problem that the revolutionary movement has to achieve is to mobilise the people to defeat the fascist forces and block the road to fascist dictatorship. With Indira Congress and its caucus back in power, which had already tasted fascist dictatorship, the danger of fascism is a real one. The PCC resolution has warned the country about this danger.

As a result of the long rule of the Congress and the short rule of the Janata in the interests of Soviet Social - imperialism, US imperialism, big bourgeois - big landlord classes, the economic and political crisis in the country is so deep that it can no more be solved under the present big bourgeois-big landlord constitution. Indira Gandhi's 20-point programme, or the CPI-CPM social reformism can never solve the present, economic and political crisis in the country. Only by ending the exploitation by imperialism, social imperialism big bourgeois-big landlord classes can the present crisis in the country be composed.

The net result of the policies of Indira Congress is going to further increase the exploitation of the above four enemies. It will only further increase the misery of our people, the dissatisfaction of the masses leading to an unprecedented people's upsurge.

In this situation, the Indira Congress govt. is bound to increase repression to suppress the people's struggles. The coming period is a period of growing people's struggles and growing repression in the country. In this process contention between the people and the Indira Congress govt. faced with growing opposition from the opposition section of the ruling classes and dissidents within its own ranks, is bound to resort to extreme forms of naked terror on the people i.e., imposition of fascist dictatorship.

The Tribal areas in Andhra, parts of Karimnagar district are permanently under Disturbed Areas Act. Police camps in Andhra, either in the forest areas or plain areas are still continuing. In these areas arrests, lathi-charges, false cases and torture of communist revolutionaries under the Congress regime have become a regular feature. Now the Congress (I) govt. in Andhra is armed with a special Goonda Act. The arrests of Vikram mem-

ber of A.P. State Committee along with Guruva Reddy and their inhuman torture by the police is only a pointer to the coming repression.

Mizos and Nagas are already under military rule. Now the Indira Congress has applied Disturbed Areas Act on Assam and is actually conducting a war on the Assamese people. It is a shame to see the CPI-CPM supporting this bloody repression on the Assam people by the Central govt.

These events clearly show one thing. Wherever the people clearly come forward in genuine struggle, the Indira Congress govt. is going to adopt bloody repression and if the situation so demands, the govt. is bound to resort fascist dictatorship.

## **How to defeat this onward drive towards fascism ?**

For some bourgeois intellectuals and our own splitters, support to anti-Indira Congress political forces, including the CPI-CPM, is a way of defeating fascism.

Our party has resolutely rejected this election path as a path for defeating fascism. The Janata Party a pro-US party, came to power in 1977 March with false promises on the wave of an anti-fascist struggle. Having come to power the Janata Party completely betrayed the interests of the people, adopted bloody repression to suppress the rising people's struggles. Because of this betrayal, the Janata Party, weighed down by its own contradictions began to disintegrate and was finally routed in the recent mid-term poll. After the elections, the Janata Party itself further disintegrated and broke into 5 parties. So the big bourgeois-big landlord opposition has completely weakened. Splintered groups are no more effective instruments of opposition to fascism, as far as election platforms are concerned.

Then how to defeat the fascist forces? How to block the road towards fascism by the Indira Congress govt.?

Fascism, authoritarianism or monopoly of power could be effectively defeated only by the advance of the Agrarian Revolutionary movement. The most urgent task of the party is to mobilise the people for Agrarian Revolutionary struggle.

In the coming state Assembly elections, where we are contesting or supporting progressives, and where we are not contesting, wherever units exist, we must actively propagate to the people that only Agrarian Revolution can liberate our people from all types of exploitation, and thus prepare the ground for further struggles after the elections.

After the elections in each state, in selected areas, we should concentrate to mobilise the people-particularly the workers, the peasants and the middle classes, into struggles on their immediate issues-economic and political. Throughout the selected area, and if possible on a state wide scale, we should run a vigorous political campaign on these immediate issues; combine these struggles with the propagation of revolutionary politics. In conducting these struggles, we should always try to draw the followers, cadres, and even mass organisations of other parties, including the CPI and CPM to conduct united front struggles. The aim should be to defeat the main enemy on that particular issue. On these issues, if we think that we should talk to the leaders of other parties, we should do so. But uniting with the people and the followers of other parties to conduct united front struggles is more important in building the united front.

We should be constantly trying to run united political campaigns on such issues as war and peace, Soviet aggression, particularly in Afghanistan, on Soviet domination in India and the efforts of the Soviet Union to convert our country into its neo-colony, and a powerful united Civil Liberties movement against growing repression in various parts of the country.

It is such united struggles which will lay the basis for general political united front against Soviet neo-colonialism or Soviet backed Indira's fascism. This is the only way to bar the road towards fascism.

*(From New Democracy bulletin 1)*

**27-4-1980**

# SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE PATH OF PEOPLES WAR IN INDIA

BY A.P. REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST  
COMMITTEE.

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

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

But defying this fascist repression the people's struggle are advancing. They are rapidly developing from the stage of ordinary agitations to the stage of armed struggle. The armed struggles are spreading from place to place and state to state. If they suffer a temporary set back at one place, they are rising at another place.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— Today the great socialist China is the centre of world revolution.

— Mao's Thought is the Marxism-Leninism of this era.

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

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

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

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

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

Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist committee has divided the areas in the state into three categories, based on the level of mass move-

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

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

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

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

— This area is economically self sufficient.

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

— This includes the area which the peasant armed guerillas of the great heroic Telangana armed struggle used as their base and heroically fought against the Nehru military for a period of two years. Hundrcads of girijans - men and women - took part in that armed struggle. Those memo-

ries are fresh in the minds of these girijan people even today.

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

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

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

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

Our decision to give top priority to developing armed struggle in forest areas and to send party workers and militants to the forest from the plain areas to intensify the struggle there, is being ridiculed by our C.P.I. (M.L.) leaders as 'Jungle theory'. They are accusing us of 'cowardice' and they charge that we are not waging armed struggle in the plains; they are loudly declaring that they would wage armed struggle wherever there are peasants and this they declare to be a 'new discovery'.

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

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

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

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

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

(Selected Military writings - P.167)

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

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

“Ofcourse the plains are less suitable than the mountains, but it is by no means impossible to develop guerilla warfare or establish any base areas there... while there is as yet no evidence on the possibility of setting up base areas there and maintaining them for long, it has been proved that setting up of temporary base areas is possible, and it would be possible to set up base areas for small units or for seasonal use..... the objective conditions for spreading guerilla warfare and setting up temporary base areas in the plains are therefore fulfilled. Given competent military command it should of course be possible to establish bases for small guerilla units there, bases which are long termed but not fixed. Broadly speaking ..... the enemy. will undoubt-

edly launch savage attack on all the guerilla base areas, and those in the plains will naturally be the first to bear the brunt. The large guerilla formations operating on the plains will be unable to keep on fighting there for long and will gradually have to move up into the mountains as the circumstances required.

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

(Selected Military writings - P. 168)

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

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

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

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

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

Based on the teachings of Comrade Mao on the question of base areas, our State Committee has given top priority to develop armed struggle in the vast forest area covering seven districts and to develop it into a guerilla area and then into a revolutionary base.

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

Comrade Mao says that we could establish only temporary base areas

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

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

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

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

Our experience has taught us that, when class struggle advances to a higher stage, the movement could be advanced only through armed struggle, whether in the plains or any where else. At the same time, the great heroic Telangana armed struggle has thought us, that we could not carry on protracted armed guerilla struggle with out establishing a revolutionary base. This lesson is in consonant with the teachings of Comrade Mao. With this lesson, in view, while intensifying the class struggles in the plains, with the definite aim of developing them to the stage of armed struggle, we are concentrating in the forest area from the very beginning to create a guerilla zone and then a liberated area.

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

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

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

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

the question is, what policies or principles have to be adopted before we can attain the object of preserving and expanding ourselves and destroying the enemy?" (Problems of strategy in guerilla war).

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

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

### **Comrade Mao Says :**

"Guerilla warfare is basically organised by the masses and there is no possibility for it to survive and develop once it is cut loose from the people or fails to attract the participation and cooperation of the broad masses".

(Aspects of China's anti-Japanese struggle)

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

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

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

(Liberation, Sept.. 1969) P.24)

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

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

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

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

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

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

They say, "the political propaganda and annihilation of class enemies

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

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

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

It is true that People have deep hatted against the land lords and they will be certainly happy if any body kills a land lord. But with the Government repression, all the temporary debilitation of the masses disappears because the people have not participated in the anti-land lord struggles they are not conscious of the necessity of resistance to the landlord and police repression; they will not come forward to resist the police repression; they cannot but surrender to police repression; and the movement will be disrupted. It is only through the mobilisation of the masses on immediate issues, by organising anti-land-lord mass struggles, we can make the broad masses of people consciously participate in people's war. It is only through such struggles, the people will consciously come forward to resist police and military to preserve the achievements of previous struggles, to win back their lands from the occupation of the land-lords to preserve the lands that they have won back from them. Thus they would realise the necessity of overthrowing the present Government and consciously participate in the armed struggle.

### **Comrade Mao Says :**

**"To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the needs and wishes of the masses. All the work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual however well-intentioned. *It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet will-***

*ing or determined to make the change. In such cases we should wait patiently we should not make the change until through our work most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise, we shall isolate ourselves from the masses. Unless they are conscious and willing, any kind of work that requires their participation will turn out to be a mere formality and will fail."*

*"..... there are two principles here; one is the actual needs of the masses rather than what we fancy they need, the other is the wishes of the masses, who must make up their own minds instead of our making up their minds for them".*

(Emphasisours)

**Comrade Mao further says :**

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

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

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

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

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

main form of organisation.

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

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

### **Comrade Mao Says :**

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

(Struggle in the Chingkong Mountains)

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

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

(Introducing the Communist-1939 Oct.

Comrade Mao clearly says that only by fighting for the immediate

**demands of the people, we can win their confidence**

**He Says :**

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

**While Comrade Mao says that we should take up every problem from the smallest to the highest from labour to land, affecting every aspects of people's life, to win their confidence, the leadership of the CPI (ML) say that mass movements and mass organisations “increase the tendency for open and economist movement” (Liberation, Dec.69-Page 11) and that mass struggles and mass organisations, are “impediments” in the way of development of armed struggle.**

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

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

**(Problems of war and strategy)**

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

**Our line on the question of co-ordinating other forms of struggle with the armed struggles is not only in line with the lessons drawn from the experiences of Chinese Revolution and the teachings of Com. Mao, but**

also in complete accordance with the specific advice given by the C.P.C. to the Communist Revolutionaries of India in 1967.

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

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

“The third indispensable condition for establishing a base area is the use of all our strength, including our armed forces, to arouse the masses for struggle against Japan. In the course of this struggle, we must arm the people i.e., organise self-defence crops and guerilla units. In the course of this struggle, we must form mass organisations, we must organise the workers, peasants, youth, women, children, merchants and professional people - according to the degree of their political consciousness and fighting enthusiasm --- into various mass organisations necessary for struggle against Japanese aggression and we must gradually expand them. Without organisation, the people cannot give effect to their anti-Japanese strength.”

(Problems of strategy in Guerilla war)

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

**They say :**

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

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

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

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

## **5. THE ROLL OF MASS STRUGGLES IN PEOPLE'S WAR - CONTRADICTIONARY STATEMENTS OF 'MARXIST-LENINIST' THEORETICIANS :**

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

**In April 1967 they said :**

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

"How should we conduct these movements for partial demands ? Tactically we should try for the largest peasant participation and our principal aim should be to see whether the peasants class consciousness is enlarged and whether it moves forward towards armed struggle. Mass movements based on partial demands will intensify the class struggle and increase the political consciousness of over whelming masses of the people. Overwhelming masses of peasants will be inspired to make sacrifices and the struggle will spread to new area. The movements for partial demands can take many forms but communists must always propagate the necessity for a higher form of struggle. Under no circumstances will it be proper to circulate as 'best' whatever from the peasants adopt. In reality communists will always propagate revolutionary politics among the peasants i.e., the politics of armed struggle and the campaign for gun collections. But inspite of this propaganda the peasants may decide on mass deputations and if they

do so, it will be our duty to lead them. During the period of white terror the effectiveness of these mass deputations cannot be minimised because these will draw into the struggle large number of peasants. Movements for economic demands are not wrong but to conduct these movements with the technique of economism is a crime”.

(Liberation November 1969 Pages 83.)

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

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

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

Com. Charu Mazumdar who said in 1967 that “mass movements based on partial demands will intensify the class struggle and intensify the political consciousness of overwhelming masses of the people” now says that, “mass organisations and mass movements increase the tendency for open and economist movement”

(Liberation, Dec.1969 Page 10)

Com. Satyanarayan Singh, who said “this ofcourse, does not mean that we do not take up economic issues in a new area where we begin work” (Liberation- Sept. 1969 Page 24) says in the very next month that “economic struggles” are “economic inducements” to the peasants. They even go to the extent of saying that in the present era the mass struggles are not indispensable and are even impediments for conducting guerilla warfare.

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

(Liberation, Sept. 1969 Page 21)

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

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

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

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

## 6. ANNIHILATION OF CLASS ENEMY :

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

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

lords should be the main aim of the guerilla struggle at the present stage.

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

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

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

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

They declare that "annihilation of class enemy is the higher form of class struggle". When class struggle gets intensified, the exploiting classes and their Government will resort to police repression to throw the people's movement in blood. Then the people are forced to arm themselves and fight it back. With this, class struggle will change from ordinary form to the higher form of struggle, i.e., the stage of armed struggle. So armed struggle is the higher form of class struggle. Some of the class enemies will certainly be killed by the people both in the lower and higher forms of class struggle. It is wrong to say that killing of class enemies is the higher form of class struggle.

They further say that "the act of annihilating class enemies through guerilla actions is the primary stage of the guerilla struggle. What an atrocious formulation! The sole aim of the guerilla struggle from the primary stage to the end, is the destruction of class society of exploitation. Its quite

wrong to say that the act of annihilating the class enemies through guerilla action is the primary stage of guerilla struggle. Comrade Mao has said that armed struggle has got three stages - the period when the strength of the enemy is superior to us; and the period when our strength and that of the enemy are equal and the period when our strength is superior to that of the enemy. Com. Mao has never said that act of annihilation of the class enemies through guerilla action is the primary stage of the guerilla struggle.

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

**Com. Mao says :**

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

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

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

In India People's Democratic Revolution, armed Agrarian Revolution should be led by the working class. The working class should directly participate in the revolution. We should formulate a program that helps us to draw the entire working class into the struggle. We have to rouse the working class with revolutionary consciousness and make them realise the necessity of People's war, mobilise the working class and lead their struggles against the present Government and its policies, send the militants who come forward in their struggles to the rural areas to join and lead the armed struggle there. It is only by organising them on economic issues, keeping in view their consciousness organisation and readiness to fight, that we could draw the working class into armed struggle. All the fighting slogans in our ‘Immediate Programme’ are directed to the purpose of mobilising the working class for struggle against the present Government's rule of exploitation and oppression.

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

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

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

These comrades are adopting the same sectarian attitude towards the small land-lords and small merchants.

In the rural area, to concentrate in the beginning on the big land-lords and neutralize small land lords is a common tactic of the struggle. With such tactics we could isolate, the big land-lords. Our 'Immediate Programme' has clearly said that as the armed struggle advances the small land-lords will be distributed to the extent as the necessities of the movement demand. Such a tactic is in accordance with the teaching of Mao on the subject.

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

## **8. SEPARATE TELANGANA MOVEMENT :**

Com. Mao has said that "in the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." But, the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades distorted this statement and said 'only in the final stages, national struggle will change

into class struggle', and as such communists should not take up national issues. Having distorted the national issue these very comrades, within a few months came forward to support the separate Telangana Movement and criticised us for not having done the same.

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

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

Now the landlords of Telangana who took up the separate Telangana movement have further split themselves into three groups. One group supports the slogan of separate Telangana, another group of state within a state and the third group demands referendum on the question. Now Marxist-Leninist comrades are at liberty to choose as to which group of the landlords they want to support.

## 9. TWO PRACTICES - TWO RESULTS

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

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

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

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

While we are carrying on armed attacks on the enemies of the people, is the Congress Government sitting with folded hands? Certainly not. The Govt. have concentrated thousands of armed police in the districts of Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar. The police has raided every village in the forest area where the armed struggle is going-on. Masses of the people have been lathi charged to force them to give out the whereabouts of our armed squads. At the village level, party workers and family members have been subjected to cruel torture. Properties of the people have been looted by

the police; thousands of rupees have been extracted from the people by the police; many women have been raped. Hundreds of police have raided certain areas from all sides to put down the armed squads. They repeatedly carried out these "encirclement and suppression" campaigns to wipeout the armed squads. We could defeat all these campaigns with the support of the people. When CRP squads and our squads came face to face, the police had to run away in many cases. When our squad attacked a home guard centre, the commander of Home-guards was killed and the rest of them ran for life, our squad attacked the Peruru Police Station in Nuguru taluk which was suppressing the people in the surrounding area; the police were forced to look themselves inside the police station to save their skin.

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

During the today's of famine we mobilised the broad masses of the people to forcibly seize the grain stocks from the land lords. A broad mass movement has developed on this issues in Jangaon taluq of Warangal District. In this taluq, people were mobilised to occupy the banzar lands under the illegal possession of the landlords. The people not only seized the banzar lands but also standing crops and moveable properties on these lands.

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

as to condemn even a people's movement wherein thousands of people participated.

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

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

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

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

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

It is by pursuing this correct and fighting line, the movement started in Mulugu Taluk as our base, has developed in a contiguous area of 7 taluks of the three districts. Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar. In this vast area, no government department could function except with heavy police

protection. Even land revenue could be collected with police help. Even the police could enter the forest villages only in large numbers.

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

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

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

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

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

**He says :**

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

Comrade Mao has clearly said that without a Regular Red Army of adequate strength capable of fighting back the enemies, we cannot establish a Red area. Have the Sreekakulam comrades established 'Red Area' by

creating a Regular Red Army, or through the guerilla squads only? What is the shape of the Government in the 'Red Area' at all levels? What are their functions? If the Sreekakulam comrades could supply these details, we will certainly study them and take proper lessons.

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

Inspired by the movement in Sreekakulam district, Militant youth in other districts came forward to advance the cause of people's war. At such a time any leadership will naturally give such youth a programme to organise mass struggles and to create mass base for armed struggle in various areas. But this is not what the leadership of C.P.I. (M.L.) did in Andhra. They organised these militant youth into squads and asked them to conduct armed raids against the land-lords. Let us see how this line was implemented in the districts other than Sreekakulam.

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

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

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

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

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

It is only in Khammam district they have pursued their line for quite sometime. Here two squads with about 30 members each were formed in

Manukota and Palwancha taluka and about 50 raids both minor and major were carried out. In Palwancha taluk they carried raids in the plains and took shelter in the forest. This was their only programme. They neither did any political propaganda nor did they carry out any mass work either in the plains or in the forest area. They did not establish even minimum contacts with the people of the villages either in the plains or in the forest area. But his struggle ended within three months of its starting.

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

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

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

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

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

eyes.

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

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

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

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

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

Here are the two lines and two results. Which is correct and which is wrong (-) practice itself has proved.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Liberation, Nov. 69 Page 80)

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

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

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

If we carefully analyse all their arguments, it will be clear that in the place of individual terrorism which is against Marxism-Leninism, ‘Marx-

ist-Leninists' are adopting squad terrorism. Marxism-Leninism has long ago rejected the theory that people can be moved into action through the heroic deeds of individuals against their exploiters. But the Marxist-Leninists are adopting in its place a new theory that through squad heroism the people can be moved into action against their exploiters. Both these new theories are against the Marxist principle that the people alone will make history.

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

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

### **Comrade Mao said :**

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

(empharisations) (on Protracted war)

We must preserve our small forces from destruction by the enemy; combine work among the people with armed struggle and thus win the support of the broad masses of the people for a protracted armed struggle. This is our aim. This is the only course that must be adopted when we have to fight an enemy whose military strength is far superior to us. This is the only course that helps us to accumulate strength, become a strong and powerful force and ultimately overpower the strength of the enemy.

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

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

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

## **11. DISTORTIONS - AND LIES :**

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

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

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

— While Comrade Mao says that armies of the enemy should be anni-

hilated, the 'Marxist-Leninists' say that the annihilation of land-lords should be the key task.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— To dub us as anti C.P.C. the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are criticising us for having included British imperialism along with American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism who are exploiting India. Do the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades not accept the fact that British capital still oc-

cupies an important place in Indian industries? Do they not see British capital in the form of loans and 'aid' in India? Do they want to argue that British capital in India does not have the character of neo-colonial exploitation? Or do they want to protect British capital in India?

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

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

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

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

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

— Our "Immediat programme" has really said that one of the tasks of people's Democratic Revolution is nationalisation of foreign capital in industries and banks and the capital of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie tied to foreign capital. This can never mean, as the Marxist-Leninist pundits say, that we should leave the foreign capital in the form of loans untouched. The aim of the people's Democratic Revolution is to abolish foreign imperialist capital in any form.

## 12. BLATANT LIES :

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

— In two of our earlier documents, we had condemned the stand of the neo-revisionists on the internal situation in India and these documents

were in the possession of the 'Marxist-Leninists'. But still they had the audacity to falsely declare that we had no criticism of the stand taken by the neo-revisionists on the internal situation in India.

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

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

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

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

What a Himalayan lie!

— The 'Marxist-Leninists' are claiming that "Naxalbari represents the first ever application of Mao's thought on the soil of India and it was in Naxalbari that the peasants, for the first time, launched their struggle for the seizure of power". But what are the historic facts?

The heroic and glorious Telangana armed struggle of 1946-51 brought on the agenda for the first time the path of the Indian Revolution - The Chinese path or the Russian path? The Andhra communists advocated that the Indian Revolution should follow the Chinese path, should follow the path of protracted armed struggle to achieve complete liberation and led the peasant armed struggle in Andhra based on the writings of comrade Mao. For the first time in India, during the course of the great heroic Telangana armed struggle the Govt. machine at the village level was destroyed in about

three thousand villages and People's Raj was established in these villages - 'Marxists-Leninists' are distorting this historic truth.

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

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

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

## **An Appeal to the communist revolutionaries**

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

Let us remember that we are living in an era of disintegration of world capitalism and era of world-wide victory of the socialist forces. Recent world

events have clearly demonstrated the correctness of the stand taken by the great Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of comrade Mao we just remind all the communist revolutionaries about the great historic statement of Comrade Mao made on May 20, 1970. "People of the world unite and Defeat the U.S. Imperialists and their running dogs".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Long live the path of People's War!*

*Long live the Thought of Mao!*

# **PYLA - MADALA CLIQUE - AN ANTI-PARTY CLIQUE : LIES AND FACTS**

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Some people can deceive some for some time in respect of some issues. But these deceivers cannot deceive all the people on all issues always. More over it is impossible in a Marxist-Leninist Party. The revolutionary movement and a revolutionary party would search and find out all wrong trends and expose them. Then these deceivers could not escape from being exposed.

At present Pyla-Madala clique the anti-party clique, is facing the same fate. For the past three years they are claiming that they are working abiding by the decisions of the party Congress, Plenum documents and the resolutions of the central committee. Thus they have deceiving the Party, the people and central committee. In the first issue of their paper "Praja Pantha" they have once again declared "we are of the unanimous opinion that the political line, Plenum documents and the C.C. resolution "Intensify peoples struggles" have been proved as correct". Even after they have taken a decision to split and go away from the party. This is the statement they have made those who know the facts can understand that their statement is a naked lie. It is known to all that this is intended to deceive others.

## **Opposed to Party Line**

But these same people have written a letter on 6 - 4 - 84 to Com B.D. Singh. In that letter they have written opposing all the policies of the party. They have opposed all the resolutions of the Central Committee meeting held in last March. They have dumped all their vulgar abuses against C.C. They have threatened that the Party in Andhra could not but split. If these things are considered one thing would be clear. That is, their claim that they are still abide by the Party's political line is nothing but a naked lie and cheating only. See what they have written in their letter : "The C.C. has asked the Andhra P.C to declare that it is committed to the C.C. line. This is nothing but forcing the Andhra PC. There is no organisational sanction for the C.C. to demand like this.----- It's meaning is nothing but foisting an allegation on Andhra P.C. somehow or other".

What is the meaning of the above words? They are saying that forc-

ing them to declare that they are supporting the C.C. line is wrong. They are saying that the C.C. has no such organisational right. That means, it is nothing but stating that they are against C.C. line and nobody has got any right to ask them to discard their opposition to C.C. line. Their claim till now that they are steadily following the C.C. line, and now again stating thro' their statement that they are with the C.C. line have been clearly proved as a naked lie and cheating.

It is important to observe on what issues they are opposing. They have written in their letter as follows : "The points in the resolution" intensify the ideological struggle on the negative trends" and the nature of the criticism in it is concentrated on Andhra Comrades.----- We have corrected ourselves with regard to some points. Even then we could not correct ourselves in respect of some points since they are either baseless or objectionable".

What is the meaning of the above sentences? Among the resolutions passed by the Central Committee in the last March this is the most important theoretical resolution. They are declaring themselves clearly that they are against this resolution. But what are the important points in it?

This resolution has once again clarified that the working class party will not resort to form a general political united front with the ruling classes, the ir parties and revisionist parties. It has clarified that our party is opposed to 'United front against autocratic rule', 'United front against dictatorial rule', and 'Patriotic and democratic united front slogans'. It has clarified that all these slogans are reflections of rightist trend. It is proved clearly that at present all these slogans are disruptive. Similarly, this resolution has specifically opposed the policy of electoral alliances with the ruling classes. It has directly condemned stating that those who are giving these slogans, whether knowingly or unknowingly, are serving the interests of the ruling classes. It has also stated that those who are having these trends are getting encouragement from rightist trend gained upperhand in the leadership of Chinese Communist Party. The resolution directly condemned the slogan of political united front with any section of the ruling classes or the revisionist parties. But these people are themselves declaring that they are opposed to these points and they are objectionable to them. Why these people are wailing that the C.C. resolution is against them? In the last party Congress, the theoretical Pandits of these people (Nizamabad and Adilabad leaders), had differed on these issues. They had written alternate documents. They had written alternate documents supporting the policy of bourgeois election alliance of Madala Narayana Swamy. After the party Congress they had rallied some more people around them in the P.C. Madala had

emerged as the leader of this clique. They know that with this C.C. resolution their game gets exposed. That is why they are opposing the March C.C. resolutions.

## **Opposition to Resistance Struggle :**

The C.C. resolution has once again declared its confidence in the resistance struggle. This is not at all a new slogan. This is a slogan of the party Congress. This is a slogan of the political resolution. This is a slogan that has arisen out of the struggle path. This is a slogan given by the Plenum document. This is a slogan given by the political resolution of the Central Committee.

Both the Plenum document as well as the political line have recognised the Godavari Valley resistance struggle going on for the past 15 - 16 years in Andhra. In the light of this experience only the present resistance struggle in Karimnagar district has come forward. Based on this experience only today a strong peasant movement is coming forward in U.P. state. It is coming forward as another centre of struggle. These leaders will be saying emphatically that they are in favour of resistance struggle. They will be declaring that their aim is to protect the squads. Now by this letter they have written to Com. B.D. , they have proved themselves clearly that their claims in this respect are a total lie. See their words : "the theory of resistance struggle of Pulla Reddy is a leftist theory. It is opposed to the mass line of the Party. It is against Mao's teachings". ----- "It is wrong to presume that the struggle of the squads is the resistance struggle".

Here is a point to be noted. The last March C.C. resolution has once again declared its confidence in the resistance struggle. It is strange to paint the C.C. resolution as Pulla Reddy's own formula. It is more foolish to oppose it on that basis.

In the path of the struggle there is ample clarification about how to develop the resistance struggle. To implement that only efforts are going on both in Andhra as well as in other states. All this, in their view, is against mass line. All this, in their view, is leftism and against Mao's teachings!

The path of struggle has clearly stated the necessary Programme to develop the resistance struggle. In this what aspect, to them, is against mass line? and against Mao's teachings. That they wouldn't say. They do not come forward for discussion on that basis. They have not placed in writing for discussions in the party. They have not even demanded for discussion

in the party.

The real thing is that they have lost confidence in the resistance struggle. In 1978 - 79 itself their leaders had said this. Gradually they have legraded. Their whole formula of struggle is building of mass organisation, agitation on economic demands and building of voluntary organisations. It is limited to these three aspects. Their argument is that with these three things the consciousness of armed struggle will grow among the people. Their argument is nothing but the argument of revisionists and neo-revisionists. That was why the C.C. had rejected their arguments. It had reiterated its confidence in the resistance struggle. That is why they are angry with the C.C. That is why they are angry with the resistance struggle.

They have now come out clearly with their opposition to the squads working under the leadership of our party in Andhra. All these things they had written clearly in their 85 pages document and distributed openly. C.C. had rejected all these arguments. It has clearly expressed its confidence in the resistance struggle.

At the time of discussions in the C.C., Pyla had told with another C.C. member that he was thinking whether the squads in Andhra should be continued or abolished. Now the cover of that 'thinking' is over. They have come out with their opposition to the squads. Till now they have been pacifying the cadres behind them by stating that they want to continue the squads and protect them. All the while they have been deceiving their cadres. Let us hope that atleast now the cadres with them will realise the true nature of their leaders.

### **Opposed to Ideological Struggle :**

Wrong theories, rightism and leftism will be entering often into a revolutionary movement. Based on Marxism-Leninism ideological struggle against them should be conducted and they should be defeated. Then only the revolutionary movement could advance. This is the lesson the history has taught us. That is why we are on the one hand opposing the trends of left deviation. At the same time our party is continuing its ideological fight against the more dangerous trend of right deviation.

Today some strange and odd trends have come forward among revolutionaries. Some among them are prattling that our country has got political independence, it has got some independence. They are saying that a political united front should be formed with ruling classes, revisionists and neo-revisionists. They want a bourgeois election alliance with them.

**Our Party is opposed to them. That is why our party is conducting ideological fight on these issues.**

**This clique is against to conduct a direct ideological struggle against the trend of right deviation both among the revolutionary groups and in our party. They have no guts to say this openly.**

**One among the arguments is that on basic aspects there is unity among revolutionary groups. This, the Madala clique had written in their 85 page document. This argument had been rejected by our C.C. Now in 'Pra. Pandha' they have written that there is unity on 14 basic aspects among communist revolutionaries. For this they have borrowed from Com. B.D. book. But Com B.D. in his book had said that all other groups have been telling these 14 basic aspects(or points) only in words. He had clearly stated in his book stating that they are going against them in practice. He had stated that one by one these groups are acting in practice against these basic aspects. He criticised sharply the practice of each revolutionary group. But these people are not bothered about what Com. B.D. had said in this regard.**

**The resolution passed by the C.C. in 1982 had categorically condemned the slogans like "united front against autocratic rule", "united front against dictatorial rule" and "Patriotic and democratic united front", since they are all the reflection of the right deviation trend. It had categorically condemned these slogans stating that they are 'harmful to the Agrarian revolution'. The resolution had categorically declared stating "bourgeois election alliance and agrarian revolutionary struggle are irreconcilable with one another" But they are not concerned with them.**

**A Party's character will not be decided by what it says. It's practice and the results of that practice decide the character of that party. This is the Marxist-Leninist Principle. If this principle is discarded, then all the parties of the Indian ruling classes will have to be recognised as "socialist" parties. Why because they are all talking in favour of "Socialism". but in practice they are proving themselves as parties of big bourgeoisie and big landlords.**

**That is why, what is primary is not the words of revolutionary groups but their political slogans and practice. Based on this only the C.C. resolution has declared that right deviation has entered into some groups.**

**They had written in their 85 pages document that there is unanimity on the basic aspects among the revolutionary groups and distributed it openly. The C.C. has rejected this. That is why they are angry with the C.C. resolution.**

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**Their second argument.** They have found out that the entire ideological struggle our party had conducted with other groups in the past was nothing but vulgar abuses! They had written this in their 85 pages document and distributed. C.C has rejected this. History has proved that the struggles carried on in all the states were correct. The 1981 Plenum document had clarified this. The present C.C. resolution also has clarified this. Since their argument did not get approval they are angry with the C.C. resolution.

All are seeing that in the name of these arguments they are going around carrying the arguments of Satyanarayan Singh and D.V. Rao. Accepting the resolutions in the past and now rejecting them - this is their political morality. No reason is necessary for this. No discussions are necessary. They have created another lie against us stating that we consider our party only as a revolutionary party and consider others as so called revolutionaries. Like that they want to gain the sympathy of other groups. But this is a total lie. Till now, as per the issues being discussed in our journals and according to the context, we are definitely using the words "so called revolutionaries" as far as Singh-Nandi clique and Madala-Narayana Swamy clique, which recently became the camp followers of Singh-Nandi clique, are concerned. As far as the other groups are concerned, we are only opposing the trends of left and right deviations in them.

By declaring again and again that they are committed to C.C. resolutions, Pyla-Madala clique cannot deceive anybody. See what they had written in their letter to Com. B.D. "We are yet to know about the methods of work and politics of different groups. Only after such a consideration we will be able to make specific criticism about any group".

What is its meaning? Does this not clarify that they are against to the last Plenum document and the 1982 C.C. resolutions? Then, is it not cheating to declare that they are abiding by the party line?

## **Link with the Conspirators**

Singh-Nandi clique had split the party then. Madala clique by that time itself has started to sail with the politics of Singh-Nandi clique. They have written with tech names the politics of Singh-Nandi clique as their alternative documents and presented them in the conferences. But they were defeated. Since then the C.C. knows that these people are having secret contacts with Singh-Nandi clique. In the recent time some more secrets have come out. All these things have come out in the month of

March after the C.C. meeting. The Link between Madala and SN-Nandi clique got exposed. That is why the C.C. centre and the editorial in the central organ have exposed the attempt of these conspirators. For the past three months they have been propagating that this editorial has nothing to do with the higher committees and that it is of Pulla Reddy's own article. They have been trying to cover up the truth. But truth cannot be suppressed. They have expressed their anger against C.C. centre for writing that editorial in their letter written to Com. B.D. They are wailing stating "It is an aspect of tragedy that both of you have signed it".

The fact is that they have been trying to conceal the truth by stating that the editorial is that of Pulla Reddy's own and the higher committees have nothing to do with it as he wrote it without the knowledge of the higher committees. But these people know that the three comrades have written jointly this editorial. Even then they have been telling lies.

They have expressed their anguish stating that this editorial has made allegations against comrades who are in the party. The truth is that Pyla knows well that some in the party (Madala and his Nizamabad and Adilabad friends) are having secret links with Singh-Nandi clique. The secret letters and the couriers carrying news between them are known to Pyla. These things have come for discussion in the P.C. Even then Pyla has refused to accept this truth. He has been covering up their secret relations.

Madala's going to Calcutta in July 1983, his conducting secret talks with the leaders of S.N-Nandi clique through others and his proposal to this clique for talks between the two parties are known to Pyla. This fact was told by Madala himself in the P.C. meeting. Pyla not bothered about who has given this power to Madala. One who thinks politically can understand the link between the secret talks in Calcutta and the disputes that have arisen after that in the party. Nobody could think that the meeting of Singh-Nandi clique taking place in the same dates in the same area where the C.C. meeting took place is accidental. We have got ample evidence with us to prove that Madala has arranged this. That is why the C.C. centre has cautioned the party about this. This additional information was known to the C.C. after the C.C. meeting was over. That is why an editorial had to be written specially.

Not only this, for the first time Madala has raised the slogan of "co-ordination committee" among revolutionaries. He raised this slogan in 1974. In 1980 he again raised it. Now the same slogan is being given by Singh-Nandi clique. This is revealing the political and organisational link between them. But Pyla does not like to see this link. Perhaps he must also

be a partner in this conspiracy or he must have fallen a prey to it. He could not conceal this.

## **Opposed to Discipline**

If we see their letter and their writings, it would be clear that they are against the political line and the struggle path being followed by the party. They have been deceiving all the while stating that they are abiding by the political line and the struggle path of our party. They are saying that they are only opposing Chandra Pulla Reddy's dictatorship. They are telling that they are abiding by the discipline of the party.

After hearing the disputes that have arisen in Andhra, and the disputes that have arisen over the resolutions, ideological, political issues and the path etc., the C.C. meeting held in March has given its verdict.

Pyla had explained for full one day on various issues in the C.C. After hearing him only the C.C. had given its verdict. It had passed resolutions on various issues. Pyla and Madala may not like these resolutions. They may again raise discussion on them in C.C. But they have given up the correct method. Please observe some of their "good words".

"The C.C. has acted as if it has no backbone. It has acted according to the orders of Pulla Reddy".

"We have explained to the C.C. that some Andhra P.C. members, and some C.C. members, including General Secretary, are responsible for Andhra crisis. The C.C. has failed to take any action against them.----- The C.C. has not seriously considered the opinions of the majority members of Andhra P.C. The C.C. has not studied both the documents relating to the disputes. Nobody has thought that the highest body of Marxist-Leninist party would act so light-heartedly".

"The resolution passed by the C.C. on Nirmala and the support extended to it by the C.C. members have proved that the C.C. members are spineless and have no courage".

The allegation that the C.C. members have not even read their writings is a total lie. The C.C. meeting was held for 5 days. For full one day the documents relating to two sides arguments were heard for one full day. Pyla is forgetting that he himself commended the C.C. members for hearing him patiently. For the rest of three days the C.C. has discussed Andhra

dispute only.

is their statement that the C.C., which has discussed and passed the resolutions, has no backbone in accordance with party discipline? The two C.C. members from Andhra have agreed for all the resolutions. They have cooperated to pass all the resolutions unanimously. But after returning from the C.C. they have started propagating against the resolutions openly.

Why? Out of their 8 P.C. members Madala is in dominant position. Pyla and Chandram who have no base of their own turned their backs. They have surrendered to Madala clique. The letter written to Com. B.D. is confirming this.

They have started their propaganda that the General Secretary is conducting special meetings in Andhra.

What is the reality? The General Secretary had declared in the C.C. after the resolutions were passed, that he was going to Andhra to get the resolutions implemented. The whole C.C. had accepted this. Thus with the approval of C.C., the General Secretary has toured Andhra to make efforts to see that the resolutions are implemented. They could not but accept this fact in their letter to Com B.D. see their words : "When the permission was sought to meet Rajanna and Madhu, It was declared that as General Secretary he has got powers to go to any state and to meet anybody". By writing these words they themselves are accepting that the General Secretary had toured Andhra with the permission of C.C. These words are proving that what they are propagating till now are false.

Andhra C.C.Ms had accepted the C.C resolutions on political aspects and on problems of struggle. Within 15 days of their acceptance, they have started opposing them.

To what principle of discipline does this conform? Can any party tolerate this organisational principle? They have issued pamphlets against the decisions of C.C. They have issued posters. They have started publishing their journals separately. To what principle of party discipline does this conform to? Can any party tolerate this? These actions are clearly showing that they want to go away from the party. They have indicated this in their letter written to Com. B.D. on 8-4-84 by stating "The special Congress of Andhra party must be held or else split in Andhra party cannot be avoided".

It is clear ... they have decided to leave the party in the first week of April.

The C.C. has never rejected to hold the conference of Andhra party. It is they who are completely opposing the C.C. resolutions. It was the General Secretary who demanded them to put their views for discussion clearly. It is they who have been rejecting to do so from the beginning.

## **Writings against the Policies of Party.**

They are totally opposed to the policies of the party. Their saying that they are abiding by the policies of the party is bogus. But it is not possible to suppress the truth, that too in politics. Their coming out with their real politics in the second issue itself of their paper 'Praja Pandha' is a notable thing.

They have written that the path of resistance struggle of C.P. is leftism and today's important task is to defeat it. In support of this they have published in their journal the resolution passed by the Central Committee of CPC under the leadership of Com Mao in 1945 on leftism. No doubt that everybody should read this resolution and proper lessons should be drawn.

This resolution was translated into Telugu for the first time in 1970. The then Andhra P.C. in order to defeat charu's leftism got this resolution translated into Telugu and published.

Now they are saying that with this resolution they will fight against our party line. Its only meaning is that in their view today's struggle path of our party is nothing but leftism.

They have openly violated the party's decision of coming out of India-China's friendship Association. On the one hand they have declared that they are also "accepting" this resolution. They are declaring "We are asking the comrades in India-China friendship Association to break all their relations with that association."

This is what the Central Committee also has said. But in the P.C. resolution it is stated "The criticisms made against the method of working of that association are to the most extent ill-motivated". If this was true, then what was the necessity for the members of that association to break their relations with it? They are saying "That association is unable to achieve the aims expected of it by the party". Why it is unable to achieve them? They wouldn't answer this. The C.C. resolution has clarified why it is unable to achieve the aims. But this clarification by the C.C. in their view is ill-motivated criticism! This they are doing to hide the truth i.e., utilising

this association by Madala for his selfish interests.

The C.C. meeting held in March has clearly stated its stand towards communist party of China. It has stated that at present the right deviation has gained upper hand in the leadership of C.P.C. It means that we should not blindly follow the international policies of China. On every issue our party has to think independently and take its decisions.

In the second issue of their journal, 'Praja Pandha' while commenting on the China tour of American President, they have showered praises for a full page on the leadership of C.P.C.

With Reagan's tour nothing additional advantage is going to accrue to China. The third World countries also gained nothing. This tour may help Reagan in his election propaganda. This they do not want to take note of.

The agreement the Chinese leaders have made with Reagan relates to economic affairs and trade issues. It relates to exchange of technological knowledge. There is nothing new in this. China is making such agreements with Russia also. It is making such agreements with the countries of second world. That is why it is not only strange but odd thing to feel that the agreement reached with Reagan by the leaders of China as a strategic victory achieved by China.

This agreement also is only a paper agreement. Within the framework of this agreement. On every issue China has to discuss separately and individually with American private commercial institutions and American government. That is why it is foolish to say that this agreement will surely come into force at once.

Even if this agreement comes into force, it indicates that America is entering into the vast Chinese market on a big scale. This also indicates that on this issue America is competing with the second world countries and Russia. It is mere foolishness to depict that this competition is going to do some good to either China or to third world countries.

In Reagan's tour not a single political issue concerning the world has been discussed. World economic issues are not discussed. Taiwan issue, an issue concerning China, has not come for discussion. The neighbouring Korean issue has not come up for discussion. Middle East issues are not taken up for discussion. African issues have not come up for discussion. It is strange thing to depict the talks merely held on Sino-American trade is-

sues as a great thing in the absence of any discussions on world issues and political issues. America is a super-power. It is a country competing for world hegemony. China is a Socialist country with a population of 100 crores. Today the world is facing so many issues. The danger of world war is growing. In such a situation, a socialist country with 100 crores population without discussing world politics and problems, merely talking about the new loans, technical know how necessary for China and about the required trade growth is a thing that should be sharply criticised. It should be sharply criticised stating that this is a reflection of the right deviation of C.P.C. leadership. Keeping this aside and praising the C.P.C. leadership stating that due to the independent policy being pursued by China great achievements are accruing, is a foolish thing. In this context we want to say one more thing very clear. On the one hand the Chinese leaders are declaring that they are against the hegemonic policy of the two super powers. At the same time, on the other hand, they are declaring that their economic and trade relations as well as political and diplomatic relations with the two super powers are improving day by day. Is there any link between these two declarations? or are they contradictory to each other? If they are contradictory why they are contradictory? What is the link between the right deviation of CPC leadership and such declarations? All these aspects are to be thought over once again by everyone of us.

Not even three months over since they have accepted that at present right deviation has gained upperhand in the leadership of C.P.C. After the leadership of Madala was accepted by now this principle is given a go-by. Praises to China are coming forward where they are unnecessary. Criticisms where necessary are relegated to background. Let us wait and see carefully what ugly form it will take.

### **'Deceit cannot but get exposed'**

They cannot conceal their politics. Gradually all their politics cannot but come forward openly.

After the very moment they have occupied official positions in the party, they have started following deceitful methods. For this they have made division of work among themselves. Madala and his friends took it as their profession to violate party line and worked accordingly. They have resorted to put for discussion the points which were decided by the party congress again and again. They have resorted to all dirty methods to spread political and ideological confusion in the party. Wherever possible they have implemented their policies. Pyla-Chandram stood in support to them.

They have adopted a conciliatory line towards them. In practice they have been supporting the policies of Madala. Now they have also resorted to opportunism. On the other hand since past two years they have been deceiving the C.C. by declaring that they are abiding by the policies of C.C. But in politics such deceitful and wretched doings cannot be concealed for much of the time. That too revolutionary movement would certainly expose such deceitful and wretched doings. Now they are facing the same fate.

The 85 pages document written and distributed by them five or six months back had opened the eyes of comrades in Andhra. They were able to grasp the class collaborationist policies hidden in it. They had rejected them and their politics. Their letter dated 8-6-84 has opened the eyes of C.C. comrades. They have understood their real politics. They could understand that they are class collaborationist policies. That is why the C.C. centre has now declared "It is clear that these two people have resorted to conceal, distort and revise the unanimous resolutions of the Central Committee".

The C.C. has declared that their actions are against "the organisational principles and discipline". It has declared "These people have resorted to not only degrade the prestige of the General Secretary but the prestige of the whole party, CPI(ML)". It has also declared that with this "they are committing their political suicide. They have isolated themselves from the whole revolutionary movement. It is clear that they have decided to be away from the risks and difficulties of revolutionary movement".

The General Secretary could not but take necessary step at once to stop their disruptive activities. That is why he has suspended the P.C. under their leadership. Formed the new P.C. The Present centre of the C.C. has declared on 18-6-84 supporting all the steps taken by the General Secretary to defeat right deviation in Andhra and to safeguard the policies of the party.

### **The Whirlpool of Contradictions :**

Pyla and Madala have fallen into the ditch they have dug up. They are overswelled with joy seeing their majority in the P.C. They have overestimated their strength. But the majority members of Andhra party, who could understand their deceit have rejected their policies. The C.C. meeting held in last March has rejected their wrong policies. The C.C. centre has now come forward fully supporting the political and organisational decisions taken by the General Secretary in Andhra. That means that not a

single person remained in other states also to support these people. Thus, these people are isolated from the whole party.

Now what is left to them is M.N.S and his class collaborationist policies only. Politics of united front with ruling classes only. With these weapons they build revolutionary movement! It is upto them to think over whether they can swim Godavari by holding dog's tail or not. This is a thing that the party members, who have believed these people and got deceived, to think over.

That too, there is no political and ideological unity among them. Among them there are priests of "some independence". There are priests who want united front with ruling classes. There are priests of the policy of bourgeois political alliance. There are "great Pandits" who argue that the right deviation in the present leadership of C.P.C. is correct. There are also those "great people" who oppose these views only in words. Let us wait and see what political line all these people together will follow. At present they are enmeshed in mutual contradictory political whirlpool.

This will not stop here. Among them there are who want to get on with the support of C.P.C. There are some who want to join immediately in CPM. And some have already have established links with Singh-Nandi clique, which is kept away by all the revolutionaries. And some have turned their faces and looking towards D.V. Rao. We have to carefully observe which way they proceed with all these contradictions. The party members who are behind them have to think over this.

### **Party's differences with these disruptors :**

Pyla-Madala clique is an anti-party clique. It should be clearly understood on what points there are difference of opinions between them and the party.

1. Marxism-Leninism is the guideline for our party. To the anti-party clique worthless Deng-Tsiao-Peng thought is the guideline.

2. Our party is against to political united front with the ruling classes. To the disruptors that is the important aim.

3. Our party is against electoral alliances with bourgeois parties. For M.N.S. clique this is the main path of struggle.

4. For our party resistance struggle is the main thing. For anti-party

clique legalism and economism are the main things.

All the other differences of opinions have arisen out of the differences on this main ideological and political issues. This is the main reason for this clique to split away from our party. Nobody could stop those who want to runaway from the revolutionary movement. No political cover could hide it.

Date : 10-6-84

