#### POLEMICS

# New Democracy Group's Vicious Campaign Against CPI(ML)(PW) is a Desperate Attempt to Cover Up their Political Bankruptcy and Movement's Degeneration

An article entitled "Indian Democratic Revolution -Path of Telangana Armed Agrarian Revolution" appeared in the Telugu special issue of 'Praja Pantha', brought out by the so-called CPI(ML)(New Democracy) group in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the glorious Telangana Armed Peasant struggle in which a vicious campaign was launched against the role of AICCCR, CPI(ML), and the strategy and tactics adopted by their successor, CPI(ML)(People's War). In this article desperate attempts were made to distort history by adopting the foulest methods such as fabricating outright lies and deliberate misrepresentation of facts. It asserts that the tactics adopted by Comrade Charu Mazumdar and CPI(ML)(People's War) are opposed to the Chinese path and the path of Telangana Armed Agrarian Struggle.

This is, of course, not the first time that the so-called 'Praja Pantha' (Massline) group in AP has resorted to such a tirade. It had been their practice for almost three decades since the formation of AICCCR and CPI(ML). Their official party organ in Telugu has carried out its attack against our Party - CPI(ML)(People's War) - for over 15 years. They have also been carrying out such a malicious propaganda campaign in their other language magazines too. For instance, their Bengali organ called 'Biplabi Ganaline' (Revolutionary Massline) of October-November 1996, an article entitled "People's War Group and its terrorist activities", written by one Mr. Chandram and translated by Siddartha Chaudhury, which reads like a chapter from Aravinda Rao's book 'Naxalite Violence in AP'. How is it that the language of the leader of a socalled revolutionary Party differs little from that of the Greyhounds' former Chief Aravinda Rao? For those who know the activities of New Democracy Group it will hardly be a mystery. More of this later.

Let us first take up the major distortions of history and lies propagated by the New Democracy Group in their above- quoted magazines.

In the article in the special issue of Praja Pantha referred to above, they wrote :

"The overwhelming majority of the cadres under the leadership of Comrades Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao, Chandra Pulla Reddy, T. Nagireddy, Kolla Venkaiah came out of the CPI(M) after waging political, ideological and organisational struggle in AP from top to bottom. The cadres who left CPI(M) all over the country formed the AICCCR. Later it is became transformed into the CPI(ML)and other revolutionary organisations.

"The left adventurist tactics of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and his followers which created a disaster for the revolutionary movement countrywide were the cause for the collapse of Naxalbari and Srikakulam armed peasant struggles. Yet they are not prepared to take lessons from this. Moreover the same tactics are taken to further extremes by PWG, MCC and others. They are implementing these by developing them into a complete terrorist line. Although these tactics are enthusing the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, unemployed youth and sections of the lumpen proletariat, they are causing much damage rather than contributing to the development of the democratic revolutionary movement in India. There is no relation between the line they are pursuing and the correct revolutionary line. There is no relation between the line of Telangana armed struggle and their line. Imagining their left adventurist terrorist line as the genuine line of people's war, the cadres of the abovementioned organisations are undergoing innumerable sacrifices. However, these sacrifices cannot be considered to have any relationship with the level of the movement or the interests of the movement. They are leading to their isolation from the people. Let us hope that at least now they will undertake a deeper study of the line of Telangana, Naxalbari, Srikakulam and China and rectify their adventurist, anarchist and terrorist struggle tactics and lines."

For the people of AP these false accusations and vicious attacks by the New Democracy Group are nothing new. Our Party - CPI(ML)(People's War) - has given fitting replies to their baseless and concocted charges on several occasions. However, for the benefit of the revolutionary sections outside AP we are giving our answer to the charges by dividing it into two parts: one, the question of the formation of AICCCR and the CPI(ML) and the role of the leaders of the so-called New Democracy Group at that time; two, the relation between the line followed by CPI(ML)(People's War) and the line of Telangana arn ed struggle.

# On the formation of AICCCR and CPI(ML) :

As is well-known, the Telangana armed peasant struggle of 1946-51 was betrayed by the leadership of the unified Communist Party which includes the present leadership of the CPI(M). The Communist Party leadership got bogged down in bourgeois reformism and parliamentarism and did away with armed struggle from their agenda for over a decade-and- a-half. The Union armies of Nehru-Patel, the Nizam's army and the Razakars launched savage attacks on the fighting peasantry of Telangana, organised massacres and stalled the solution of the basic demand of 'land to the tiller.' In this background, Comrade Charu Mazumdar once again revived the legacy of Telangana armed peasant struggle through the Naxalbari uprising.

Thus, Comrade Charu Mazumdar broke the back of parliamentarism and laid the political-ideologicalorganisational basis for protracted people's war and the path for New Democratic Revolution in India. He paved the way for the formation of a revolutionary party of a new type and gave leadership to that party. He stressed the need for building a secret party. In September 1967, it was decided to bring out a monthly English magazine — Liberation — with an aim to propagate Marxism -Leninism - Mao Thought, the politics of agrarian revolution and to form a centre at the all-India level to direct the growing struggles all over the country.

On 12-13 Nov. 1967, discussions were held among comrades from seven states — West Bengal, Bihar, UP, Orissa, Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala — as a result of which the All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries (AICCR) was formed with Comrade Sushital Roy Choudhary as the Convenor. This Committee was later transformed into the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) in a meeting held in May 1968. The Naxalbari spark in no time spread like a prairie fire to Srikakulam, Mushahari, Birbhum, Lakhimpur-Kheri, Debra-Gopivallabhpur and Terai region. Comrade CM guided these movements and the AICCCR coordinated them.

After the commencement of Naxalbari struggle the CPI(M) expelled Comrades CM, Saroj Dutta and others in June 1967 itself. Hence they could not attend the Burdwan Plenum and other programmes of the CPI(M).

In January 1968, the AP Plenum, which was held to discuss the CPI(M) leadership's Madurai draft on ideological questions, rejected it. The alternative political draft placed by the AP State Committee was approved by the Plenum. But later, the All-India Plenum of the CPI(M) which was held in Burdwan in April 1968 rejected the alternative draft of AP Plenum. TN-DV-CPR attended that Plenum representing AP State unit. At the Burdwan Plenum, the neo-revisionist leadership of the CPI(M) rejected M-L-M Thought, refused to recognise the path of armed struggle for the victory of New Democratic Revolution and adopted the parliamentary path.

The Burdwan Plenum had proved beyond any doubt that these neo- revisionists, like the renegade Dange Clique, had joined the camp of counter-revolution and were actively involved in disrupting and diverting the ongoing Armed Agrarian Revolution in the country in the guise of Marxism-Leninism. Yet in spite of the serious political-organisational differences TN-DV-CPR had with the CPI(M) line, they were not prepared to come out of the revisionist party. Comrade Sushital Roy Choudhury went to Burdwan to discuss the political-ideologicalorganisational questions with them. In June 1968, the alternative draft of AP comrades was published as a booklet with a note from the Editorial Board of 'Liberation.' In that note, 'Liberation' mentioned the points of difference it had with the AP draft, in a comradely manner.

In the middle of 1968, Kolla Venkaiah held discussions with the leadership of West Bengal and pointed out five major differences between the AICCCR and themselves (TN-DV-CPR-KV).

First major difference was that they did not consider Soviet Union as an imperialist power as there was no finance capital in that country. The second major difference was on the question of whether participation or boycott of elections was a tactical question or a strategic one. The comrades from AICCCR explained to him how it was impracticable to participate in elections in one region when armed struggle was continuing in another region.

At a time when the Congress-CPI(M) United Front government in West Bengal was suppressing the Naxalbari struggle and killing many peasants, when it was hunting down the leadership of the revolutionary movement, the AP State leadership under TN-DV-CPR and Company decided to continue in the CPI(M) in the name of conducting political-ideological struggle. In early 1968, Tarimela Nagireddy, while speaking at a public meeting in Srikakulam, was asked by the people to come out with a clear stand on Naxalbari. He could not give any reply. The AP State leadership under TN-DV-CPR did not give any guidance to develop the anti-feudal struggle in Srikakulam even as the attacks by landlords on the people increased. Frustrated, and having lost confidence on the impotent state leadership, the Srikakulam district leadership looked towards the Naxalbari leaders to give them guidance. The Srikakulam District Committee also decided to come out of the AP State unit and join AICCCR directly if the AP State

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Committee did not join the former. In fact, until their expulsion in June 1968, TN-DV-CPR-KV continued to function within the CPI(M) implementing the official revisionist line.

Thus at a time when the advancing movement in Srikakulam was in need of a revolutionary leadership and line, these leaders failed to provide one. In October 1968, T. Nagireddy, D.V. Rao, K. Venkaiah went to Calcutta a day prior to the AICCCR meeting to discuss with Comrade CM and other Naxalbari leaders. At that time, the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia and the CPC described the Soviet Union as social imperialist. TN-DV-CPR & Co. explained to Comrade CM in the course of the discussions that they had difference only on one question. And on the question of election they did not agree with the AICCCR resolution but agreed to abide by it. T Nagireddy agreed to resign from his Assembly membership. He stated that he should have the right to make a statement later. The AP State unit became a part of AICCCR and participated in the meeting of AICCCR held next day.

In Nov. 1968, under the leadership of Comrade Kunikkal Narayanan, the revolutionaries in Kerala organised an attack on Tellicherry Police Station. Later, they attacked the Pulpalli Wireless Station and the estates of several landlords in Wynad forest. The CPC hailed these attacks by the revolutionaries. But T.Nagireddy condemned these incidents in an open press statement. Moreover, the Srikakulam leadership complained to the AICCCR that the attitude of the AP State leadership was not helpful for advancing their struggle. Differences thus cropped up between the AICCCR and the Andhra leadership under TN-DV-CPR on the question of advancing the armed struggle in AP and elsewhere. The differences were mainly related to the following four aspects:

- 1. Understanding regarding China;
- 2. On the question of advancing the Srikakulam struggle;
- 3. On the question of countrywide boycott of election;
- 4. On the question of mobilisation of the people on the economic struggles in Srikakulam.

Due to their differences the unity did not last long. Especially, the Andhra state leadership became a hurdle for the further development of Srikakulam struggle. It was clear by the beginning of 1969 that the Andhra leadership had not completely broken away from the revisionist politics of the CPI(M), that their inclusion in the AICCCR did not really help in advancing the armed struggle, that without removing them from the AICCCR it was neither possible to advance the Srikakulam movement nor propagate the politics of armed agrarian revolution nor conduct the election boycott. Basing on this realistic assessment, the

Andhra leadership was expelled from the AICCCR in Feb. 1969. TN-DV-CPR formed the Revolutionary Communist Committee (RCC) on 7 February. The CPI(ML) was formed in April 22 on the occasion of the birth centenary of Comrade Lenin. It was the culmination of two years of political-ideological-organisational preparation for building a revolutionary Party of a new type and it took birth in the course of initiating, developing and coordinating the armed struggles throughout the country and fighting against all shades of revisionism. A Central Organising Committee was formed which was later converted into the CC after having been elected at the 8th Congress in May 1970. Comrade CM became the CC Secretary. Such are the facts concerning the history and the role of the AICCCR and Comrade CM at the critical juncture of the Indian Communist Movement when TN-DV-CPR-KV & Co., from whom 'Praja Pantha' or the New Democracy Group finds its origin, played a role that only hampered the onward march of history by becoming direct hurdle. We have not gone into a detailed history of that period as it was dealt with in the last issue of the 'Voice of the Vanguard'. No doubt there had been some Left Sectarian mistakes on the part of the CPI(ML) from around the time of the 8th Congress i.e., more than an year after the expulsion of TN-DV-CPR from the AICCCR. Such mistakes are nothing unnatural. In the history of the CPC itself, there were even more serious mistakes right from its inception in 1921 to the Tsunyi Conference held during the Long March in 1935. The CPC suffered the most serious losses due to the Left & Right deviations during this 15-year-long period in its history.

But the real test of a revolutionary party lies in its ability and preparedness to come out of its deviations by undertaking a thorough-going and sincere self-critical evaluation of the past mistakes and making serious attempts to rectify these mistakes. In fact such a process began just before Comrade CM's martyrdom on 28 July, 1972 as seen in an article written in May entitled "It is the People's Interest that is the Party's Interest". It is important to realise that the left mistakes committed by CPI(ML) were tactical in nature, while on the key questions of revolution such as the stage and path of revolution, fundamental and principal contradictions of Indian society, strategy of the New Democratic Revolution, the need for a secret party, the universal significance of MLM Thought and the fight against revisionism, the Party had a correct line.

In 1973, Comrades from AP, who are the main constituents in the present CPI(ML)(People's War), undertook a free and frank self-criticism of the past mistakes in their historic summing-up document basing on which the present line of our party was developed.

It would be naive to think that the leadership of New

Democracy Group had not seen this document which has been circulating for almost a quarter of a century by now. None would dare to say that it has any relation to sectarian or adventurist or terrorist tactics provided, of course, he has not lost his senses. The document had not only undertaken a thorough-going self-criticism of the 'left' mistakes but also exposed the right deviation of opportunist Satyanarayana Singh (who is seen as a saviour by our New Democracy Group) who disrupted the party by splitting it in the later half of 1971, as well as that of TN-DV-CPR group.

The article in **'Praja Pantha'**, notwithstanding all its rhetoric, has absolutely no analysis of our party's line. When they think, like the DGP Dora or the former Greyhounds' chief Aravinda Rao or other police bosses, that our party had developed and perfected the terrorist line, they should have the minimum political sincerity to quote from our documents to show what is the politicalideological basis for our "terrorist" or "anarchist" line. It is but natural for those who have degenerated to the level of ruling class representatives or police agents to indulge in such baseless attacks.

#### To trace the developments briefly :

By 1971 the Srikakulam struggle and the movements in other states faced severe repression. The deviations which surfaced in the Bihar state committee laid the basis for the later betrayal by Satyanarayana Singh. On May 20, 1971, i.e., an year after the Congress, a review of the developments were made. In that meeting, Comrade CM described the developments in AP as follows :

"Have not mistakes been committed by Andhra comrades? Yes. They may have been committed. In the course of the struggle many mistakes may be committed. We have to learn from the mistakes. Revisionists are claiming that the setback in Andhra is due to the shortcomings in the party programme. There will be several ups and downs in the course of armed struggle. Yet we should repose full faith on the masses and the party and should not vacillate from our goal".

Just at such a time when we began taking proper lessons from past mistakes and making attempts to recover from the setback and advance the movement, Satyanarayana Singh, one of the CCMs and Secretary of Bihar State Committee, turned renegade and caused the first split in CPI(ML). After the martyrdom of Comrade CM, due to the disruption of the entire CC, lack of living contacts among the various state units, disruptionist acts of left and right opportunists particularly the latter, the party split into several splinter groups. At this juncture, great harm was done to the party due to the anarchist and adventurist policies pursued by Mahadev Mukherjee and others in the name of the CC. Several right opportunists like Satyanarayana Singh, Ashim Chatterjee, Kanu Sanyal, Tejeswara Rao, Souren Bose, Nagbhushan Patnaik and TN-DV-CPR faction, launched heinous attacks on Comrade CM and the party's revolutionary policies thereby rendering great disservice to the revolution.

In AP, our AP State Committee firmly countered the opportunist attacks on Comrade CM by TN-DV-CPR faction, Nagbhusan Patnaik, Tejeswara Rao, Pyla Vasudeva Rao and others. At the same time, it selfcritically evaluated the past, drew lessons and reorganised the Party.

## AP-DK MOVEMENTS — A CONTINUATION OF THE TELANGANA ARMED AGRARIAN STRUGGLE

Based on this summing up and on the correct strategy and tactics, our party succeeded in building the peasant struggles in Karimnagar and Adilabad by 1980. A comparison of the achievements of AP and DK struggles with those of Telangana armed struggle will show how the former are only a continuation of the Telangana line.

1. AP-DK movements are based on the line of Armed Agrarian Revolution as the axis of NDR. By completing the stage of NDR, the revolution will pass over to the stage of socialist revolution with the aim of establishing socialism and communism. Protracted people's war is the only path to achieve this goal. Accordingly, backward areas in the countryside with favorable terrain are selected to develop Guerrilla Zones and Base Areas which will be gradually developed throughout the country and finally encircle the cities to achieve countrywide seizure of power. This line is not only the same as that of the Telangana armed struggle but is also based on a much more thoroughgoing analysis of the Indian state and society as well as the experiences of the Chinese revolution.

2. In accordance with the above line, it was decided to take the anti-feudal struggles of Karimnagar and Adilabad to the higher stage in 1980. The five districts of North Telangana — Karimnagar, Adilabad, Warangal, Nizamabad and Khammam — were sought to be developed into a Guerrilla Zone and the Dandakaranya region (AP-MP-Maharashtra-Orissa border forest region) as another Guerrilla Zone. Based on the Guerrilla Zone perspective prepared in 1980 we developed the class struggle in these two zones to higher levels. By mid 1988, after fulfilling the following five pre-requisites, the preparatory stage of Guerrilla Zone was completed and the two regions entered the primary stage of Guerrilla Zone.

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- a. Intensification of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggles and the formation of mass organisations equipped with the aim of seizure of political power.
- b. Armed struggle becoming the main form of struggle
- c. Guerrilla squads becoming the main form of organisation.
- d. People's active support to armed struggle and guerrilla squads.
- e. Mass struggles in a wide contiguous area.

While the above two guerrilla zones are advancing to the next higher stage, three other regions — South Telangana, Nallamala and East Region (AP-Orissa border region) — are in the process of completing the preparatory stage of Guerrilla Zone.

Today, our Party wields considerable influence in an area covering about three lakh square kilo meters and having a population of around sixty million. Our movement has also spread from AP and the Tamil Nadu in 1980 to Maharashtra, MP, Karnataka, Orissa, West Bengal and to some more regions in the country. The ongoing movement in AP and DK under our Party's leadership is thus far more extensive than the Telangana armed agrarian struggle which covered an area of 16,000 sq. miles having a population of 30 lakhs. Moreover, the element of spontaniety which was quite widespread in the Telangana armed struggle was done away with in the present movement by chalking out a perspective and a plan for building Guerilla Zones.

3. Under our Party's leadership, we have mobilised the oppressed masses in the vast tribal regions and backward feudal areas into struggles for land, livelihood and liberation and succeeded to some extent in consolidating them into our mass organisations, Gram Rakshak Dals (Village defence squads) and into Party Cells. In some villages Gram Rajya Committees are also functioning. Currently our Party is mainly concentrated in those backward regions where feudal oppression and exploitation are severe. Almost all our armed squads are operating in these areas. Thus we have laid the basis for carrying out the strategy of protracted people's war.

In less than a decade after the temporary setback of the armed peasant struggle in Srikakulam, anti-feudal struggles once. again broke out in Karimnagar and Adilabad. And ever since then innumerable struggles have been taken up in the past two decades all over AP and DK which took the politics of armed agrarian revolution to the vast masses. People's partial demands such as wage hike, reduction of arrack prices and complete ban on arrack sales, end to all forms of feudal exploitation and exploitation by forest contractors, capitalists and traders, cancellation of debt, reduction of interest on loans, remunerative prices for agricultural produce, provision of irrigation facilities, against increase in water cess and cuts in power supply and many other demands were taken up.

The most important achievement of the party in the Guerrilla Zones, however, is the land occupation struggle which was taken up in a big way. Struggles for the occupation of waste lands, temple and endowment lands, tankbeds, and forest lands resulted in the take over of more than 3 lakh acres. The Party successfully prevented the sale of the land by landlords since early 1980s. The patta lands of the landlords were seized in a big way since 1990. Around forty thousand acres of patta land were occupied by the people of North Telangana in 1990 alone. The land occupation struggles inspired the oppressed masses throughout AP. They also shattered the feudal base of the landlords in the villages of North Telangana. Landlords either fled to the cities or surrendered themselves to the revolutionary peasant committees and mass organisations accepting the conditions laid down by the latter.

The intensification of the land occupation struggles in spite of heavy state repression shook the ruling classes. Para-military forces such as the BSF. CRPF etc., were deployed to suppress the struggles. The scale of repression could be understood if one takes into consideration the fact that from the end of 1990 to the present over six hundred comrades belonging to our Party and mass organisations were killed in North Telangana alone apart from the massive destruction of houses and the property of the people. Even with the help of the police and the para-military the landlords could not take back the land due to the resistance of the people and the Guerrilla Squads. In the past two years people have been cultivating at least half the occupied land by offering collective resistance to the enemy attacks in North Telangana. In the other regions of AP, fifteen thousand acres were occupied in last two years.

It is natural for the land struggles to face ups and downs throughout the period of revolution as they have to fight against a superior enemy force. Until the people's armed forces achieve a qualitative growth and liberated zones are established, land will change hands several times. People have realised the relation between the struggle for political power and the struggle for land. They have realised that without arming themselves and seizing political power, it is not possible to permanently own the land. Hence the land occupation struggles are being taken up with the aim of increasing the armed strength, establishing and strengthening the Base Areas.

To sum up, it is the unresolved basic problems left over from the Telangana struggle that Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles and the present-day struggles in AP, DK, Bihar have taken up. Today it is the AP, DK, Bihar movements which are advancing the revolutionary legacy of the glorious Telangana struggle.

4. Village Development Committees, Education Committees, Cooperatives etc. are being formed to take up several developmental activities through the active involvement of the people. Primary Health training is being imparted to the youth in the villages. Schools are being run by the Gramrajya Committees and the revolutionary mass organisations. Untouchability is done away with and communal and caste harmony has been established. Discrimination against women is being fought tooth and nail. Fight against blind belief and superstition is taken up in a big way. All these have created a new consciousness among the people. These were also important features during the Telangana uprising.

5. Village Courts (Panchayats) served to establish the political hegemony of the cruel landlords in the feudal society. In 1978 when anti-feudal struggles broke out in Jagityal, these panchayats transformed into people's panchayats and became part of the people's (Sangams) political power. Since then the contradictions among the masses were peacefully solved by the verdicts given by our organisers, squads and Sangams in these people's panchayats. 1990 witnessed a rapid rise in the number of people's panchayats. They not only solved the contradictions among the people but also put the exploitors on trial just as it was done during the course of the Telangana armed agrarian struggle.

6. Since 1985, the government had imposed an undeclared ban on all our activities in entire AP and had unleashed brutal repression on our Party and mass organisations in May 1992; massive repression is still continuing since 1990 in AP and Dandakaranya. In spite of the cold-blooded murder of about 1300 of our Party members and members of our mass organisations and sympathisers including longstanding leaders of various committees, party organisers, commanders and guerrilla squad members since 1980, we were able to face the police and para-military forces and could defeat the enemy offensive, develop armed resistance and increase the number of our armed squads.

By putting up relentless armed resistance to the police and para-military forces for-the past 12 years and defeating the attempts of the enemy to wipe us out, we have not only further advanced the ongoing New Democratic Revolution in our country, but also instilled revolutionary confidence and enthusiasm among the various sections of the oppressed people and among the democratic and revolutionary forces. We are demonstrating through our practice that we can defeat

the enemy offensive by intensifying armed struggle through guerrilla methods based on revolutionary massline, that it is possible to build people's army and base areas and that we can advance the Indian New Democratic Revolution through the path of protracted people's war.

We have; of course, committed some mistakes in political, organisational and military spheres in the course of building the Guerrilla Zones and advancing the class struggle to the higher stage. These mistakes were thoroughly reviewd in our conferences, plenums etc. Conscious self-criticisms were made and measures for rectifying the same were chalked out. On some occasions we even declared our self-criticism openly. Our Political and Organisational Review adopted by the All India Special Conference on November 27, 1995 is a proof of the serious manner in which self-criticism was undertaken and rectification was conducted by our Party. In this way, consistently taking lessons from the past mistakes, we have resurrected the Telangana, Naxalbari, Srikakulam struggles on a higher plane in the form of AP, DK movements. Thus any one would easily see that the ongoing movement in AP and DK are a continuation of the revolutionary legacy of Telangana armed struggle and a reaffirmation and enrichment of the line of Telangana armed struggle.

While this has been the history and the present position of the AP, DK movements led by our Party which is sought to be distorted and misrepresented by the New Democracy Group, what actually is the latter's role in the Indian Communist movement ?

## NEW DEMOCRACY GROUP : NEVER A PART OF CPI(ML)

As pointed out earlier, TN-DV-CPR & Co. had taken a negative stand towards the Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles when those struggles actually broke out. They became a hurdle for the advancement of Srikakulam struggle. They also adopted a negative stand towards the CPI(ML) which was formed as a continuation of those struggles. They launched treacherous attacks on Comrade CM, withdrew armed struggle, participated in parliamentary and panchayat elections, joined hands with those renegades who disowned Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles and opposed CPI(ML). Their unity with Satyanarayana Singh is a continuation of CPR's right deviationist line displayed so unambiguously at the time of Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles. All these deserters and disrupters joined together using the name board of CPI(ML) in order to usurp its glorious history and thereby dupe the revolutionary cadres.

While claiming themselves to be the genuine communist revolutionaries carrying out class struggles based on mass line, these revisionists refused to advance the struggle in Kondamodalu and Godavari Loya areas with the pretext that masses are not ready for higher forms of struggle. On the one hand they theorise the necessity of building Guerrilla Zones and Base Areas while on the other hand diverting their struggles into the quicksands of legalism and economism. What is worse, wherever people have taken up militant struggles and are prepared to advance their struggles to the higher stage, these revisionists lose no time in condemning the masses for their 'adventurism', 'anarchism' and 'terrorism'.

The New Democracy Group, which was never part of the CPI(ML) and was always opposed to Comrade CM, is today claiming itself to be part of CPI(ML) and is even upholding Comrade CM at least outwardly. This is only intended to fool the new generation of revolutionaries who are not aware of their dark history of betrayals and class capitulation. Their tall talk of building Guerrilla Zones and Base Areas in future is nothing but empty talk. Like the 'prince and the dragon' story, they are afflicted with a heart-attack on seeing a Guerrilla Zone right in front of their eyes. Nothing illustrates their hypocrisy and double standards better than their complete absorption into the parliamentary pig-sty and their opposition to any militant revolutionary struggles. Worse still, they have become degenerated into the agents of the ruling classes by launching even physical attacks against our party cadres along with the worsttype of slander campaign. Unable to face our Party politically, they have acted as police informers. That they were directly involved in the arrest of our squad in Donalankapalem has been exposed by their own Secretary of Visakhapatnam-Srikakulam District Committee, one Kumar, who later joined Janashakti group. They physically assaulted and killed our Central Organiser Comrade Srisailam and several other comrades belonging to our Party. One of their leaders publicly declared in a press interview that they took up arms not to fight the state but to fight the CPI(ML)(People's War). Thus their so-called armed struggle is only against our Party which they regard as their principal enemy. They are a step ahead of the enemy in their vicious propaganda against our Party. They excel in concocting Goebbelsian lies against our movement and our Party and they often fill up most of the pages of their magazines with such lies.

Can anyone believe the New Democracy Group's claim of continuing the legacy of glorious Telangana struggle when they have actually given up the task of arming the masses for achieving their land, livelihood and liberation?

#### THE REASONS BEHIND THEIR VICIOUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST OUR PARTY :

It should not be difficult for the shrewd observer to see the reasons behind the aggressive stance taken by the New Democracy Group's leadership towards our Party and the ongoing movement under its leadership. The fact is that the New Democracy Group's leadership is finding it extremely difficult to answer the questions being raised by their cadres concerning the total stagnation in their movement for the past three decades. The group's strength and influence have been declining over the years and it is presently confined to a few score villages in AP. If the Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Mushahari, Birbhum and other peasant struggles received a setback after a glorious history of struggles against feudal oppression and the Indian state in which thousands of cadres became martyrs, our "New Democrats" find themselves being deserted by several of their cadres without even putting up a fight. Though they claim themselves to be the real heirs to the Telangana struggle and speak day in and day out about advancing the armed struggle, they have not really taken up any anti-feudal struggle of significance in the last 30 years. Nor was there any need for them to prepare their cadres to confront the state's armed forces. It is their revisionist line, especially the notorious "phases theory", that has led to the stagnation and decline of their movement in Telangana whereas the movement under our Party's leadership which was in the incipient stage until the late 1970s, grew from strength to strength in the past two decades. From a handful of professional revolutionaries mainly confined to two districts in 1980, today the movement has spread to over 25 districts in AP and DK. While the New Democracy Group witnessed a sharp decline in strength and influence even without any repression, our Party's strength, in sharp contrast, multiplied itself only by fighting against the state repression in the course of advancing the agrarian revolution.

Their revisionist "Phases theory", i.e., the theory that says that the movement has to pass through an initial phase of political propaganda to be followed by a phase of mass struggles on partial demands and building mass organisations after which it has to go through a long phase of peasant armed resistance, confines their movement to only pre-determined forms of struggle and organisation in each phase, thereby becoming a hurdle for the movement's advance. Thus they do not see the need to tuild a Guerrilla Zone for a very long time to come. They also overestimate the enemy's strength and lack faith in the subjective forces to build armed resistance to the state. Their defeatist ideology and bourgeois reformist outlook and line prevent the development of armed agrarian struggle. They instruct their members not to take up any armed actions against the state even in self-defence as it might provoke the enemy and bring more retaliatory attacks. Hence due to these defeatist tactics, their armed squads which have been in existence for almost 30 years now, have done hardly any thing to build a movement. Naturally, the state allows their squads all the freedom to move freely. Not only their mass organisations, but even their Party is allowed to operate openly for they pose no threat whatsoever to the ruling classes.

In contrast, not only our Party, but also almost all our mass organisations have been banned and even when there was no ban, an undeclared war was launched against the movement led by our Party. No public meetings or demonstrations were allowed legally by the Govt. since 1985 barring a short spell of 6 to 7 months in 1990. The mass mobilisations running to lakhs and even a million in this brief spell shattered the myth that our Party has no mass base. The New Democracy Group's leadership deliberately hushes up these facts and goes on propagating that our Party is nothing but a couple of armed bands comprised of 'lumpen elements' indulging in terrorist actions. Whenever our armed squads or the activists of our mass organisations take up kidnaps, blowing up the houses of notorious class enemies, annihilation of the class enemies or police informers and ambushes of police parties, they immediately raise a hue and cry condemning these as "terrorist tactics". They had even organised demonstrations and participated in the 'bandhs' organised by the ruling class parties. Though they outwardly declare that they are not against any forms of struggle as such, they condemn these under the pretext that the situation in AP does not warrant such forms of struggle at the present. For the past 30 years, they have been waiting for the day (which, of course, remains still as a mirage) when such tactics may by used. Until the dawn of that day, they claim, they will have to utilise parliamentary form of struggle as the people still have illusions in the parliamentary system. Any fool would easily see the utter disillusionment of the people in the parliamentary system which had become thoroughly discredited in the eves of the people.

They had predicted time and again wishing in the heart of their hearts that our Party will be wiped out and the revolutionary movement led by us would be crushed unable to face the armed might of the state which could have proved them right about our "terrrorist tactics". But as our movement extended wider and struck deep roots among the oppressed masses of Telangana, Dandakaranya and other regions, questions are naturally being raised by their cadres about the futility of their tactics of not confronting the state at any cost. As our movement has become the rallying point for many genuine, revolutionaries all over the country and is creating severe cracks in their own organisation, they have resorted to such a misinformation campaign and provocations against our Party in order to foster group mentality among their cadres and to mislead them. They have ganged up with the worst enemies of the people such as Omkar's MCPI and outright revisionists like VM's "Liberation" group in the name of building united struggles. Despite their occasional drama of having achieved unity with other CR groups, they underwent split after split, with their leaders defecting to other groups quite often. Their unity with SNS became a farce. And their much-publicised unity with "Vimochana" group and five other ML groups proved a non-starter. On the other hand they see the movement led by our Party reaching the stage of Guerrilla Zone which they find unable to digest. Hence the Goebbelsian propaganda against us.

Even now it is not too late. If they give up their classcollaborationist line and begin building class struggles with all seriousness and sincerity, stop their vicious campaign and physical attacks against our Party and, most important of all, assure that they will not act as police informers, a conducive atmosphere will be created for conducting joint struggles on people's issues. And it will also lay the basis for carrying out political-ideological debates in a comradely atmosphere.

## PEOPLE'S PROTEST AGAINST FAKE ENCOUNTERS :

#### (Contd. from back cover)

people without sparing even women. In this lathi charge fourteen people were injured of whom four had their hands fractured and one person's leg was broken.

Outraged by the brutal act of the police all of them including those who were injured proceeded to MRO's office and staged a dharna. They expressed their anger about the fake encounter of Sampath and the indiscriminate police lathi charge on them while they were proceeding to submit a memorandum demanding judicial enquiry into the incident.

The people of Andhra Pradesh in general and of Telangana in particular are waging numerous struggles on various issues. For this they are subjected to severe repression and their rights are curbed. Constitutional and civil rights and even the fundamental right to life are denied to them.

The massive people's protests at Bhimadevarapalli against police brutalities proves that they cannot be mute spectators when their sons and daughters are being killed everyday. The severity of police brutalities could be gauged by the fact that in North Telangana alone one thirty seven people belonging to our party, armed squads and mass organisations were murdered in just one year. It is clear that people can safeguard their lives only by waging fierce battles with the state. The coming days are bound to witness hundreds of such battles between the police and the people all over North Telangana.

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