

I

1. Lay Foundations for struggle oriented mass movement
2. On some problems connected with Strikakulam girijan movement
3. Immediate programme

II

Marxism-Leninism
and
Armed Struggle in India

SUPPLEMENT

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II

Marxism Leninism and armed struggle in India



Foreward to Telugu Edition

Though it appears that there are some differences on some issues between the Indian revisionists and neo-revisionists, it becomes clear on analysis that they have common understanding on fundamental issues. Both are rejecting Mao's thought. Both are contending with each other to pose themselves as heirs to Marxism-Leninism. Both of them do not agree that what is existing in the Soviet Union today is Social Imperialism. Both are one in holding that it is Socialism which is existing in the Soviet Union. Both of them are holding the Indo-Soviet Treaty (1971) and the Soviet economic and military 'aid' in divine sanctity. Both of them supported the expansionist policy of the Indian ruling classes towards Pakistan in Bangla Desh. Both of them helped the Indira Congress rule to survive and continue by supporting the presidentship of Giri. Both of them are one in holding that the present Govt. does not represent comprador, bureaucratic capital and landlord classes. Neither of them is second to the other in holding that revolutionary conditions are not there in the country and in denouncing the armed struggles, in which people participated, as individual terrorism. Both of them are recognising each other as left parties. They are forming into united fronts. They are continuing the policy of forming united front ministries at the state level. Both of them are opposing the main aspects of China's policies. It is but natural that there should be difference in words while exhibiting this common understanding; in the same way we are seeing them making a mountain out of a molehill whenever differences cropped up between them on secondary issues. This explanation makes it clear that the common understanding between them is fundamental while the differences are secondary.

Both the revisionists claim that they are faithful to Marxism-Leninism. None of them has dared to say that all or some of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are not applicable to Indian conditions. They are defending some of them by talking of new opportunities and new situations. While analysing and explaining the objective conditions, they are quoting those parts which are favourable to their policies while hiding those which go against them, are resorting to

verbal jugglery, and are even stooping to lies. They are past masters at the art of using sentences and parts from the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin (neo-revisionists quote from Stalin's writings too) torn out of context, in freely indulging in revolutionary phrase-mongering and in sticking to the parliamentary path in practice. To evade the immediate tasks of the Indian revolution like starting the agrarian revolution, carrying on uncompromising struggle against Imperialism and Social Imperialism, adopting all necessary forms of struggle to change the comprador state and instead to bide time with verbal jugglery and sometimes through words and everytime through practice to support the ruling classes-- this is the essence of their revisionism. This way both of them have abandoned Marxism-Leninism once and for all in applying it to Indian conditions and in practice, while still proclaiming to be faithful to Marxism-Leninism in words. This situation is continuing even now. As revisionists, the unity on fundamental issues and differences on secondary issues, (cited above) are just a few important ones of the many we can see in the context of the several developments of the recent period. Lenin, in his article "Marxism-revisionism", (April 1908, *Lenin: 15th Vol*) made it clear that the forms of revisionism exhibit "infinite diversity" and that depending on the conditions they appear in various forms. Even in our country it is in currently in the forms of revisionism and neo-revisionism.

The neo-revisionists are making futile attempts to pose themselves as Marxists-Leninists by calling the C P I leadership as revisionists and the left opportunist groups and revolutionary communists as extremists. We should not forget that there are some others who pose themselves similarly. Even Indira Gandhi is criticising leftists and rightists and saying that her policy alone is correct. The same is the case with the revisionists (CPI). When Soviet revisionists can also claim to be fighting against revisionism, it is by no means surprising that to claim their policies to be correct they criticise revolutionary communists along with left and right forces as extremists.

Even in the past, when the revolutionary communist movement progressed as well as when

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It received a temporary setback due to the brutal repressive policy of the ruling classes, the communist leadership completely failed in understanding the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and in studying the concrete conditions of India and applying to them. Though it worked to build up workers, peasants, students and youth movements, it could not develop them as revolutionary movements. It has been refusing to study the experiences of the revolutionary struggle which developed either spontaneously or as a result of the efforts of the local revolutionaries (Telangana) and to take lessons from them.

In the same way, though the communist party of India had a programme in the first decade, it carried on its activities in the rest of the period through the political resolutions of the party congresses. Though a programme was developed in 1951, it disappeared by 1954. After the party split, the various groups developed their own programmes. This way, the communist party traversed like a rudderless boat in the decisive stages of the Indian revolution without any programme whatsoever. One can imagine the consequences of this situation.

Though the Indian revisionists and neo-revisionists say in words that the world revolution is progressing, they demonstrate their unity when they come to the Indian conditions, saying that the revolutionary conditions have not matured. Formulating that revolutionary conditions have not matured when they are actually matured, they have betrayed the revolution and have become the props of the ruling classes,

When viewed from this angle, if there is any struggle going on between the two revisionists, it is objectively the struggle going on between the two forms of revisionism and not at all the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

II

Left opportunism, which raised its head among the Indian revolutionaries, gathered strength and had a disastrous effect on the Indian revolution, also appeared in various forms in our country. It is still before us as a problem to be fought to the finish. Though the form and content

of the left opportunism which assumed dominant role in 1948-50 requires to be comprehensively analysed, its main aspect was to reject the decisive role of the peasantry in the Indian revolution. It is as a result of this that the then leadership failed to develop the peasant struggles, which broke out throughout the country since 1948. Into protracted armed struggles. In the subsequent period (since 1951) centrism paraded as Marxism-Leninism. The neo-revisionism of today is in vogue both in propaganda and practice as another form of this centrism.

Left opportunism never rejected Marxism-Leninism-Mao's thought in words. On the other hand, to uncritically parrot Mao's quotations has been the main programme of this left opportunists. As they have split into many groups, the understanding is expressing itself in many forms. The similarities and differences in their understanding can be categorised as below:

1. While some say that armed struggle is the only form of struggle, others say that it is the main form of struggle and that other forms of struggle must be co-ordinated with this. But in practice terrorist actions of armed squads constitute their armed struggle. They have their own differences in carrying out these acts, but there is fundamental difference in their understanding.

2. To build up democratic movement which can isolate the ruling classes and organised revolutionary movements which can strike at the ruling classes -- has no importance in their programme. Instead they are working with single minded devotion to disrupt such democratic revolutionary movements in the bud. They are not going back to tell and do whatever is necessary towards this end.

3. While some argue that land distribution should take place after formation of liberated base areas, others say that land distribution can be done even before. This way all of them are opposing the building up of an agrarian revolutionary movement with land distribution as the basis. Such agrarian revolutionary movement is necessary for protracted armed struggle. To reject this means to reject the protracted armed struggle.

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4. They have converted the slogan of unity among revolutionaries as unity between left opportunists. They have made it their profession to slander all revolutionaries following the mass revolutionary line as revisionists, betrayers and capitulationists.

Some amongst them, while continuing to say that they too are following Mao's thought, have declared Lin Piao - whom the Chinese communist party and people have declared as a betrayer - as their deity. Along with Lin Piao's policies, they are raising the left opportunist policies of Charu Mazumdar, which watered down the Indian revolution and disrupted the revolutionaries, to the skies. Some others are either silent about Lin Piao or are condemning him. But they are supporting the policies of Charu Mazumdar. Yet others are trying to criticise him saying that he made mistakes in certain aspects, while in fundamental agreement with his ideological outlook. These are the various forms of left opportunism which is continuing even today.

All said and done left opportunism has not remained merely as a wrong trend in the revolutionary movement. The leaderships of some groups which followed it have temporarily succeeded in disrupting the Indian revolution and the revolutionaries. Indian revolution, for its part, has rejected this outlook as counter revolutionary. Still it is reappearing again and again in various forms; it is possible that it will reappear in the future also.

When we analyse revisionism, neo-revisionism and the left and right opportunist lines in the revolutionaries, we see that rejecting the agrarian revolutions which is the axis of the Indian democratic revolution, in practice, is the common aspect of all of them. If revisionism and neo-revisionism reject it with the parliamentary path, the left adventurists reject it with the individual terrorist line. The left opportunists, who cannot understand the inseparable connection between agrarian revolution and protracted armed struggle, do not have a mass revolutionary line. This way, the whole band is united from various angles, in attacking the agrarian revolution and the protracted armed struggle. As the class struggle advances, the ideological struggle also becomes more and more sharp. Then we will see this band coming before the masses with greater unity.

While this process is advancing on one side, on the other side all the revolutionaries are uniting. All those revolutionaries, who had followed the left adventurist line for some time but who have now realised their mistakes, are becoming a part of this unity and are lending strength to the revolutionary ranks. This is a point to be particularly noted.

III

The major part of the party in Andhra Pradesh split from the neo-revisionists and came to the side of the revolutionaries. Though all of them accepted Marxism-Leninism-Mao's thought as their ideology, there was no programme and method of work to work with a new orientation. With the remnants of revisionism and neo-revisionism in the mass movements, functionaries were also under their influence. If we limit to theoretical propaganda and lack revolutionary practice, it becomes impossible to remove these remnants.

Revolutionary communists never regarded revolutionary phrase-mongering or "acts of class enemy annihilation" (limited and unlimited) as a revolutionary programme. They have recognised and implemented only armed struggle of the masses and the preparations for it as revolutionary programme. Some people, who do not understand this fundamental aspect of Indian revolution have produced and are propagating the theory that left opportunists who are doing 'something' (acts of annihilation) are revolutionaries and those revolutionaries who are not doing 'something' are not revolutionaries. It did not dawn to them as to why revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice are required when the task after all is to do 'something'. While the left opportunist leadership theorised and practised the programme of class enemy annihilation, those belonging to the above category regarded it as 'something' and followed it.

The major section of the revolutionaries who followed left opportunism, have not only understood that this theory is opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao's thought, but have also directly experienced its disastrous and have rejected it. They are gradually being rallied towards the revolutionary path.

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The communist revolutionaries exposed the neo-revisionism of the Marxist Party in keeping with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and thus mobilised the major portion of the party towards Mao's thought. The state leadership understood that the revolutionary path and revolutionary mass movement will not develop and advance merely on acceptance of the general principles of Mao's thought by the ranks. It decided to take minimum steps to this end and issued the circular "Lay foundations for a struggle oriented movement" to the functionaries. No differences of any type were visible on the fundamental aspects as well as the details of the circular in the then state leadership. No differences were expressed even by district committees. Our experiences have made it clear, that to the extent the circular was implemented there were good results and that it helped the functionaries to work in the masses and give a militant form to the mass movement. Chiefly, the functionaries developed an exemplary peasant revolutionary movement in the Kondamodalu area of East Godavari district with the help of this circular.

A clear cut programme and path are necessary to build up a revolutionary party, to achieve the party's aim of capture of power by the working class and to establish people's democracy and Socialism. Lack of such a programme and path at a time when mass struggles are breaking out throughout the country and in the four corners of Andhra Pradesh is leaving those, who should lead the revolutionary mass struggles, without a clear cut understanding or is making them lead these movements with a wrong understanding. With this, these movements are receiving a setback, are being disrupted and fizzled out. Communist revolutionaries did not allow such wrong understandings to get near them. They did not mark time with academic discussions under the name of comprehensive programme and path. While working to develop such a programme and path, they, at the same time, developed the immediate programme. In this they develop the agrarian revolutionary programme for Andhra Pradesh as well as the path to achieve it, in addition to the fundamental principles which comprised the general programme, and implemented them. Both right and left opportunist trends made their appearance while implementing the above circular and the immediate programme. While in the vast areas of the state the functionaries limited their program-

me to political discussions and mass mobilisation through public meetings, local struggles developed in some areas. However, they could not go to a higher level. In some other areas, the local 'left' leadership diverted the mass movement without concentrating their attention for a mass movement with higher level and by carrying out acts of individual annihilation and acts exceeding the level of the movement. These wrong trends in the leadership became the main obstacle to develop the agrarian revolution which is inseparably connected with the protracted armed struggle. Though these wronglines temporarily appeared to be strong, the correct line was also implemented alongside them. It developed gradually and became strong enough to repulse the wrong trends. The revolutionaries and people of the Kondamodalu area of East Godavari implemented the immediate programme with the understanding of the mass line and proved that the immediate programme is the correct revolutionary line. If not for the left opportunists who stabbed it in the back, this peasant revolutionary struggle would have developed into a protracted armed struggle. It has become a common practice to ignore this fundamental aspect and to counter allege that this movement received a setback only because left adventurist policy was not followed. The fact of the matter is that the mass base in this area is intact even to this day. However in the areas where the left opportunist squads roamed, the mass base existing there even before got a setback. This is the result of the rejection of the agrarian revolutionary programme.

The peasantry of the Gidari area of Srikulam was ready for armed struggle even by the time the communist revolutionaries parted with neo-revisionism. Whether to carry on armed struggle or not was never a point of discussion whether in the state leadership or between the state and district leadership. What course should be adopted to start and develop armed struggle was the only point of discussion. While the state leadership suggested the programme (agrarian revolution) and path suited to the protracted armed struggle, the left opportunist leadership, which had by then captured the All India Centre, suggested and implemented a programme directly counter to it. This same programme later came to be known as the 'The programme of class enemy annihilation'. That the district leadership which was under their influence followed this self-same programme is known to one and all. In addition to

refute the false propaganda of the left opportunist leadership that communist revolutionaries were opposed to the Srikakulam armed struggle, the main aim of the pamphlet "Some problems concerning the Srikakulam Girijan Movement" is to briefly analyse the experiences of the revolutionary Girijan movement and to set down these lessons as well as the understanding of the state leadership regarding armed struggle, for the revolutionaries. The fascist repression of the ruling classes was implemented in a most brutal form in Srikakulam. The central leadership failed to put forward the correct ideological understanding, and political-military line which can overcome and sustain in the face of the repressive policy and continue the protracted armed struggle. Instead it implemented the left opportunist line in the form of "Programme of annihilation of class enemies". It is as a result of this that the Srikakulam armed struggle received a temporary setback. The Srikakulam revolutionaries and the revolutionaries connected with this armed struggle are able to understand and are understanding through their own experience that the mass revolutionary line developed in this pamphlet is correct.

Thus the three documents from October 1968 to April 1969 explain the programme and path developed by the state leadership. In the later period comprehensive programme and path (drafts) were developed. We have developed the understanding of the mass revolutionary line while criticizing the left and right opportunist groups and while replying to their criticism. These documents make it clear once more that we were abiding by this understanding right from the beginning.

IV

Our "left" critics concentrated their criticism on the immediate programme. Gradually they also attacked the circular "Lay foundations for a struggle oriented movement". The essence of their criticism is like this :

1. The line developed in these documents is preaching economism. It does not pose the problem of capture of state power.

2. It is linking land distribution with armed struggle.

3. There is no programme in it for "The programme of annihilation of class enemies" and "armed struggle for self-defence".

4. It is wrong to decide that armed struggle should be started at commencement of the rainy season and it is wrong to decide a date for it and to openly proclaim it.

If one group leadership called it revisionism and economism, the leadership of another group criticised it as left adventurism and economism. Those of the second group have revealed their respective 'leftist' and 'rightist' outlooks by attacking the fundamental aspects of the line while holding at the same time that the line is fundamentally correct.

In the documents "Left trend in Indian revolutionaries", "Left trend in the party", "Right opportunism in the party" and "The fundamental line and question of unity", we have comprehensively analysed their criticism and proved how they are baseless. In the same way, we have also explained how on the main problems of the Indian revolution and on the question of the path their outlook has been afflicted with 'left' and 'right' opportunism, departed from Marxism-Leninism-Mao's thought and how it is close to neo-revisionism. In the subsequent period they have not replied to our criticism nor did they defend their arguments. They are continuing baseless and false slander without let up.

However slander is no alternative to ideological struggle. Though this slander is music to certain vested interests, the rest are not believing it. The left opportunists, who could not withstand the theoretical struggle carried on by the communist revolutionaries on the basis of the mass revolutionary line, have recently raised another slogan. The slogan is : "What path should the revolution take for the establishment of peoples democratic state? - this is not a question which can be resolved in the near future". (Vimochana Vol. I, Nos. 7,8) with this they have made it clear that they do not have a path and that all their effort is experimental. They are refusing to accept that the path they have been following till now is wrong and that the mass revolutionary line being followed by the communist revolutionaries is correct. Though it is not difficult for the ruling classes to understand the ins and outs of this new slogan, they can conti-

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nue to keep their followers in confusion for some more time. This temporary benefit is also the aim of the left opportunist leadership.

Though these documents could give the correct fundamental line to the revolutionaries, we have recognised the minor lapses contained in them. We have openly accepted and explained these in the documents we have cited above. We reassert that these lapses are formal, technical lapses and not fundamental and that the main aspects and the fundamental line contained in these documents are correct then and now.

It is correct and justified to fix a time for the commencement of armed struggle in a region or to start armed Insurrection. This fixing of time is meant to fulfil the necessary revolutionary tasks and to make preparations. If the preparations cannot be completed we fix another time after the necessary time gap. But we will not start armed struggle without completing the preparations. This is the correct approach. Those who deny this are opposed to the fundamental principles of armed struggle based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao's thought.

In the Immediate programme we did not fix and proclaim a date for the armed struggle. We indicated the time generally saying in the "coming period". To those revolutionaries who followed this programme and developed the agrarian revolutionary movement to the stage of land distribution, this general fixation of time could not create obstacles of any type. On the other hand, it only helped to prepare the peasantry for land distribution. The "left" and right opportunists, posing as revolutionaries refused to implement the immediate programme on the one hand and on the other resorted to criticism of the same. But then the criticism of those who without any revolutionary programme, revolutionary organisation and preparations, pass time with some "acts" under the name of armed struggle cannot be otherwise.

It is indeed a very happy development that many of those who followed the "Left" line have analysed their past self-critically and have come

towards the mass revolutionary line. Some posing that they alone are revolutionaries are slandering the revolutionaries following the mass revolutionary line as betrayers, revisionists and capitulationists and thus are serving as the mental servants of the ruling classes. It is not a very difficult thing for the revolutionary masses, who have thrown the "left" opportunist line in the dustbin to understand the pro-govt. nature of their propaganda. What is taking place now is exactly this.

Our fundamental line has been developed in the three documents. We have published this same line in a comprehensive form as drafts of "program" and "path of Indian revolution". Not only the revolutionaries of Andhra Pradesh, but revolutionaries of various states are also discussing them. They are developing their revolutionary practice by following this line which has highlighted the importance of the agrarian revolutionary movement. By combining organised discussions with revolutionary practice, they are striving to unite into one party. With these efforts gaining initial successes, the day is not far off for the formation of a monolithic All India Revolutionary Party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought.

Though the circular "Lay foundation for a struggle oriented movement" was issued in October 1968, "some problems concerning Srikulam Girijan Movement" and "Immediate Programme were adopted in the" state convention and published in the form of pamphlets in April 1969. Since then they have stood the revolutionary test by serving as weapons in the ideological struggle against left and right opportunism and to implement the mass revolutionary line. We are able to publish and reach the revolutionaries and the masses with them after a gap of 5 years. We hope that this book will be of help to the discussions going on among the revolutionaries and to their practice.

ANDHRA PRADESH COMMUNIST COMMITTEE

April 19, 1974.

(REVOLUTIONARIES)

Lay Foundations for a Struggle Oriented Mass Movement

Comrades,

The entire central leadership which led the Indian Communist movement for a number of years has, as a whole is guilty of the greatest betrayal. Notwithstanding the differences in what the Dange clique and neo-revisionist leadership profess, the class struggles have, in the hands of both of them, fallen prey to the right revisionism. Before the 1952 General Elections, they gave up the Telangana armed struggle and the other class struggle that scored great victories and set the future course of the country. In the name of legal limitations, they gave up the propaganda, agitation and the people struggles which alone could create among the people the consciousness that the problems of the oppressed people can be solved only through people struggles. They reduced the democratic front into an electoral front of the non-congress parties. They began to form united fronts even with the most reactionary groups and parties. They gave up the task of building the democratic front by advancing the peasant struggles to the higher level through resistance against the brute force of the Government. They also gave up the tactical line that could achieve the peoples democracy. They have turned the participation in elections, Assemblies and Parliament into the main task of the party. They subordinated the party activities to the parliamentary front. They confined the movement to mere legal propaganda, agitational activities on demands within the limitations dictated by the Laws of the Government. The opportunist central leadership limited the class struggles that rose in their respective regions, led them to the legal path and weakened them. They had, in the name of non-congress united fronts blunted the edge of the class consciousness and the class fever and set them on the parliamentary path. Whatever might the neo-revisionist leadership profess to show that there are differences between them and the Dange clique, there isn't any difference between them and the Dange clique, as far as this fundamental aspect is concerned. They portrayed the

peasant struggles of Naxalbari, Srikakulam and Nalgonda as minor struggles and set out to betray them. Now, they have started a whispering campaign that they would get the repression eased if only the cadres of Nalgonda and other areas follow them. All those that take to the path of revisionism have to inevitably degenerate themselves to this position.

The communist revolutionaries have waged a relentless struggle against this opportunist line and the betrayal of the old as well as the neo-revisionists. They have, through their revolutionary practice, set the course of the movement on the lines of the class struggles.

We should march forward on the path of revolutionary struggles. For this, the national and international situation affords excellent opportunities. The national liberation struggles as well as the working class, student struggles of the West are rapidly advancing. Today, there exists an excellent revolutionary situation in the country. The ruling classes as well as the ruled are finding it impossible to keep to the normal ways and means. The ruling class and the opposition parties including the old and neo-revisionist parties are hobnobbing on all the important issues. They are suitably revising their policies. Whatever might they profess on Naga-Mizo revolts and Kashmir question, they are striving to reach a common understanding on all these questions. The economic crisis is acute. As the commodity stocks are piling up, the industries are being closed down and un-employment is mounting. The ruling classes are caught in the vortex of an acute political crisis. There is instability in the country. With the spiralling prices, growing un-employment and corruption, the life of the people has become miserable and un-bearable. With the accentuation of the social conflicts, the ruling classes are thrown into a position where they find it impossible to shift the burden on the ruled without whipping up anti-china hysteria and un-leashing ruthless respre-

ssion. This is a revolutionary situation where the people, throwing off the right opportunist hold, are stepping in the arena.

The ever growing struggles of the working class and middle class people in the cities and the working class centres, as well as the struggles of the peasants and the agricultural labour raging in the countryside, especially in the areas where the feudal relations are strong, go to prove this fact. The people are facing, during these struggles, the ruthless repression let loose by the government goondas. In certain of the areas, the people are even carrying on resistance for months at an end.

In case of severe repression, the peoples resistance has to face a number of ups and downs. Usually, the repression is being confined to a particular village or a limited area. Concentrating the armed reserve forces on big scale, they are, with the help of the landlord goondas, setting out to completely destroy the whole villages or areas that spear-head the peoples struggles. It is no exaggeration to say that they are thus letting loose naked fascism in the struggle areas.

In the girijan areas of Srikakulam, they have completed a round of armed attacks, destroyed the properties of the people, and subjected them to all sorts of sadistic tortures. They carried out military operations such as military encirclement of the villages, ransacking of every house, and combing of forests. They have provided protection to the properties, the landlords amassed by plundering the people. Nullifying the gains the Girijans achieved through their countless struggles and sacrifices, the armed police squads are aiding and abetting the landlords and the businessmen to plunder the people. We should, in conformity with this situation, formulate our tactics.

Ruthless repression is let loose in the Suryapet and Huzurnagar taluques of the Nalgonda District. One by one, they are picking up and systematically destroying all our strong hold villages. The armed police, the landlords and the goondas, looting the homes of the people, for turning them, foisting false cases and arresting them in hundreds and encircling the villages in the name of right patrolling, has become a routine affair. The people, in these centres, are putting up organised resistance. Yet, as the experience goes to prove, this resistance, however well organised it

might be, is proving to be of no avail against the firings by the armed police.

Besides, the murders of the local mass leaders organising and leading the resistance against the landlords in various districts has become a common feature.

Under the circumstances, the time has come for us to re-examine the hitherto adopted forms of struggle, the tactics and the forms of organisation and to formulate new tasks.

Certain wrong Trends: In this situation, certain wrong trends are raising their head. The revolutionary movements will not advance unless we expose them thoroughly, wage a relentless struggle and defeat them.

The ideology of the leaders of Polit Bureau of "Marxists" is the main among these wrong trends. The sum total of it is: Today, in our party, the mass organisations and the democratic movements are very weak. The Government has adopted the policy of isolating and wiping out our scattered strong holds. Under the circumstances, to adopt new forms of struggle is to help carry out the government designs to wipe us out. This is nothing but left sectarianism in view of the members of the polit Bureau.

While viewing peoples struggles with defeatist outlook, they are under-estimating the peoples consciousness as well as the potentialities of peoples resistance. They are magnifying the strength of the enemy. They are also under estimating the revolutionary situation. For this, the only solution, according to them is to strengthen the party, the mass organisations and the democratic movements.

It is no doubt a fact that we should strengthen the party, the mass organisations and the democratic movements. It is also a fact that we need to further strengthen them wherever they exist and expand them wherever they do not exist. But, only when the peoples struggles are organised on the basis of the peoples demands, especially on the basis of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist demands, only when the party, the mass organisations and the democratic movements are built on the basis of these struggles, would it be possible for us to strengthen and expand them on proper foundations. Today the enemy is adopting a policy of

repression. For the enemy to let loose repression against and at times of peoples struggles (sometimes to nullify the gains the people achieved through their struggles) and for the people to carry on resistance in defence of their struggles as well as the gains of their struggles, is but a common thing. Thus, it becomes evident that the party, the mass organisations and the democratic movements we should build are based on and intertwined with the new forms of resistance as well as the peoples struggles on peoples demands.

But this is not the outlook of the Polit Bureau. For them, the immediate task is to build the party, the mass organisations and the democratic movements in a sufficiently wide area. The government will not unleash repression only when we build them without any truck with the peoples struggles on peoples demands. In such a case, the very question of organising resistance against the repression doesn't arise at all. In case if there still happens to be any repression, they hope to counter it by the mobilisation of public opinion against it. The very conception of building the party, the mass organisations and the democratic movements independent of the peoples struggles, is by itself a revisionist outlook. Today, the repression is being unleashed in the areas where the party, the mass organisations and the democratic movements happen to be strong. The repression is being launched only in order to counteract the anti-feudal struggles led by the party. Therefore, it will be possible for us to go forward without having to face the problems of repression only when we bid goodbye to the peoples struggles on peoples demands. This is precisely what the P. B. leadership wants.

Therefore, we should reject this revisionist outlook. We should adopt a correct Marxist outlook. It means, we should build the party, the mass organisations and the democratic movements on the basis of peoples struggles on peoples demands. This is the only Marxist outlook. We will have to inevitably face the repression if we were to march forward with this outlook. Therefore, in order to face it, it becomes imperative for us to adopt new forms of resistance. Only then would the party, the mass organisations and the democratic movements, advance a step forward and reach the higher stage.

The experiences of the Telangana armed struggle also testify to the correctness of this outlook. This struggle had expanded only when the party, the mass organisations and the peoples democratic movements were built on the basis of peoples struggles on peoples demands and only then the repression unleashed by the enemy was fought back. It was only then that this struggle had advanced and reached the higher stage.

It is only as a part of this revisionist outlook of the Polit Bureau, they are arguing that the partial struggles should be conducted only as partial struggles and not as political struggles. A few months back they had even gone to the extent of declaring that they would defend only the economic struggles. When the people are waging struggles for their legitimate demands, the government itself is changing the character of these struggles by unleashing armed forces against them. These struggles would then automatically transform themselves into political struggles. The people would, through their own experience realise the necessity of fighting against the government and automatically get prepared to fight against the government in order to solve their economic demands. Thus, according to the learned lot of the P.B. a number of economic struggles going on today are transforming themselves into political struggles.

During the period of 1946-47, such a bankrupt theory was spread by the then party Secretary P.C. Joshi. The then central leadership went all out for this bankrupt theory and betrayed the Indian revolution. Today, this is precisely what the P.B. is doing.

In the present period of crisis, all the economic struggles are being transformed into political struggles due to the policy of repression pursued by the government. We should conduct them as political struggles with the aim of advancing them to the higher stage. The slogan of "Abolition of feudalism - land to the tiller" should be the central slogan of the rural movement. This policy should be propagated during every partial struggle. Gradually expanding the rural struggles, they should be extended to the distribution of banjar lands under the occupation of land lords, the tenant lands, and the landlords lands. We should never at any stage forget the fact that the land question is the crucial question. We should,

in every village, collect the data relating to the land as well as the living conditions of the agricultural labour, the tenant farmers, the handicraftsmen and the people of other professions and the poor and the middle peasants. The fact finding meetings will prove very useful for this. We should call experienced poor cadre for these meetings. We can call five to ten cadres of them. In the cities, besides the mobilisation of the poor and working class masses on their demands, their mobilisation into struggles in support and solidarity with the rural struggles should be taken up as the main task.

Today, there manifests a wrong tendency among some of the comrades that it is impossible to conduct struggles without first uniting the party. One of the chief causes for the present split in the party is the differences on the question of assessment of the Indian situation and the adoption of suitable forms of struggle based on this assessment. In such a situation, the question that faces us is - should we or should we not unite the party on the basis of the path of struggle? We should reject the latter. We should take up the task of uniting the party only on the basis of the path of struggle. We will work out our tasks for different areas, after we come to a conclusion on the above question.

Different Areas and Movements : In terms of the level of movement, the areas can be classified to three categories.

- 1) Struggle Areas.
- 2) The areas of inactivity despite the existence of party organisation.
- 3) New Areas.

1) **Struggle Areas :** We have already explained about the struggle areas. There are certain main weaknesses in the building of movement in these areas. First, there is no active movement in the village or villages adjoining to the struggle areas. The enemy is selecting one or two villages and concentrating his force on them. The movement in the adjoining villages is not in a position to rise in support of the people of these villages. We should therefore, mobilise the people of the adjoining villages immediately and develop the peoples struggle in a sufficiently wide area. Then the people will be in a position to face the

repression with increased self-confidence and in an appropriate level. We have, in some of the areas, successfully expanded the movement during the recent period. Still, this is not adequate. This becomes very essential especially in the plains areas where the repression is unleashed. We could, through the struggle conducted by us since some time past, achieve certain gains. Increase in agricultural colly rates and other facilities, smashing up the landlords domination etc. are some of the gains achieved. With the launching of repression, the landlords have nullified these gains and restored their old exploitation. In certain cases, they have even intensified their exploitation more than ever. We, while giving up the defence of the gains, are thinking in terms of the prospects of facing the repression and of extricating ourselves from it.

In this way, to some extent our thinking and activities are going in the wrong direction. We should, in these areas, on the basis of the earlier gains, formulate the slogans and demands and put before the people a programme for once again achieving the gains nullified subsequently. The people will then clearly grasp the fact that the new forms of struggle we adopted against the repression are intended to safeguard their hard won gains. The people will thus come forward to participate in the struggle with re-doubled vigour and determination. Owing to our failure to take up this task, our enemies are able to get away with their deceptive propaganda that the government is striving to maintain law and order in the conflicts between the congress and communists.

We are not taking up the task of establishing secret party organisation in the struggle areas. Consequently, the party will be functioning openly before the repression begins. Hence, with the beginning of attacks by the police and goondas, cases and arrests, the local leadership and cadres getting disorganised leaving none in the field to assist the masses is but a common thing. Instead, if we were to provide continuous leadership to the masses, it will be very essential for us to carry on our work establishing the secret party organisation well in advance in the villages or areas where the struggle is going on. The repression by the government is inevitable as soon as the peoples mobilisation and the resistance begin. Therefore, the secret organisation should also be established simultaneously with it.

So far, we have not formulated the forms of resistance. The people are showing initiative in resisting the goondas. We are merely providing leadership to it. But, this is proving to be inadequate. It is becoming impossible to face the surprise attacks of the goondas. Further, the forms of self-defence against the joint attacks of the goondas and the police are yet to be formulated. We are yet to prepare the people, the volunteer squads and the party especially to face the attacks of the armed police.

We should, in the towns adjacent to the struggle areas, mobilise the workers, the youth and students into struggles. We should explain to the urban masses the significance of the struggles waged in the countryside. We should make them realise the need of assisting these struggles and provide the assistance.

We are organising solidarity campaigns in support of the peoples struggles and against the repression in the rural areas, only sporadically and not incessantly. This is not being intensified especially in the villages adjoining the movement. We should therefore, concentrate especially on the adjoining areas and organise solidarity campaigns. When we organise solidarity campaigns in this way, there is a possibility that in some areas this itself might transform into a mass movement, becoming a prelude to peoples struggles. We had a number of such experiences during the Telangana armed struggle.

2) **The Areas of Inactivity:** Though the party units and taluq committees are in existence in various areas, they are only functioning confining themselves to the day to day activities. They are not mobilising the people and organising struggles. The village party leadership have turned themselves into village elders and village bosses and become dead-weight to the mass movement. As a result, the anti-feudal struggle is not taking shape in such areas. It is not developing. Such a situation is prevailing more in the areas where the party members and party units are in existence. We should, in these areas, first make the party members realise the need for them to actively move and organise peoples struggles on peoples demands. They should, for the purpose, call for the unit meetings and explain them the need for struggle.

We should, after preparing the party members of about 10-15 villages to organise the struggle in the given area, formulate common and specific demands. We should, in the villages concerned, carry on a general propaganda about them. Afterwards, we should mobilise the people into struggles on the most pressing demands.

Often, only after one section of the people are fully mobilised on their demands, would the other sections will begin to move on their demands. In such a case the party should also lead the people on these demands as well.

In the present situation, often the police forces rush in support of the landlords and the employers and launch raids, against the people as soon as the peoples mobilisation begins. We may, in case if this is absent, reach a settlement if the landlords and employers are ready to concede the peoples demands. The gains thus achieved should widely be propagated not only among these people but also in the surrounding areas. For this, we can distribute leaflets and hold mass meetings. We should, while propagating that these are the gains of the peoples struggles, call upon the other people to march forward on the path of struggle.

When the upsurge among the struggling masses is deep, when their will to fight is high and when the movement, surpassing the demands formulated, reaches the higher stage of achieving the main demands - the land and grain distribution - there will be no need to compromise on the demands previously advanced. We should, in accordance with certain conditions, formulate the demands and declare that the struggle will continue until these demands are won. We should explain to the masses the conditions and causes responsible for the change in the objective of the struggle.

We should, as soon as the peoples mobilisation on demands begins, organise the volunteer squads. This should be done on a mass scale ranging from 50 to 100. We should draw into the volunteer squads all the youth from our following in the village. In the beginning, it should be their task to mobilise the people and to carry out the tasks allotted to them by the party: To carry on self-defence against the attacks of the landlords and goondas and to assist the masses during these attacks should constitute the main task of the volunteer squads. We should, from among them, select and draw the best elements into the party.

and the peoples militia. We should, before the repression begins; conduct political and self-defence classes for them.

The repression may not immediately begin, when the peoples mobilisation is not on a big scale. It may start sometime later. But, it should be born in mind that there will not be much gap between the beginning of peoples mobilisation and the beginning of repression. However, the indications of the impending repression will be evident. We should carefully mark these indications and start the secret party organisation so as to ensure the continuity of our activities - political and self-defence - even in the period of repression. We should organise secret party centres, shelters for the cadre, courier service for mutual contacts and the funds needed for this purpose. The organisation should be such that it should be capable of continuous functioning in spite of the attacks and arrests.

We should as soon as the peoples mobilisation begins, organise the village committees (peasant organisations). They should play the main role in the implementation of the struggle programme. It is possible that in the beginning, the rich peasants might dominate these organisations. We should, as the class struggle advances, take steps to reduce their strength and replace them with the real revolutionary forces, (especially from the poorer sections) so as to ensure that these forces carry on the functions of the village committees. These committees should, besides the implementation of the struggle programme, assist the peasant and agricultural labour masses in all their problems.

Thus these committees should function as a skeleton administrative apparatus wherein there will be no place for corruption, inequality and oppression. We should consider it as a government machinery in its embryonic form. While the movements are thus carried on, there will be mass upsurge in the villages adjacent to these areas. Even in various areas connected with the movement it will give rise for movement among the people and they will be prepared for struggles. The party leadership should be able to mark such a development and provide leadership to these areas.

The repression may not always come in the form of attacks. It may come in the form of mass

arrests of peasant and agricultural labour, foisting of false cases against them, dragging them around the courts in order to force the people to surrender. Boycotting the courts is not the only method to fight it. The people may have to attend the courts for a time. But we should preserve the cadre needed to carry on the activities of the party un-interrupted. We should, giving them the necessary training, carry on the party activities. With this, the people will come to have the self-confidence that their leadership is safe and strong. Our local cadres also will become experienced in the work under the conditions of repression.

Instead, the wrong tendency to depend more on the courts and deputations to the higher officials should go.

Only when the movement is conducted in this way, would the necessary favourable conditions for it to face the repression, to expand to a wide area and to reach the higher stage, be secured.

3) **New Areas** : What is explained above will apply to these areas also. But, in these areas, the party organisation will be either totally absent or nominal. Therefore, we should send the necessary cadre and leadership from the areas where our movement is strong and start the preliminary work in these areas. We should meet the people, study their problems, formulate the demands and slogans and propagate them among the people.

Since the party activities are absent in these areas, the exploitation by the landlords and the rich will naturally be intense and ruthless. Once the people begin to move, naturally the mass upsurge will also be very wide and deep. Usually, the people, due to their lack of experience, easily get frightened of even minor incidents. At the same time, they will also try to stand their ground. We should, keeping this in view, provide leadership with courage and determination.

We should gradually develop the local leadership in the party, the village organisations and the peoples militia.

Owing to the fighting tradition and the prestige of the party, it is possible that the people in our new areas might move into struggles on a big scale. We should, fully utilise this opportunity, build and expand the movement far and wide.

As already explained, we should, as soon as the peoples mobilisation begins, take up the task of building up the movement. However minor the problems might seem to be, we should, without neglecting them, organise and mobilise the masses on these demands.

URBAN AREAS : Since the workers, students and the middle class people are concentrated in the cities, we should take up their problems and organise the movements. Further, we should also secure their support and solidarity to the struggles the peasants and the agricultural labour are waging in the countryside. Thus' the unity of the workers and peasants should be secured. We should, to the extent we can, concentrate and work in the cities.

By the grace of revisionists, the urban peoples struggles have been totally deprived of their political character and orientation. As a result, there has developed a big gulf between the urban and rural masses. We should close this yawning gulf and achieve the alliance of workers and peasants.

DELTA AREAS : In view of the socio-economic conditions prevailing in these areas, we should carry on an extensive political propaganda and organise struggles on the demands of the agricultural labour. Besides the mobilisation for increase of cooly rates, we should mobilise the people against the social injustice perpetrated against them. We should organise these struggles not only in wet areas but also in dry areas.

RAYALASEEMA AREAS : The repression by the landlords is very severe in this region. Though there are areas of commercial crops and fruit gardens in this region, the landlord domination is very common. There is serious discontent among the people against the landlordism. Owing to the party's failure to shape this discontent into a mass movement, the people are falling prey to

the village feuds. Murders have become a routine affair in this region. We should therefore build a powerful anti-feudal peasant movement in these areas. This movement should base itself on poor peasants and agricultural labour.

Today, all our work in this region is confined to the legal limitations. We should gradually give it a struggle orientation. We should begin to mobilise the rural masses on demands. We should unite the people, having consciousness, on the class basis. We should, in this way, organise a powerful anti-feudal movement.

GIRIJAN AREAS : Ever since the party has begun its work among the girijan masses, it has succeeded to mobilise them on a mass scale. The moment is spreading to the various districts. The exploitation by the landlords and money lenders, from the plains the difficulties created by the forest laws, the atrocities perpetrated by the forest officials and others are very severe in these areas. Besides these problems are taken up in time (i.e. problem of beedi leaf) there is a possibility to spread the movement to vast area within a few months. The party should grasp this situation and pay proper attention to these problems. In these areas, we may not be able to get the local cadres in the beginning itself. We should, therefore, transfer the cadre from the plains, establish local contacts and go among the masses with their demands. The struggles of Srikakulam and Warangal have influenced the other girijan areas. The girijans of all these areas are showing their preparedness for struggles. Therefore, we should immediately send our cadres and cope up with the situation.

Usually, the masses will have immense confidence in the leadership emerging from among them. We should, therefore, draw the militant girijan youth into the leadership and train them properly.

We should build the village mass organisation, volunteer force and mobilise the girijan masses under their leadership. We should mobilise them on demands.

The Srikakulam experiences have shown that the repression against the girijans would be very ruthless. We should therefore train the mass of the girijans, especially the youth, in self-defence.

Thus, on the basis of the gains achieved, the resistance movement against the repression will grow and the peoples struggles in these areas will, in a short time, reach higher forms. Therefore, the party leadership should concentrate on the girijan movement and expand it far and wide.

PARTY ORGANISATION : The party organisation should first come out of its present state, if it were to carry out all this programme. It should shape up itself into a party of struggles. For this, the party should depend upon the fighting forces existing within itself. We should encourage and bring them to the fore-front. We should give them necessary training and mobilise them. We should, in the party, develop determination and a will to fight. The comrades with such qualities should be entrusted with proper responsibilities and be developed. If they pass the test they should be entrusted with still higher responsibilities.

We should, on the basis of the mass movement and the mass programme, develop the secret party organisation. We should clearly grasp the fact that the objective of the secret party organisation is only to safe-guard the party from falling into the hands of the enemy but not to minimise and limit the mass activities. On the contrary, the party activities as well as the mass activities should go on ceaselessly. The habit of resorting to shortcuts, on the part of the cadre and leadership will cause serious harm to the secret life. We should, overcome them take up the task of building up the secret party. This party should become not only a secret party but also a fighting party.

ORGANISATION OF UNITED FRONT : Whenever we take up the peoples demands,

we should never for even an instant lose sight of the need for organising the united front. It should be our task to build an anti-feudal united front in the countryside as well as a countrywide united front against the ruling classes. Therefore, whenever we take up a problem, we should analyse and decide as to the classes and forces that are likely to move immediately and rally them together. All the classes and forces may not move at the beginning itself. All of them will gradually move into struggles only after they are mobilised into struggles a number of times on a number of problems. Similarly in case of the classes and forces that should come into the united front also, we should have a clearcut understanding as to those that should unite with us and those that will unite with us immediately, in a given village, a city or an area. We should gradually rally them together on various problems. Only then would this united front be a united front based on struggle. We should organise struggles giving primary importance to the demands of the agricultural labour and the poor peasants in the countryside and to the demands of the working class in the cities. We should grasp the fact that the worker peasant alliance will form the basis for the united front since these are the main among the revolutionary classes.

CONCLUSION : Since the revisionist policies prevailed in the party for a number of years, a number of wrong notions in respect of the building up the party and united front have taken deep roots and become main obstacles in the way of development of the revolutionary movement. We have not dealt with all of them here. We should gradually deal with them in detail and wage a struggle against them. We have explained here, the minimum tasks for our party to set out as a fighting party and for our movement to emerge as a fighting movement. If we locally work out the programme in accordance with these minimum tasks and begin to implement, we can, on the basis of the experiences we gain, face and overcome the problems and obstacles that would arise. Therefore, we should go into practice forth with.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST COMMITTEE OF ANDHRA PRADESH

FOREWORD

Comrades,

Today in Srikakulam district armed struggle is going on. There are discussions taking place amongst revolutionary ranks on some problems connected with this. Our State Committee desired to give explanations on some problems connected with that movement and hence this report. We hope comrades will study this report and reach clear understanding.

With revolutionary greetings,

Vijayawada,

**REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST COMMITTEE
OF ANDHRA PRADESH**

(Sd.) T. NAGI REDDY

(in-charge)

ON SOME PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH Srikakulam Girijan Movement

In the girijan areas of Srikakulam district, under the leadership of communist revolutionaries, Girijan armed struggle began in the last week of November (24-11-68) and is continuing

The Srikakulam district committee persistently propagates that the State Co-ordination Committee leadership opposed armed struggle and so they established direct contacts with the All India Co-ordination Committee. It is needless to say that this propaganda is fully ill-motivated. We are placing this report before comrades to explain the situation that prevailed till the starting of the armed struggle, the problems that face the movement and the attitudes taken by the District and State Committee.

PRE-1969 SITUATION

Srikakulam District is situated at the end of Andhra Pradesh on the borders of Orissa. In about 800 sq. miles in the Dt., there is a Girijan population of about 2 lakhs. Though there are plains in between, all this area is adjoining the Girijan areas of Orissa. In these hilly tracts there are a few roads. In the regions adjoining plains, non-Girijans live along with Girijans.

Those who came from the plains and settled in hilly tracts merchants and through money lending became landlords and big sahkars, and are exploiting the Girijans. Along with these exploiters, village officers, forest officers, Girijan Welfare Department Officers—all those who had opportunities, became exploiters, and are exploiting the Girijans.

The exploitation of Girijans is in the following forms:

- 1. Money lending:** To clear the debts, Girijans had to sell grain, other crops and forest produce at lower rates to those money lenders.
- 2. Occupation of Girijan lands:** Those who could not clear debts had to mortgage

and sell away to the money lenders their lands.

- 3. Exploiting the agricultural labourers:** In lands thus lost to the landlords, Girijans had to work as palerlu (annually paid workers) and daily labour for nominal wages.
- 4. Purchase of forest produce:** Corporation officers, sahkars, money lenders purchased forest produce from Girijans at nominal rates and sold them outside for huge profits.
- 5. Exploitation by forest officers:** These forest officers obstructed the Girijans from cultivating Podu in forests and from getting forest produce. Then they demanded bribes, mamuls and forced labour (Vetti).

The Big Bourgeoisie landlord Government, serving the interests of imperialism, protects the exploiters. This government walking in the footsteps of the British rulers, helped only to intensify the kind of exploitation prevalent in those times. It did not exterminate such exploitation. For example we may note such exploitation is even against 1917 regulations which are in vogue even today.

Against such exploitation, Girijans rose in revolt now and then before 1959. In 1900 in Salur agency, there was a revolt against the British Government which suppressed it. In 1946 in Parvatipuram agency area, there was some agitation under Ranga group (a section of congress men) leadership. When finally the Girijans occupied lands, the leadership betrayed and left them to the mercy of the Govt. officials and police. The Govt. acted in favour of landlords, filed several cases against Girijans, dragged them to courts and gradually suppressed the struggle.

Girijan Movement under the Leadership of the Communist Revolutionaries

(From 1959 to 1967)

From 1959, the communists built a broad-based Girijan Sangham and under its leadership it conducted several struggles against all sorts of exploitation (as referred to already), violence and irregularities and the Girijans achieved gains. These struggles were conducted based on the following ten demands.

1. In the agency, all lands seized illegally from the Girijans by non-Girijans should be returned to Girijans.

2. Distribute Banjar (Waste) lands to Girijans immediately.

3. All debts, which increased daily in all sorts of illegal methods should be abolished. Facilities for supply of capital should be given.

4. Agricultural implements and cattle should be supplied to Girijans to carry on agricultural operations.

5. Forest produce should be purchased from Girijans at reasonable rates. Consumer goods should be supplied to them at fair prices.

6. Those who extract free labour from the Girijans should be severely punished.

7. Salaries to Palerlu and wage rates for agricultural workers should be fixed in consonance with the cost of living.

8. There should be no restriction on the use of forest timber by Girijans for their house construction and daily needs.

9. In the new atmosphere that will be created when the above programme is implemented, educational and cultural programmes should be organised on a large scale.

10. Girijan areas should be declared as autonomous regions and its administration should be handed over to the representatives of girijans.

When we take up these items one by one, the Girijans gained the following through their struggles :

1. From 1959 it self Girijans gradually re-occupied lands which were illegally seized by non-Girijans, sahuikars and landlords from them. Also they began to cultivate such lands. Till 1967, about 600 to 700 acres were thus occupied.

2. Upto 1967, about 1500 acres of forest waste lands were occupied and cultivated by Girijans.

3. Upto 1967, they refused to clear debts to the tune of about Rupees 2 Lakhs.

4. They got free timber for their agricultural use.

5. Even in the beginning, they sold their forest produce at weekly markets and got reasonable rates from private merchants and government corporation.

6. Free labour has been completely abolished.

7. The nominal rates for palerlu and daily labour were increased. The rates for palerlu increased from 6 bags per annum to 14-15 bags. Similarly the daily wage rates increased upto 12 times.

8. Forest timber has been taken freely for house construction and daily needs.

9. There was mass upsurge while implementing the above programme. The cadre utilised this situation to increase the political consciousness of the Girijans through cultural programmes, night schools and reading to them the party journals regularly.

Only when New Democratic Revolution starts, the Girijans would get their autonomous

region. The aim of the present armed struggle is the victory of such a revolution.

Communist revolutionaries took up these issues, built up Girijan Sanghams on a broad basis and took the lead in the Girijan movement. They carried on the political propaganda that important problems like land and constitution of Autonomous region will be solved only with the establishment of peoples rule (New Democratic State) in the place of the present big Bourgeoisie State.

On the organisational front, Girijan Committees and party units were constituted. Because of the continuous efforts made by Girijan cadre and those from the plains, there was mass mobilisation on all the above issues.

As part of their political education, Girijan cadre as part of the district cadre, were given lessons on the Telangana armed struggle and its experiences. There was a lapse during this period: No widespread propaganda about the need to carry on armed struggle to capture power by the people.

DURING 1967 AND AFTER

As the beginning of the 1967 rainy season, Girijan movement reached a new stage. Girijans who had already reoccupied some of their lands, occupied 800 more acres in the possession of landlords and began cultivation. 2500 acres of forest waste land were also cultivated. Because there was acute food shortage, the people prevented the landlords and sahuks from exporting their grain to outside the area with a view to realise high rates. Sufficient grains were stocked in the Girijan areas. Even the rates were decreased and merchants were made to sell rice at 2 seers per rupee. Thus they even solved the food problems.

In this manner, land distribution and grain distribution, which are important items in the programme of Agrarian revolution, were implemented and this led to intensified mass upsurge. In these activities people began to participate on a big scale. The Girijan struggle reached a higher stage.

The landlords were frightened at the mass upsurge. On 31 October, 1967, the land-

lords and their goondas waylaid some delegates to the taluk Girijan conference and beat them brutally. The victims included women also. When people came in support of beaten delegates, the landlords opened fire and murdered two Girijan activists - Manganna and Koranna. All this took place in a village named Levidi. This firing is an example to show that the struggle has reached a higher stage.

Eventhough there was temporary frustration and disappointment as a result of this firing amongst the Girijans, the masses once again moved when there was a public rally to pay homage to the martyrs. Similarly all over the Girijan area several meetings were held to pay homage to the martyrs. During these meetings big rallies were held on a large scale. This rallying did not stop here. Some more items of our programme which were till then only in propaganda stage, were implemented now.

Alongwith the crops cultivated by Girijans in their lands, they also took possession of the crops ready for harvest in the land still remaining with the landlords. They brought such harvest crops to their own houses. Girijans refused to pay and cancelled debts payable to landlords and sahuks. Such cancelled debts come to about Rs. 3 lakhs. (There is another version that the amount is 8 lakhs; Ed.) They took possession of the cattle and goats belonging to the landlords and distributed them amongst themselves. Thus, along with the distribution of land, the programme for the cancellation of debts also came into effect.

It became common for the masses to carry their big axes, bows and arrows and country-made guns wherever they went for demonstrations.

This situation continued upto February 20, landlords responsible for murder escaped temporarily. There were no additional police camps. There were no raids by the armed police. Utilising this opportunity, people implemented the revolutionary programme to the extent possible. They felt their Raj has come. Girijan Sangam supervised all the village matters. All decisions of the party and Girijan Sangham were being implemented.

This was the actual situation. But Liberation wrote: 'Even after the landlords deliberately killed two activists of the Girijan Sangham in October 1967, when the anger of the masses against the class enemy was at its height, the masses were not allowed to proceed against their enemies' (Liberation Dec. 68, P. 30). The District committee also wrote similarly in its reports.

The meaning of this is clear; when the people were advancing, the leadership pulled them back. But this is not true. There is not one incident when the leadership—either local or at higher level—dragged the people back when they were advancing. Comrades lead wherever people took action. People occupied landlords lands. They took possession of their crops. They demonstrated with fire arms. In the clash with the police on 4-3-68 people used firearms. When such are the realities it is only a baseless charge to say that the leadership did not allow masses to advance. This is not a genuine criticism.

From February 20 police activities began with the establishment of special armed camps. They gave a warning on 24th to surrender the arms. Though the SAP was moving about the area, there were no raids till the end of February.

In this situation, the DC met on 24-2-68. This meeting took note of the coming police raids. The meeting decided that arms, especially the fire arms should not be surrendered, people should prevent any arrests and if arrested, people should rescue the arrested persons.

On 3rd March, police began large scale raids. On that day there was a raid on Burjaguda (Seethampet). By early hours, the armed police surrounded the village, arrested most of the villagers, raped some women, looted houses and carried away fowls, goats and other movables. The armed police adopted the same technique in all the subsequent raids.

On 4th March, there was a raid on Pedakarja (Parvathipuram agency). People vacated the village and went to the nearby hill. Police fired on the people. People replied the firing. But because people had only country-made guns police were not hurt. But two Girijans died due to police firing.

After this firing incident, the people were demoralised.

Here we have to take note on a point: Though there were large scale armed police raids and serious repression, if organisationally we were prepared, there could have been some more resistance. When we were not prepared, the police raids began, we were confused and there was no self defence and protection of immovable properties. These incidents only prove, when there is Govt. armed repression, there should be armed counter resistance as far as possible.

The State Co-ordination Committee was formed at the time of the State Committee (Marxist) meeting held from March 9th to 11th. The meeting felt the resistance problems in the agency area should be decided after discussing with the District Committee.

As per this, the DC met at the end of March (from 29th) and discussed the problems facing the movement. By then, except in a few areas, in the rest of the region armed police raids were continuing seriously. All important leaders came out of the agency. SAP and goondas looted all grain and movables of people and no supply of salt, grains and cloth became a serious problem. The police and goondas looted all the forest produce gathered by the people intended for sale. Now the people had nothing to sell, thus they lost all the cash necessary to eke out their living for the rest of the year.

In this situation, the question of organising peoples resistance did not come before the meeting as an important one. But the issue of supply of salt, foodgrains, clothes and agricultural implements came before that meeting as an important one. On the advice of the State committee representatives the DC decided to make arrangements for the supply of the above articles, to re-establish contacts by the cadre with the masses, to safeguard remaining arms and to make arrangements for giving guerilla training to all leading cadres.

In this meeting we discussed problems connected with guerilla struggles. All these decisions were taken with this understanding; that we should organise squads, give training and be ready so that when the masses moved again, we could begin the struggle. Because

it was end of March, the training had to be completed by April and May. As soon as rains started in June, we could begin struggles for seizing lands of the landlords and our armed squads could resist the repressive SAP and the goondas. This way we could co-ordinate the land problem of the agrarian revolution with guerilla struggle. Our understanding was that in such a situation, we could carry on stable and protracted armed guerilla struggle. So, the issue whether guerilla struggle is to be carried on or not, did not arise between the State Co-ordination committee and the Srikakulam District committee. On that issue there were no differences at all.

But during the discussion, two issues came forward. First: Whether minimum military training was necessary to begin guerilla struggles? Secondly: Whether guerilla struggles could be started even when there was no move among the masses?

These issues were discussed. We came to the conclusion that minimum military training was necessary to begin guerilla struggles and there should be people move to the required extent to participate in the guerilla struggle. After the discussion, we came to the conclusion it was wrong to feel that the people would move only after the guerilla struggle started.

It is not correct to say, as the District committee propagates, that the State Committee did not give the training locally but took them to distant places. Such propaganda is also completely false. In the beginning arrangements were made to give the training locally. But the DC leaders themselves came to the conclusion that it was not possible because of the concentration of the enemy in the area. With no other alternative, they were taken to distant places.

Now the DC says that what was learnt in the training was not useful. It is a different matter if they refuse to utilise that because of their opposition to the State Co-ordination committee. The issue before us is how to utilise the experiences of the Telangana struggle. They will not be useful for those who refuse to utilise them. For revolutionaries who utilise them, experiences in every struggle would be

useful. Even today it is necessary for the DC to try to utilise them.

In the same meeting, we made another decision. Even the combined Seethampet and Parvathi puram agency areas are very limited. It is all surrounded by roads. When severe raids take place, it would be impossible for all the squads to remain in the region (especially in summer). So we had to extend the movement to the other agency areas in the district and also to the agency areas of Orissa.

As per these decisions, leading comrades again went amidst masses, maintained contacts with them and began work amongst them. They went to some Girijan areas and worked for the extension of the movement. But the decision regarding guerilla training was not implemented immediately. The DC did not make the necessary arrangements on its behalf. So the State Committee had to intervene and there was some delay in completing all arrangements.

Burdwan Plenum was held at the beginning of April. In Andhra the Communist revolutionaries revolted against the Party (Marxist) leadership in the second week of June and came out of it. Immediately the Srikakulam DC met from 16th.

In this meeting, some comrades in the DC criticised the State leadership for not coming out of the Party immediately after the Burdwan plenum and for delaying till June. There was one opinion that comrades should have resigned and come out individually instead of the leadership giving a call for revolt, which would undermine discipline in the party to be formed by us. Another opinion was expressed that all these developments were like old wine in new bottles." But the State Committee representative made it clear that there was some delay in rallying all the revolutionaries in the party and so could not come out immediately after the Burdwan Plenum; their formal attitude about discipline was wrong; in the process of building a new party through revolutionary movements revolutionary discipline would be established; it was wrong to say all this as 'old wine in new bottles' and all that would be proved in practice.

Comrades gave reports about the situation of the masses in the Girijan areas. They explained that people had not yet overcome their frustration, there was not yet any possibility to move on the issues of cultivation of landlords' land and the police were also making raids wherever we moved.

On the advice of the State representative, the DC decided to complete the arrangements for guerilla training for all those to lead the guerilla struggles, to keep the local militants—men and women—ready to use hand bombs, bows & arrows, spears and other country made weapons and to give directions to Girijens to use them in resistance and self defence during SAP and goonda raids, loot and violence. The State representative made it clear that some move in the masses was necessary to begin regular guerilla struggle and it was necessary to wait till the masses move on issues like land, crops etc. When that materialised DC was asked to inform the State Coordination Committee which would take a decision in the matter. On this, it was decided on the one hand to resort to armed resistance and on the other to prepare for higher forms of regular guerilla struggle.

As per these decisions, a batch of important activists were given guerilla training. To complete the training for the second batch, due to unavoidable reasons there was some delay. Some material was collected for local armed resistance. But arrangements for resistance were not made.

When the realities are such, the propaganda carried on by the DC that the State Committee was against armed resistance, is nothing but false. The State Committee on the one hand gave a programme for immediate resistance and on the other hand made preparations for immediate starting of protracted guerilla war. Just to deny this, the DC resorts to propagative lies and untruths.

Also, in their attempt to criticise the State Committee leadership, they went to defame the very movement and its nature. See the following sentence which they wrote in the same issue of Liberation: "On the whole, the

movement did not proceed beyond its democratic content".

This is incorrect. To seize the lands from the landlords and cultivate them, large scale armed demonstrations, using arms in one or two cases of resistance—all, these describe the revolutionary nature of the movement and not its democratic content. On another occasion, they compare this struggle with that of Human peasants revolt, and say that the movement here did not advance beyond democratic nature—is this not defaming the movement?

They have also written as follows:

"In the face of the attacks of landlords and the police the neo-revisionists had always suggested that our policy should be one of exposing the ruling classes and extending the areas of struggle. Before and after the large scale military type operations, that attitude was not basically changed...confusion and vacillation, though for a temporary period."

Everybody knows that the neo-revisionists pointed out to the non-extension of the movement as a pretext to postpone the armed struggle. But it is baseless to accuse the State Co-ordination Committee of having tread the same path. Only in May the State Committee began to deal with the DC directly. By then, most of the raids were over. From that day it was making preparations for armed struggle. Only as per such preparations it wanted to extension of the movement. We got good results to the extent we implemented, these decisions. To the extent they were not implemented we did not get results.

This false propaganda was carried on not only in Liberation but also in the report published by the DC.

Ordinarily any party unit has to overcome many difficulties to make these arrangements. Because we were starting armed struggle for the first time, we had to overcome some more difficulties. At a time when those difficulties had to be overcome by District and State Comrades working together with mutual co-operation and get ready for armed resistance and regular guerilla struggles, District Comrades did not concentrate on this but established

direct relations with the All India Co-ordination Committee. Even by then, a comrade and leader of a cultural squad from this district wherever he went for cultural performances carried on propaganda against the State Co-ordination Committee. He contacted and worked with Venkatarathnam group, who had a centre in Guntur District, with groups in various districts, which was working against State Co-ordination Committee in the name of Solidarity Committee for Naxalbari Peasants Liberation struggle.

In this context it is also necessary to point out to comrades about one more point. As soon as it was formed the State Co-ordination Committee did not join the All India Co-ordination Committee. The AICCCR published one of the documents which the State leadership placed for discussion at the Burdwan Plenum and put up a note pointing out some basic differences on it. This they published openly. We wanted to know their motives for doing so before joining them. With this in view, the State Co-ordination Committee opened direct talks concluded, a representative of the AICCCR visited Guntur and informed Venkatarathnam group of the details of the discussions with the State Co-ordination Committee and gave them instructions to coordinate the work of the revolutionaries in the State. With this, they carried on large scale propaganda against the State Co-ordination Committee all over the state. The essence of their propaganda was that there was no difference between the politics of the neo-revisionist and the politics practised by the State leadership.

In this serious situation, the DC met during the third week of September. At this meeting some DC leaders stated that primarily the State Co-ordination Committee leadership was following the neo-revisionist path and opposed armed struggle; and they went to the extent of saying these were our political motives for not starting armed struggle in Girijan areas of Srikakulam and not joining the AICCCR. The reply given by the State representative who attended that meeting to their criticisms did not satisfy them. At the end, the DC passed the following resolutions on armed struggle and joining the AICCCR.

On Armed Struggle: "Police have again begun raids. After the SAP was withdra-

wn in June, these began from the second week of August. In the interval, our cadre came into contact with the masses and explained the situation. They exposed the deceitful promises of the Government. People were enthused. They made it clear this time they should fight and they were ready for it. But they feel that our leadership (squad) should be in their midst. Even the cadre are also enthusiastic. They are of the strong opinion to get ready for struggle this time.

"Our cadre went to the people to explain. In this enthusiastic atmosphere police raids again began. Landlords, goondas with the aid of those who have surrendered to the police are carrying on these raids. It has become normal to loot, beat the people and compel them to reveal the whereabouts of the activists.

In this situation, the people are expressing their readiness to resist these raids. But they feel this time the resistance should be armed one. In the first raids we retreated. At that time we told the people and cadre that we were preparing for a higher form of struggle and would soon resist. Similar raids have begun. But we are unable to begin resistance as promised earlier. With this the people and cadre are losing confidence on us. If we delay further, there is a danger of our isolation from the people. The cadre are very demoralised. So our DC requests for the decision to start armed struggle immediately.

"For the present, we can use hand bombs, country-made guns and bows and arrows. We think of using hand bombs during police raids and to give these hand bombs to millian. The squad should assist the people.

"From 3 'propaganda squads' for the present we have formed one squad with 8 persons. Apart from these there are 36 militants. Squads could be formed with them.

"It is necessary for the PC to give technical assistance. We request that this should be done quickly."

(The above resolution was adopted unanimously)

It was not clear during the DC discussion, as was made out in the resolution, that

the people were in action. Further they stated that it would take two more years for the masses to move, by then the general elections would come, and only with a view to participate in them, the State Committee shows the pretext of masses being not in action to postpone armed struggle. If we just turn back, it would be clear how baseless are such charges by these comrades. If we implement the decision taken at the last DC meeting (held in June) there was no necessity to pass this resolution now. There is already a decision to resist the police with hand bombs and arrows. They ought to have reviewed how far they implemented it. As though no such decision was taken previously, they passed this resolution now. This won't help the armed struggle. In the last DC meeting, it was made clear that if the masses began to move on any issue, we would decide for regular guerilla struggle and the previous armed resistance with country bombs and bows and arrows would only help this regular struggle. There was no need for much time to start regular guerilla struggle with guerilla squads; if armed resistance had been organised before. It is totally unreal to say that the State Committee banned the use of fire arms and allowed, "if only necessary," the use of Country bombs and bows & arrows etc. The DC had agreed to the advice of the State representative for the programme of continuous armed resistance with Country bombs and arrows and bows. Use of fire arms is an important part of military training. So, as soon as it was completed, we could use them. But there was no ban placed on its use.

SECOND RESOLUTION :

On Joining the all India Co-ordination Committee : "In the country Naxalbari comrades stood in the fore front and carried on the inner party ideological struggle. They exposed betrayal of the neo-revisionists before the people. They first raised the flag of revolt, applied Mao's Thought and blazed the way for all revolutionaries. Addressing the comrades still with the neo-revisionists, they stated in December 'We call upon the revolutionary comrades still within the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to repudiate openly the neo-revisionist leading cliques and politics and openly join hands with us who are striving to build a

genuine Communist party in our country.

"Again in May, revolutionaries from different States formed themselves into "All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries" and requested the comrades still with the neo-revisionist clique and comrades in separate groups to join the AICCCR. They made it clear that all revolutionaries should realise the harm done to the Indian revolutionary movement by the existence of separate groups. As a result of these two public calls, many State Co-ordination Committees of Communist Revolutionaries joined the AICCCR. But our Andhra Co-ordination Committee did not join them. The DC feels that this is a very regrettable Position.

"This DC approves the calls given by the AICCCR during December-May and agrees to join AICCCR. We hope the State Committee will approve the calls given by the AICCCR and join it. There was an amendment to delete the sentence: "It (DC) agrees to join the AICCCR, as it implied to do so directly with the AICCCR without continuing to be a part of State Co-ordination Committee and as it was not a correct procedure. This amendment was lost by 4 to 3 votes.

In this manner, the cause for delay in joining the AICCCR has been made clear through their writings and actions as basic differences on ideological and organisational matters between the AICCCR and Andhra CC. On this, the State Committee felt the cause of unity amongst revolutionaries would be advanced only through direct talks and expressing the mutual stand points and then join the AICCCR. The State Committee continued the discussions with the AICCCR. On this matter, we reported to the Srikakulam Committee.

It is not correct to say by the time the District Committee passed that resolution, all the revolutionaries in all States had joined the AICCCR. In Bengal itself 5 groups were outside. In Kerala, Kosalram and K. P. R. Gopalan's groups were outside. In Tamilnad one group was outside. Even Kashmir group did not have contacts with it. All these comrades are working on the basis of Mao's Thought. They are trying to understand each other and carry dis-

ussions with the AICCCR to come together. It is now clear not only Andhra CC but there are others also in other States, comrades who want to come to a clear understanding on problems through discussion with a view to join the AICCCR.

Not only that. In this resolution the DC did not mention anywhere that they wanted to join the AICCCR because the Andhra Committee opposed armed struggle. They expressed regret for the Andhra CC not joining the AICCCR and stated they were joining the AICCCR after approving the call of the AICCCR.

Similarly, though they did June resolution in favour of armed resistance, the DC Committee asked for permission to start armed struggle. Joining the AICCCR and asking permission for armed struggle are mutually contradictory approaches. Nor it wanted permission and technical assistance from the State Committee which decided accordingly. Then when did we oppose armed struggle? The DC through their decision made it clear about their action 'to agree to join the AICCCR'. They also immediately joined them. This was confirmed by "Liberation" later on. In December 1968 "Liberation" wrote as follows:

"Very recently they (revolutionaries of Srikulam: Sc) have joined the AICCCR and thus they have now access to the rich experiences of the revolutionaries throughout India".

The DC decision and the subsequent endorsement by the AICCCR make it very clear that the DC rejected the leadership of the State Committee in September 1968 i.e., long before the starting of the armed struggle. The AICCCR had also approved it. Establishing direct links with the leadership of Venkatarathnam group who worked against the State Committee, was part of their activities.

The DC in its resolution wanted the State Committee to join the AICCCR. But this was only formal. Because even after the State Committee joined the AICCCR, the DC was acting independently. It never recognised the State Committee leadership. Eventhough the DC thus resolved and is working directly after joining the AICCCR, arrangements were completed for giving guerilla training to the remain-

ing leading cadre in the Dist. The State Committee met and decided to join the AICCCR. In the resolution passed by DC on armed struggle, though there were lapses (as already pointed out), the State Committee agreed for the starting of the armed struggle.

In this situation, in the beginning of October (8th) important leaders of DC met at Eluru. In the meeting, the State representatives explained the above resolutions of the State Committee. But the DC rejected them and refused to receive guerilla training. As a result of this all arrangements made towards that had to be cancelled. After the meeting, the leading cadre of DC went to Krishna, Guntur, W. Godavari Districts, directly contacted important activists there and tried to detach them from the State Co-ordination Committee. They established direct contacts with various groups working with Venkatarathnam group and carried on their activities. Venkatarathnam group, even by then, had contacts with some local units of Srikulam Dt. (Boddapadu etc.).

The State representatives attended the AICCCR meeting held in October 1968. After discussions with leaders, it became clear there were no basic differences between them regarding following: Owing allegiance to Mao's Thought characterising the Soviet revisionist leadership as adopting and pushing imperialist policies, rejection of parliamentary path and recognition of armed struggle as the immediate problem. It was also made clear to the AICCCR the views expressed by some State representatives on the question of elections were not that of the committee and even the State Committee felt that they had over-emphasised the matter. It was also made clear the main reason for not coming out of the Marxist party after the Burdwan Plenum was not the desire to carry on the inner party struggle from within the Marxist Party but to be of help to the ordinary comrades by giving our alternate line so as to enable them to decide which side to take; and towards this end, we violated the party discipline at every step finally gave a call for revolt and came out. So it was wrong to call all this as opportunistic which was against reality. All these were reported by the AICCCR leaders to representatives of the Srikulam district who were present there on the invitation of the AICCCR itself.

On behalf of the State Co-ordination Committee, we pointed out to the Dt. Committee meeting held in November (by then the December issue of Liberation has not come out) with a view to prepare the people to carry on immediate armed struggle in different parts of the State, it would be useful if the Srikakulam district unit, which was in the struggle area, worked with the State Co-ordination Committee on the basis of democratic Centralism and it would be good to observe the highest form of discipline through democratic centralism to carry on the highest form of struggle i.e., armed struggle. But the DC did not accept this suggestion, they made it clear they would work with the State Committee only on the basis of Co-ordination, they would implement such decisions which they accept and in respect of others they would act according to their own independent decisions.

After this meeting, they rallied people belonging to Venkatarathnam group in Krishna and Guntur districts and took them to Srikakulam Dt. Their leaders made it a particular point to slander the State leadership and create dissatisfaction among the comrades. Among those who went, there were some honest revolutionaries who desired to go and work among the people. There were some undesirables also.

In December two State Committee Secretariat members discussed with the Secretary of the Srikakulam Dt. Committee about tactics and measures to be taken after the armed struggle started and gave some suggestions. These were accepted by them. Along with this, they made it clear to the DC secretary that it would not be worth co-ordination if they established direct links with other districts and recruiting people who worked against the State Committee. Yet these DC comrades gradually took direction off establishing a rival centre. These developments would naturally cause distress when the need of the hour was to rally support and cooperation from all revolutionaries in the State behind the armed struggle going on now in Srikakulam Dist.

All this would make it clear that the propaganda against the State Committee that it opposes armed struggle is improper, incorrect and not genuine.

They also carried on another mispropaganda that the State Co-ordination Committee banned the distribution of the pamphlets issued by the Dt. Committee. The DC distributed all its pamphlets through its own group. They did not distribute through State or District Committees. As such the question of banning did not arise. This is nothing but an attempt made to justify their action of distribution of pamphlets through their own group.

Thus, all attempts by the State Committee, working under heavy odds, to improve relations between the State Committee and the District ended in failure. Yet the State Committee is trying its best to help the armed struggle.

CLARIFICATIONS OF SOME ISSUES :

In view of the above explanations, it would be very clear how baseless it is to say that the State Committee was against armed struggle in the Srikakulam Girijan areas. On the other hand, it desired to start armed struggles as soon as possible. It worked to that end. It agrees that there are some shortcomings in this effort. The main shortcomings are: Failure to make preparations for armed resistance even before the police raids began in the beginning of March 1968, failure to make necessary arrangements to quickly complete guerilla training, failure to allot one comrade on behalf of the centre to check up the preparations. The last two failures reflect only the organisational weaknesses of the centre and not its under-standing. As for the first, the State Committee was not even constituted by the time the police raids began. The State Committee was constituted only after the raids started. Till then, State leaders used to carry on their previous responsibilities in the various areas.

Though these are the difficulties yet objectively these were failures. To correct the position, even now it becomes necessary to make organisational arrangements.

But there was unanimity among DC comrades as to when and how the struggle should start. If we examine the various opinions expressed during discussions, it would be clear there were some differences.

ARMED STRUGGLE — LAND PROBLEM :

Some comrades in the DC and outside are

of the following opinion: The struggle we are conducting now is liberation struggle. This has no immediate relation to the land problem or the system of exploitation by landlords. This would remain as a problem to be resolved after liberation was achieved. Build peoples army, liberate the rural areas and liberate the cities. For this we have to establish base areas.

Today, all the peasant armed struggles bursting out in various regions of our country are liberation struggles i.e., for seizure of power. Even the struggles which have not reached the stage of armed struggle, if developed with this understanding and taken to higher forms, they would also develop as armed struggles and liberation struggles. At this time, when in the country there is a revolutionary situation, all the peasant struggles will have the class character. But the starting, developing, consolidating and extension of all these struggles will have to be based on agrarian revolutionary programme only. Liberation for the peasant means liberation from landlord - imperialist system. Though complete liberation is attained only after the establishment of base areas after seizure of power throughout India and after establishment of New Democratic Govt. liberation begins with the starting of the class struggles, with the starting of the class struggles, with the starting of anti-landlord struggles, with the starting of the Agrarian Revolutionary programme.

The experience of the Srikakulam Dist. also prove the same. From 1959 we built a broadbased mass movement of Girijans rallying them against exploitation by feudal landlord, Govt. officers. With the occupation of lands in the possession of landlords, taking possession of crops, cancellation of debts, the movement reached a higher stage and the situation is ripe for armed struggle.

Peasants fight not only against imperialism but against feudalism also. So before and after starting armed struggle, we have to advance basing on agrarian revolutionary programme. So to protect the gains of the struggles, to extend them, we will combine armed struggle and will carry on the struggle.

But it would be wrong to confine this armed struggle to land problem or problems

connected with feudal exploitation only. Armed struggle should be carried on with the ultimate aim of seizing power. We must create this consciousness in the people. In regions under feudal exploitation, the peasantry will gain this consciousness in the course of struggle against such exploitation.

This question arises before us: Is it absolutely necessary to continue this anti-feudal struggle in all places and occasions for a number of years, before we could reach the stage of armed struggle? To this we may reply: It is not necessary. Today the presence of a revolutionary situation the influence of armed struggle that began in various regions, a revolutionary leadership owing allegiance to Mao's Thought, which inculcate the required consciousness to seize power all those thus create a situation in which, without the necessity to continue a long drawn struggle and within a short time there are opportunities to reach the stage of armed struggle. Revolutionaries should use these opportunities fully and develop armed struggle.

Where there is no naked feudal exploitation, where it is not so intensive or where it is absolutely nonexistent, the problem arises, how are we to combine armed struggle? In those places there would be other forms of exploitation which depend on Govt. Officers, imperialists or others. We have to carry on struggles against such exploitation. On all occasions capture of power would be main criterion. So the problem does not depend on the seriousness of exploitation. The struggle against exploitation will be utilised to reach quickly the stage of struggle for seizure of power. So we have to make use of it to the extent possible.

If we attempt to continue armed struggle leaving aside the agrarian revolutionary programme or the gains during the struggle, participation of rural folk in the armed struggle would be weakened. Gradually it would be on the decrease. Thus the very armed struggle would be weakened with the danger of collapse.

For the rural folk, liberation from feudalism means giving land to the tiller; any liberation struggle not related to this would be abstract for them.

Armed Struggle and the Role of the Masses.

Guerrilla struggle is the peoples armed struggle. Without the participation of the people, no guerrilla struggle would succeed. Similarly, to begin guerrilla struggle, participation by the masses becomes necessary.

When agrarian revolution begins, the Govt. would send armed forces to suppress it and brutal repression would be unleashed against the masses. In such a situation, the mass upsurge which would have been there before the raids, would not bethere after that. Activity would decrease. In many places there may be temporary lull. The revolutionaries often face such a problem. Could we start guerrilla struggle during such lull periods? Or not? Some comrades argue that even at such times, we could begin.

According to our experiences of mass movements, in the present circumstances, such a lull would be only temporary. During such a lull, revolutionaries should revive their links with the masses, carry on political propaganda, move them as far as possible on mass issues and prepare for the ensuing struggle. Then it will not be long for the people to move into struggle. But this time the mass upsurge may not be so extensive. But this mass upsurge would increase many times the hatred against the enemy and the armed forces and increase stronger determination to fight against them through to the end. This would immensely help to increase the fighting mettle of the masses and the guerrilla squads. This would also create a broad mass base for Guerrilla struggles. This advantage would not be there for guerrilla struggles that begin without mass participation. Also there is a possibility of people exhibiting weaknesses while facing enemy armed raids.

This does not mean it would be wrong to resist in any form the enemy raids during such lull periods. Only by resisting enemy raids even during such times we could prepare the masses and militants for the ensuing guerrilla struggles. Forms of resistance could be decided according to the level of consciousness of the movement. Primarily we should carry on our resistance with whatever arms available with the people. Through such organised resistance masses and militants would learn the first lessons of guerrilla warfare.

Even the experiences of Srikakulam make this clear. After the armed police carried on raids from March to May 68, masses were temporarily terrorised. But revolutionaries stood firmly in the midst of the masses and so there was some mass move by the time of harvest. Even after that, as a result of the continued activity of the cadre, the masses were prepared for the higher form of struggle going on now. We must recognise that the trend which says during a lull period, it is not possible for masses and militants to resist with whatever locally available arms, is wrong.

GUERRILLA STRUGGLE - TRAINING :

To the question whether minimum military training was necessary or not before starting struggle, the correct answer would be in the affirmative only.

Our basic principle is that guerrillas learn guerrilla tactics during guerrilla struggles only, yet when these exploiting classes banned the use of fire arms-let along giving military training for the masses it is necessary for the guerrillas and guerrilla leaders to have minimum military training.

If the guerrillas had to enter the struggle straight away this minimum had to be given to him in the front itself. Ordinarily it is better to begin after giving minimum training. Even this training should not be on the model of rules lasting for months. It is better to complete it in a few days time depending upon place and circumstances.

To protect oneself and destroy the enemy- this is the general principle of war. We have to apply this in the guerrilla warfare also through minimum training. We though weak, learn to beat the stronger enemy, skill can be attained in the front. In the beginning we would incur some losses. Only to avoid such losses to guerrillas and leaders, it is necessary to have minimum military training.

PROBLEM OF COMMAND

Armed struggle is going on in Srikakulam Dist. We are attempting to develop armed struggle in other parts of the State. At an appropriate time the struggle will start in these areas. It is necessary to carry on these struggles under one command. Then only there

would be an opportunity to develop these armed struggles according to one plan.

In guerilla struggles, the leadership would not be completely centralised. Similarly there would not be complete decentralisation. As far as strategy is concerned, there would be a centralised leadership. In relation to wars and battles there would be decentralisation.

Within these limits, there should be relations between the leadership both at local and higher levels. Complete centralisation, as in military wars, is wrong. Similarly in guerilla war, complete decentralisation is wrong. By this, it would not be possible to effectively face the enemy forces. Mao, while explaining the principles of guerilla warfare, has given due importance to this.

In the name of co-ordination, we revolutionaries are working on individual basis. At this time, it is but natural for trends of decentralisation to raise their heads. We must fight against this. We must see that in any area, struggles are carried on under one command.

UNITED FRONT:

For the victory of the armed struggle which we carry on, United Front is one of the important weapons used by the party. We should never give up our idea of UF organisation in our propaganda and activity. Which class will lead this UF? what are the basic classes? Which classes will be brought into UF? We must have clarity on these issues. Similarly we should know our enemies. If we lack this clarity, enemies may escape from our attacks. Persons, who are not our enemies, may be attacked unnecessarily by us. If we are to avoid such a situation, we must have a correct understanding of the United Front.

The pamphlet published by the Srikakulam committee completely lack this understanding. They correctly wrote: All peasantry in the district are exploited by landlords, money lenders, bureaucratic officials and are like living corpses. They wrote: In the future, students, teachers and N. G. O. and other associations will move on a larger scale, because in future their position would deteriorate. Though there are many limitations for Associations under

reactionary and reformist leadership, in coming into struggles, there is a possibility of middle classes coming into struggles in future on an increased scale.

These points have been stated correctly. But they have not even touched about the working class which should lead the united front and about national bourgeoisie, which could join the UF and for whose joining there are possibilities. Similarly, it did not even give an outline of the agrarian revolutionary programme, which has to be implemented to abolish feudalism.

We must build a United Front for the overthrow of imperialism, comprador bourgeoisie and feudalism, under the leadership of working class, with worker-peasant alliance as basis and including middle class and national bourgeoisie. Our revolutionary war will be Peoples War. This is Peoples Democratic Revolution.

The said pamphlet lacks this perspective. It creates an impression that power could be seized without any necessity of united front and by overthrowing the ruling classes through armed struggles.

By this, we must note, there is a possibility of creating some confusion in sections which co-operate with us or remain neutral.

The inseparable relation between the party, armed struggle and United Front was well explained by Chairman Mao in the following lines:

"Our eighteen years of experience show that the United Front and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy. The United Front is a united front for carrying on armed struggle. And the party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the united front and the armed struggle, to storm and shatter the enemy's positions. This is how the three are related to each other." Vol II P 295

These lines by Com. Mao Tse-tung must be implicitly followed not only in the far off future but while implementing our immediate programme.

Comrades,

Here we have explained the developments that came about in the course of revolutionary struggle of the Girijan areas of Srikakulam Dist. Also the problems that arose in that connection and the attitude we should have towards it. After this explanation, if any body says that State Co-ordination Committee was against continuation of armed struggle or tried to weaken it all that would be completely baseless and slanderous. If the above given points are examined, the State Committee was never against armed struggle whether armed resistance or regular guerilla struggle. Also in 1968 June itself, it gave the Srikakulam committee a clear programme for armed struggle without any reservations. It began necessary preparation for starting regular guerilla struggle. If all these efforts have not come to fruition, the responsibility is entirely on the DC which attempted to establish a rival centre against the State Committee.

But there were differences between the State Committee and the DC in relation to various issues. Briefly they are as follows:

1. The DC denies the necessity for ordinary armed resistance which is the beginning stage for regular guerilla struggles. During repression, the State Committee feels it necessary for such armed resistance.
2. The DC feels no necessity for minimum training for regular training. The State Committee feels it necessary.
3. The DC feels there was no need of mass participation. They feel masses will move by themselves, when once we start armed struggle. State Committee feels the guerilla struggle must begin with mass participation.
4. The DC feels that armed struggle could be carried without any relation to issues like land in the agrarian revolution. They say this itself is liberation struggle. But the State Committee feels that there is inseparable relationship between agrarian revolution and armed struggle.
5. In the view of the State Committee when armed struggle is carried on we should have a perspective of United Front. The DC lacks such perspective.

6. The State Committee feels, for proper conducting of armed struggle there should be unity between State and District Committees based on principle of democratic centralism: and the armed struggle should be carried on with centralised leadership. But the path taken by the DC is to create a rival centre and disunity among the revolutionaries and the revolutionary movement.

All these differences come to the surface even in the beginning of the armed struggle itself. We have to wait and see how these will develop as the movement advances.

We have not received any authentic details about the armed raids carried on from the beginning of armed struggle. Yet there is news that generally masses are participating in them. This is commendable. They may argue that it was the result of starting armed struggle. But this is not correct. There was an indication of this development even in August and September 68. Then we had not started armed struggle. These changes (of mass participation) are the result of waiting till the masses moved.

There is a good future for the Srikakulam armed struggle started on the basis of a deep and concrete revolutionary peasant movement. We wish this struggle to advance. The advance of this struggle, would be helpful to the advancement of the struggles in other areas. If the District leadership adopts correct tactics with correct perspective and carries on the armed struggle, it would best back the armed attacks of the ruling classes and would be able to advance. We must carefully study the experience of the Srikakulam struggle.

Now, we pay our homage to martyrs who laid their lives in the Srikakulam Girijan struggle. Let us pledge to carry forward their objectives. In our country let us destroy imperialism, comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism, and establish New Democracy. For this let us build up rural revolutionary bases and carry forward the armed struggle.

This is possible in the present national and international situation under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought. Let us go forward for the victory of Revolution.

; VICTORY IS OURS ;

P R E L U D E

Comrades;

The Convention of the Communist Revolutionaries has been held on 10th, 11th and 12th of April (1969). The Convention has adopted an IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME in order to advance the agrarian revolutionary struggle, going on in the State under the leadership of the Communist Revolutionaries. We are releasing it for you.

The Comrades should study this programme adopted by the Convention. They should strive for its immediate implementation. We hope that the revolutionaries would not lag behind in the fulfilment of this task.

**WITH REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS,
ANDHRA PRADESH REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST COMMITTEE**

Vijayawada,

25-4-1969,

IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME

We, the Communist Revolutionaries who have broken from the revisionism, are striving for the victory of Indian revolution in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought. India is a neocolonial country. The Indian people are being subjected to the neo-colonial exploitation of the American imperialism, British imperialism and the Soviet revisionism. Together with imperialism, the feudalism is the main exploiting force in the country. 70 to 80 per cent of the population live in the countryside. They are being subjected to various forms of feudal exploitation. In view of these conditions, the Indian revolution would be completed in two stages. Today we are in the stage of New Democratic Revolution. Immediately after the completion of this, the stage of Socialist Revolution would begin. Since there are two different stages, the tasks of these two different stages would also be different. The task of the New Democratic Revolution is to establish the New Democratic State in the country by smashing the imperialism, and land lordism and the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie i.e., the big bourgeoisie. The task of the Socialist Revolution is to establish the Socialist system by abolishing the private property. For the successful completion of the New Democratic Revolution, which is our immediate task, we should formulate a general programme. In the stage of the New-Democratic Revolution the basic points of the general programme would remain unchanged.

These basic points are:

1. The comprador and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie i.e., the big bourgeoisie-feudal State should be smashed. In its place the New Democratic State should be established.

2. The feudalism should be abolished. The land of the landlords should be distributed among the poor peasants and the agricultural labour.

3. The foreign capital as well as the capital of the Comprador bourgeoisie and bureaucratic bourgeoisie in collaboration with it in the industries and banks should be confiscated.

4. For the working class, increase of wages, reduction of working hours and other facilities should be secured and the problem of unemployment should be solved.

5. The middle class people should be given the guarantee of employment.

6. For defence of the country the existing mercenary army should be abolished and a revolutionary peoples army should be built up in its place.

7. The basis of the foreign policy should be the formation of a United Front against the world imperialism, especially the American imperialism and the British imperialism and its collaborator the Soviet Social imperialist clique. India should be party to this United Front.

8. Various nationalities in the country should have the right of self-determination.

9. All types of unequal treaties should be abrogated. India should quit the "Common Wealth".

10. Anti-imperialist and anti-feudal education, science and Culture should be promoted. The problems of unemployment among the middle class people should be solved.

11. Integration of the country should be based on complete independence and democracy.

The revolutionary programme based on these eleven points would constitute the New Democratic revolutionary programme. Having a revolutionary programme alone is not enough. We should also have a revolutionary path in order to achieve this programme. This path is totally different from the parliamentary path of revisionists. One of the main aspects of Mao's Thought is peoples war. The essence of the path of peoples war is to establish the guerilla bases in the countryside, to encircle and liberate the cities and to ultimately liberate the country. It is the task of the revolutionaries to apply the path of peoples war to the revolutionary practice of India and to carry it out.

To United Front is very important for the successful completion of the Indian revolution. This United Front should be formed against imperialism, feudalism and their collaborators the big bourgeoisie. Under the leadership of the proletariat, this United Front should be formed of the working class, peasantry, middle class and the national bourgeoisie. Unlike the electoral United Fronts of the revisionists, this would be a Front for struggle which would emerge and develop in the course of revolutionary struggles and the armed struggle of Liberation.

To build and develop the United Front for the implementation of the path of peoples war and the New Democratic Revolutionary Programme, a Communist Party capable of applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought to the revolutionary practice of India should be built. This should be a Communist party formed of the revolutionaries. The revolutionaries of today should come forward to build such a revolutionary party. We should realise that this party should be totally different from the revisionist parties that have betrayed the Indian revolution. It is with this basic understanding we should formulate a clear cut programme suited to the present conditions.

We have already stated that, this our general programme would be such that it would be applicable for the entire stage of New Democratic Revolution. Following the path of peoples war, we are and will be implementing this programme in different regions encircling the cities by first liberating the villages and to gradually liberate the cities are the important points of this path. We should, in accordance with this, formulate our programme for rural and urban areas.

The mass movement and the organisation is in different stages of its development in different parts of the Andhra Pradesh.

The mass movement of the Agency Areas of the Srikakulam district has reached the stage of armed struggle. The mass movement in the forest areas of Warangal and Khammam Districts is past ordinary legal confines. The peasantry, especially the landless poor peasantry and the agricultural labour is coming forward

not only to occupy the forest banjars but also to reoccupy the lands illegally grabbed by the landlords. Hundreds of militants from these classes are participating in the day to day activities. In the Agency Area of East Godavari district, the Agency peasantry is coming forward to fight for the abolition of the "muthadari" system and to reoccupy the lands illegally grabbed by the landlords. The movement is spreading to the neighbouring areas of Vishakhapatnam Agency, Bastar Area, Karimnagar and Adilabad districts.

During the months of July and August last year, there was a tremendous mass upsurge in the plains areas of some district adjacent to the forest areas and reached the stage of confiscation of food grains from the landlords. This position still continues. The mass movement in Khammam and Madhira taluqs of Khammam district and Janagam and Manukot Taluqs of Warangal district is thus marching forward. Reaching the stage of direct resistance against the landlords, the movement in Nalgonda district had been subjected to a severe government repression and once again is getting prepared for struggles.

OUR IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME

With the peasantry constituting more than 73 percent of the population in our country, the agrarian revolution would play the main role in the New Democratic Revolution. The abolition of feudalism and the distribution of land to the tiller is the main item of the agrarian revolution. Together with this, the emancipation of the rural masses from all forms of feudal exploitation would be the main item of the agrarian revolution. In Andhra Pradesh the problem of land belonging to the landlords class and the government is mainly in the following forms.

1. The land-holding of the landlords cultivated through farm servants. (this is known as self cultivation).
2. The lands cultivated by the tenant-farmers paying the rent in the form of grain or money to the landlords as well as the lands cultivated for the landlords by some of these tenant farmers.
3. The pastures and the other similar categories of lands.

4. That temple and the endowment lands under the occupation of landlords,

5. The cultivable government Banjar lands. (This includes the government banjar lands under the cultivation of landlords)

6. The forest lands needed for the cultivation by the peasantry.

The land issue could be solved only by the distribution of the lands to the poor and landless peasantry and the agricultural labour. Therefore the Communist revolutionaries in different parts should study the land issue and carry on, among the people, especially the peasantry, the propaganda about the importance as well as the urgent need for the land distribution

While thus carrying on the propaganda we should from now on make the preparation, for the occupation of lands by the peasantry in the next year. All the lands that should be occupied immediately, would come in for cultivation from June, this year. Therefore we should take detailed decisions as to the Areas, villages and the lands that should be occupied and prepare the peasantry from now on.

We should for the present concentrate only on the big landlords, the main enemies of the people. It is only these big landlords that we should keep in view. When we should occupy the lands under the "self-cultivation". Keeping the question of whether all the lands under the "self-cultivation" should be distributed or not, open for discussion, it is essential to distribute the land to the extent available.

Where there is no preparedness among the poor peasantry and the agricultural labour, the distribution of the lands under the "self-cultivation" would only be a propaganda slogan. Among the lands under the "self-cultivation", pastures of landlords, the lands that the landlords had grabbed from the poor peasantry and the agricultural labour illegally or with nominal compensation or towards debts, can be restored to the people belonging to the respective families in case if they still remain to be poor peasants or agricultural labour. But, owing to this there should not arise a situation where some would get the land while some would not. We should, in such a situation see that others would also get a portion of such

land. Thus it should be possible for all the poor peasants and agricultural labour to get the land equally (inclusive of the land they have already in their possession).

At present we are only concentrating on the lands of the big landlords. The question of ceiling would arise at the time of distributing the landlords land. We should recognise the and needed by a middle peasant who cultivates the land by himself as the maximum ceiling limit. It is possible that this may differ from area to area. As the agrarian revolution advances, it would as well become necessary to distribute a portion of the land from the small landlords also. In such a situation depending upon the needs of the agrarian revolution, decide as to where and how the distribution should be carried out. We should trace out the temple and endowment lands under the occupation of the big landlords (they are often hidden) and make preparations for their distribution among the poor peasants and agricultural labour. We should wherever it is possible, take it up as an immediate problem.

The common people are not in a position to make use of common banjar lands as well as forest lands since a major part of these lands is under the occupation of the landlords. The cultivable lands from among them should be distributed among the poor peasants and agricultural labour. The rest of the lands should be taken over by the people.

The poor peasants and the agricultural labour would need cattle and the implements for the cultivation of lands thus distributed. At the time of land distribution itself, the cattle and the implements of the landlords should also be distributed among such of those that are in need of them.

Money lending. Nagulu, Khandanalu they should be abolished in whatever form they may exist. But it is only on the big landlords, money lenders (shahukars) and the rich peasants who carry on exploitation in this way, that we should concentrate. The common people would lose the credit facilities if we were also to concentrate on petty individual money lenders. It would be necessary to promote the credit facilities to a certain limited extent until

such time the liberated base areas are established and the credit facilities are arranged for the people. Therefore credit facilities are permitted in such a way that they continue on reasonable rate of interest - either the bank rate or the lowest reasonable rate in vogue in the respective regions.

Besides, thus, the forced labour (Vetti), tips, the peasants tilling the land (of the landlord without any payment) with their own cattle and such other feudal exploitation should be abolished in whatever form they may exist. We should mobilise the people without leaving any other problem because of which the rural people are facing difficulties owing to the domination of the landlords. We should concentrate on this problem, especially in the villages where the conditions of the people are worst. The conditions of the people in some villages may be better than the other villages owing to the work of the party over a number of years. But it would however be wrong not to mobilise the people into struggles on the presumption that the conditions of the people in all the villages are also better. The problem of Toddy tappers is serious in the Telangana region. The degree of exploitation by the government contractors (who include local landlords) is very high. They are put to untold sufferings due to the corrupt practices of the government officials. Against this exploitation, we should organise and lead them into struggles on the slogan of "tree to the tappers". We should carry on propaganda among them that their problems would be solved only with the establishment of the New Democratic Government and that for this the path of the armed struggle should be taken up.

Similarly, the agricultural labour and the poor and middle peasants in all the regions are suffering for want of house sites. We should take up this problem. This is a programme which would be applicable to all parts of Andhra Pradesh. Now let us work out a programme on problems pertaining to different regions.

FOREST AREAS:

The forest and mountainous regions would be crucial in accordance with the path of peoples war. Here in these regions not only the enemy is weak, but also these areas are favourable for the peoples guerilla squads to

carry on resistance against the armed forces of the enemy for a long period of time and to establish guerilla base areas. The landlords, the money lenders and the forest officials are exploiting the ordinary people and the Girijans inhabiting the forest and mountainous regions, in ever so many ways. In these regions, the masses have become conscious and are revolting against the government and exploiting classes. Srikakulam Girijan struggle is a prelude to it. In all these areas, especially in the forest areas of Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar, the land with irrigation facilities as well as a major portion of the fertile cultivable is in the hands of the landlords. For the purpose of grazing usually hundreds and thousands of cattle belonging to these landlords are left off in the forest itself. They earn lakhs of rupees in the business of cattle. Besides the distribution of banjar lands under the occupation of government as well as landlords, among the poor peasants and agricultural labour, we should in these areas carry on a struggle for the fertile dry lands as well as the irrigated lands under the "self-cultivation" of the landlords and distribute them. The cattle, available in thousands should also be distributed.

For this we should make preparation from now on ploughing should commence with the commencement of monsoon.

In the coming months, the contractors would employ the people as coolies to move out the forest produce. We should therefore intensify the struggles on the question of coolie rates in the next month. Thus by intensifying the mass activities, we should, by the end of April, advance the movement to a higher stage. In this period a good amount of work has been done to organise and mobilise the girijans in the Agency area of East Godavari District. The "MUTHADARU" system, the worst kind of feudal exploitation is in practice in this area. The remnants of it are also found in the Agency Area of Visakhapatnam. The people themselves should go in for revolutionary actions to abolish this system.

The fertile lands and the fruit gardens that were grabbed from the girijans are in the hands of the landlords. The people are very eager to take them back. We should prepare the people for their occupation. The land occupation

should commence with the commencement of monsoons.

Allotting the land needed by the girijans for "podu" cultivation we should create opportunities for their cultivation. The government grabbing away the lands from the girijan peasantry, is raising coffee and other big plantations. We should study the problem of these plantations. We should examine this problem, taking into account the extent of these gardens that needs to be distributed in order to solve the land problem of the peasantry.

All the corporations set up for the purpose of purchasing forest produce are nothing but a means for the exploitation of the people and for filling the pockets of the officials with the peoples wealth. They should therefore be abolished and the girijans should be afforded with opportunity of freely selling to whom ever they wish to.

We should not, while implementing this programme, permit girijan and non-girijan discrimination. Rallying all the non girijans, including the poor middle peasants, a United Front with the girijans should be formed and the struggle carried on; The division on the basis of girijans and non-girijans would only prove helpful to the enemy. This applies equally to different tribes among the girijans themselves.

The tips, forced labour (Vetti) and bribe to the forest officials and the employees have ceased by now. We should not permit them in any form or to any extent.

PLAINS AREAS :

There are dry and wet lands in the plains areas. To this day, the exploitation and atrocities of the landlords continues to be a serious problem in the dry lands. The food problem is a serious problem here. Vast areas of banjar lands are available for distribution. There are opportunities in these areas to organise and mobilise the people on ever so many problems such as land, cooly rates, food problem, against the domination of landlords and so on.

Despite the fact that in terms of armed resistance this area is less favourable than the forest and mountainous regions, it would

be wrong to conclude this that we would not be useful for resistance. Under the present conditions a limited guerilla resistance would be possible even in these areas. Though it would take time for an incessant resistance to take off these areas, these areas are highly important since they include areas adjacent to forest areas and the Telangana area where the armed struggle was carried on in the past. It is very essential to develop revolutionary movement in these areas in order to send the cadres and other help needed in the forest areas.

WET LANDS :

In view of the social conditions and geographical features, there are no possibilities for immediate development of guerilla resistance here in these areas. Yet from these areas cadres-funds and other help should be sent to the areas of resistance. Ceaseless class struggle against the exploitation of the people should be carried on in these areas. These areas should also be liberated gradually.

Here, among the struggles of the agricultural labour as well as the struggles against the general domination of the landlords, we should mainly concentrate on the struggles of the agricultural labour and the tenant-farmers. We should launch struggles for the abolition of government Farming Societies and for the distribution of lands under their control among the poor peasants and agricultural labour. There is every possibility of starting and developing struggles on land issue in some districts. We should study where the possibilities for developing such struggles exist and make efforts to develop the struggles there.

POLITICAL PROPAGANDA :

We should propagate, while implementing the above programme, that the people are waging struggles for their liberation, that the liberation could be achieved only through the armed struggle, and that the people should seize the political power into their own hands. We should make them realise the fact that we could seize the political power only through the path of peoples war. Despite the fact that the need for achieving a peoples Raj, safe-guarding the gains achieved through the struggles and for our liberation from the exploitation of the exploiting classes is being propagated, a comprehensive pol-

itical propaganda is however not being carried. We should especially propagate the politics of armed struggle much more extensively than what we are doing now. We should carry on comprehensive propaganda about the revolutionary struggles going on in different parts of the country as well as the Srikakulam struggle. In addition to the propaganda by our cadres through speeches, we should organise local cultural squads and carry on propaganda through them.

Boycott Panchayat Elections - Establish Village Soviets.

Panchayat elections are due in the month of May. We have resolved to boycott them. We should immediately take steps to implement this decision. We should give no room for entering the Panchayat Boards by back-door methods.

The experience has proved that in the anti feudal struggles, the Panchayat Boards could not be the instruments in the hands of the people. It is because even in the villages where we had been a majority in the Panchayat Boards during this period, the landlord class has got only strengthened but not weakened. What is more by way of taxes and other means the Panchayat system has only proved helpful for the further strengthening of the ruling classes.

We should from now on make the people realise as to how the panchayat system and the election system is proving useful for the ruling class as a cover to safe-guard their power. We should convince the people that they should not participate in the elections and thus make them boycott. We should make, especially the people that follow us to boycott the elections. For this we should strictly rely on the consciousness and the organised strength of the people. But we should not resort to any shortcut methods. We should make it clear to the people that it is not merely boycotting the elections; that there is the path of peoples war for them to follow, that it means establishing the village Soviets and the peoples committees, that it is under their leadership that we should implement the agrarian revolutionary programme and that there are the foundations for the New Democratic revolutionary state.

(There will be no change in our programme despite the postponement of the Panchayat

elections for the present. We should carry on an extensive propaganda about the need for boycotting the elections.)

We should, in all the villages of the forest area where we are working, mobilise the people to boycott the elections. In the villages where the elections are thus boycotted, the question of how to manage the affairs of the village would arise. Then all the people, the adults of the village should assemble and elect the peoples committees. These committees should assist the people in all problems connected with the lives of the people. In the plains areas the District committees should take steps to boycott the elections in the villages where we are strong. Boycott by the revolutionaries alone does not mean the boycott of elections. In the villages where the elections are thus boycotted, the peoples committees elected by all the people should come into being. These committees should function as alternate committees to the government Panchayat Boards. These would be the committees empowered by the people. They should provide leadership in all the affairs of the village and stand by the people. They should implement the agrarian revolutionary programme.

They should take the responsibility of law, revenue, defence of people and so on. These committees should be prepared to carry out the given responsibilities at the given stage. As the struggle reached the higher stage in the countryside, the village committees would transform into village soviets.

Against the feudal system and the elections, the village soviets and the peoples committees would be the United Front committees to lunch and successfully conclude the agrarian revolution. In these committees, led by the revolutionaries and dominated by the poor peasants and agricultural labour, the others that rally with us should also be given proper representation. As the agrarian revolution advances, a few of the representatives, especially of the rich peasantry can also be given representation.

These committees should have a clear-cut class and political outlook. We should educate them in the understanding of the path of peoples war and develop their political con...

sciousness. We should not permit the opportunists, careerists as well as the representatives of the rich classes from the poor to join these committees.

VOLUNTEER SQUADS:

With the mobilisation of people on the boycott of elections, on food problem, and the problem of forest areas the problem of peoples self-defence would arise. For this we should build the volunteer squads. In the forest areas where the people have already been mobilised into struggles, the volunteer squads should be organised on a large scale. All the youth of the villages should be the members of these squads. One squad if it is a small village as many squads as necessary depending upon the feasibility of work if it is a large village, can be organised. Each of these squads should have a commander and an assistant commander. They should be politically conscious and disciplined. They should be elected for these posts. For the purpose of self-defence the ordinary volunteers can use any weapon that is locally available. They can use even sticks, in case if they cannot secure any other weapon.

These squads should assist the village soviets and people committees in the implementation of their decisions. In case of attacks from the armed police and military, these squads assist the people in ever so many ways.

The volunteer squads should be organised not only in the villages where the village Soviets exist but also in the villages where the people committees exist. Only when there is a volunteer squad, could the activities of the peoples committees be carried on effectively. The decisions could be implemented. The confidence in the committees could be created among the people.

We should, in a simple language, educate the volunteer squads in our political line; path of peoples war and the current politics. The party should take steps for this.

LOCAL SQUADS,

The government armed police attacks would begin with the implementation of agrarian revolutionary programme. With this resistance should also begin. For this it would be better

to have local squads along with the regular squads. Depending upon defence needs these squads could consist of seven members. They can arm themselves with bows and arrows, spears and axes.

Usually the local enemies are terrified by the very sight of the people and volunteer squads. It should be task of local squads to deal with the peoples enemies, that cannot be dealt with by the people and volunteer squads. The local squads should provide leadership in the mass actions against the landlord. They should render necessary assistance to the regular squads. They should be given good military training and political education.

MASS ORGANISATIONS:

We mobilise the masses of people for the agrarian revolutionary programme. We should recruit the masses in to the peasant organisations. As in the past, we should not, for this purpose print books and collect membership fee.

In the meeting of the village people, we should, by show of hands decide as to who are not willing to join. We should take all those that are willing to join. The landlords should not be permitted to join. All those people that join thus should elect the peoples committees and village soviets.

We should also hold the meetings of the women and organise them. This task would be easy where there are femal comrades. The women should also join the man and fight in the agrarian revolutionary struggle. For this they should be recruited into the woman organisations in the same as above manner. They should also be gradually recruited into the volunteer squads, local squads and the regular squads. In a situation when there is severe repression, and when it is not possible to openly recruit the people into the mass organisations, the cadres should go door to door and re- the members secretly.

INTENSIFY THE MASS ACTIVITIES:

We should, in the next month intensify our activities both in the forest areas, as well as plain areas. By May, not only these activities should be intensified and the village soviets

and peoples committees formed and start functioning; but also we should get prepared for offensive actions against the landlord class. It is at this higher stage of these mass activities that we should implement the agrarian revolutionary programme. For this we should politically and organisationally get prepared from now on.

EXTEND TO NEW AREAS :

At present the movement is, to some extent being expanded to the areas adjacent to the forest areas. But this expansion is very slow. The shortage of cadre is the main reason for it.

We should quickly bring the Vishakha-patnam Agency Area which is adjacent to East Godavari into the movement. We should cover the centres and areas left in Khammam and Warangal districts. We should intensify our activities in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts. The units of the revolutionaries have already begun to function in these areas.

Steps are being taken to begin mass activities in Mahabubnagar District.

In Rayalaseema districts, it is decided to convene a meeting of the district leaders and intensify the anti-feudal struggles. Steps are being taken in this direction. We should also begin to intensify the activities in other districts.

WORK IN CITIES:

Notwithstanding the fact that of the revolutionaries units are functioning in our cities, we are not putting a well concentrated work here. Eventhough the forest areas are of importance, it is not correct to leave out the cities. The armed struggle that we are conducting should have the support and solidarity of the urban working class. The help of the transport as well as well as the workers of various other branches of industry would be needed for the transportation of material and other technical assistance. We should give proper importance to the students as well as to our work in the cities. Influenced by the revolutionary ideas today's students and youth are fast attracted to Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought,

Ours is a path of people's war: i.e., to liberate the villages and then to liberate the cities. For this we should carry on work in cities from now on. At the same time we should on one hand smash the enemy's plans to suppress the peasant armed struggle, and should, on the other hand, prepare the Party and the people to seize the political power by the time we liberate the cities. We should, keeping this in view, plan our work in cities,

SUPPORT THE SREEKAKULAM ARMED STRUGGLE:

The armed struggle is going on in Sri-kakulam. We are releasing a separate document explaining as to how this movement has developed and what are the problems that arose in the course of the development of this movement.

We should take lessons from the experiences of Srikakulam movement. We should carefully study the experiences that the comrades are gaining at present. We should take lessons from these experiences. We should give our experiences to the comrades working in that struggle.

We should not only support the Srikakulam armed struggle, but also we should face the vile propaganda that the enemies are carrying on against it.

CONSOLIDATE THE ORGANISATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES :

We should have well organised and disciplined organisation to implement the programme explained above, to build a revolutionary movement through it and to carry on the armed struggle. Eventhough the state committee and all the district committees remain to be Co-ordination committees, they are often taking majority decisions and functioning as Party Committees.

Should we, the revolutionaries and our committees function like this as co-ordination committees? Or should we, based on the principle of democratic centralism go in for the organisation of the party? This is a point of discussion now.

We are unable to centralise our activities due to the absence of discipline in the name of co-ordination. As a result they are not acquiring revolutionary character. In the areas where the committees observed discipline and functioned as party committees, the revolutionary movement has acquired a form and is marching forward. Since our activities in other areas are being confined to mere discussions, they are not taking the form of mass movement. In view of these experiences, our co-ordination committee has decided to take necessary steps for the building of the party.

In the light of this decision the party building is going on in the struggle areas. The committees are deciding as to who should be the party members. To carry on the party activities effectively, the Area committees and the Zonal committees have been constituted and functioning. Necessary steps are being taken for the functioning of these units in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism.

The area committees have been formed and functioning in the Jangam, Mulugu and Khammam areas of Warangal and Khammam districts. We should further consolidate and develop them so that they would be capable of leading the armed struggle. Further we should take steps for the units in all the districts to function in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism. Only then could the necessary conditions for the party building be secured.

These steps are necessary for the future advance of the revolutionary movement.

The question of as to who should be recognised as the party members, still remains to be a problem. All our cadres accept the path of peoples war. We should mainly examine as to whether their practice is in accordance with it or not. From the time we began our work in the struggle areas to this day we should examine the activities of each of the cadres and decide as to who should be and who should not be given the membership. The membership should not be given to those whose class on work is defective who exhibition timidity who are selfish and who have anarchic habits. They should be kept at an arms length.

Those that should be given membership, to need not necessarily be whole-timers, they should be prepared to go underground when there is repression. The membership of they that are not whole-timers should be keptness the.

We should see that the party members would, through their exemplary and revolutionary work, emerge as the members of the village soviets and peoples committees as well as the leaders of the regular squads, local squads and the volunteer squads.

GET PREPARED FOR ARMED STRUGGLE

It is our opinion that we should, quickly completing the political propaganda, mass mobilisation as well as the above tasks on the organisational front get prepared for the armed struggle by the coming monsoon. We could, with the first drizzle begin the land distribution programme-the main item of the agrarian revolutionary programme. By co-ordinating the guerilla warfare with this, a strong and broad mass base would be secured for the struggle. The rainy season is a favourable period for resistance. During this period the land distribution and the functioning of the village soviets on one side and the resistance on the other-by the implementation of all of them simultaneously the revolutionary movement would be strengthened and it would be in a position to withstand and march forward in the face of the enemy's counter-offensive that would follow. The comrades should bear it in mind and march forward.

As part of these preparations, a militant mass mobilisation against the landlords becomes necessary in the end of the summer season. Such a mobilisation would prove helpful for the launching of the armed struggle.

Comrades!

Today there are favourable conditions for the implementation of the above programme. The ruling classes are frightened out of their wits at the activities of the revolutionaries. With this they are resorting to ruthless repression. At such a time any complacency on our part would be unpardonable.

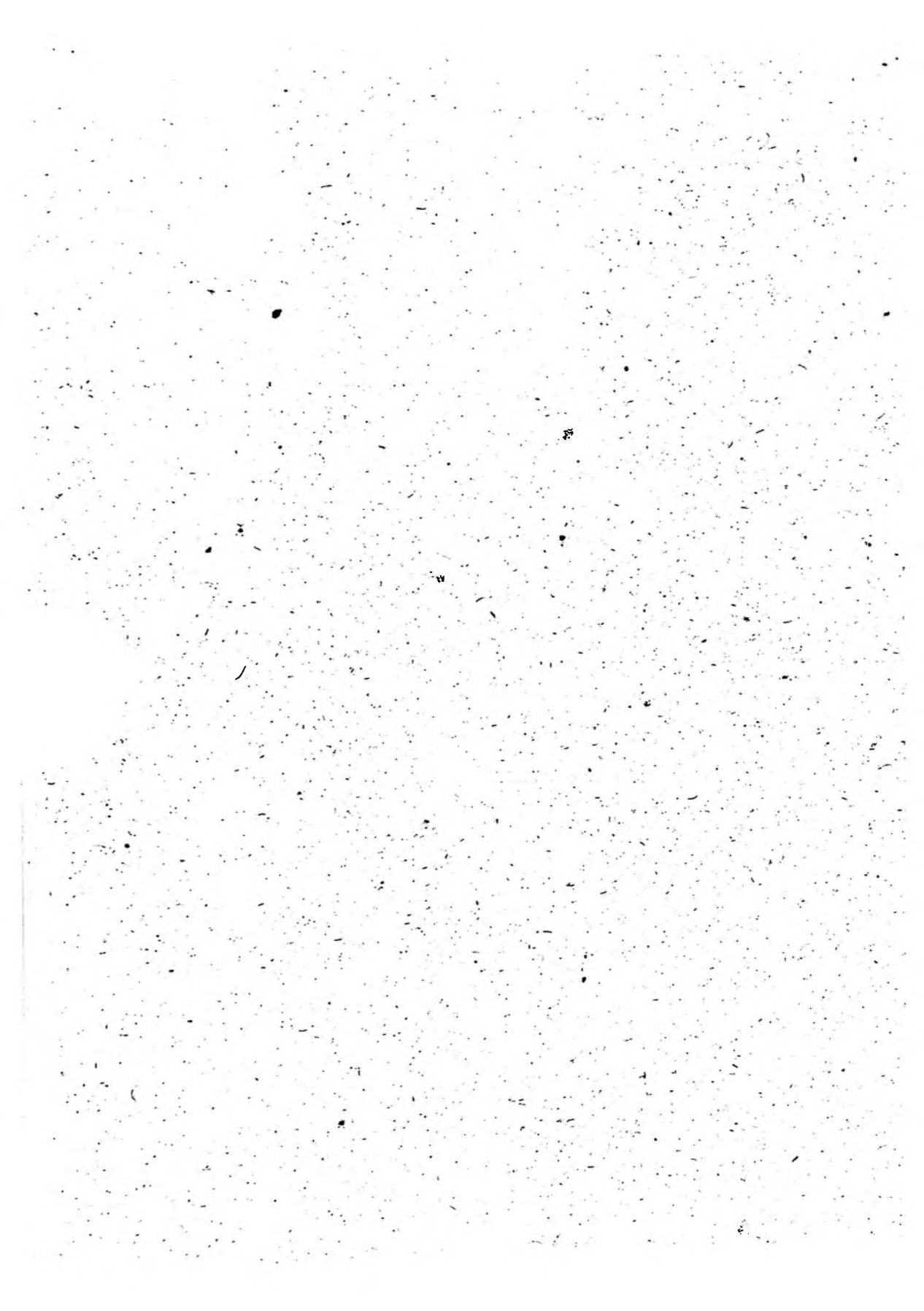
In accordance with Mao's Thought, the liberation struggles are going on against imperialism, feudalism and reactionary forces in various parts of the world. Following the path of peoples war the liberation struggles has also started advancing in Thailand.

In China, the Communist party under the leadership of Mao has victoriously concluded the cultural revolution, liquidated the revisionism and a marching forward.

Taking advantage of all these favourable conditions, we should, with the path of peoples war strive to take the agrarian revolution forward. Only then could we march forward.

LONG LIVE MAO'S THOUGHT I

LONG LIVE PEASANT ARMED STRUGGLE!



INTRODUCTION

The article was written more than 9 years ago (May, 1970) when the debate on the Path of Indian revolution reached an advanced stage. The debate was not academic because various sections with communist nomenclatures, and Communist revolutionaries were practising their respective paths. The revisionists and neo-revisionists were advocating and practising parliamentary path. The "left" adventurists were advocating and practising the path of individual terrorism. Communist revolutionaries were advocating and practising the path of people's war. If the parliamentary path was defended with quotations from Marx, and Lenin, "left" adventurists and individual terrorists did the same mainly from quotations from Mao. Obviously, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought rejects both of them.

Communist revolutionaries have followed from the very beginning the path of people's war, a path of people's revolution which is an application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, to the practice of Indian Revolution. They have analysed the class relations in India, worked out the programme and path, which has been a general line to them ever since. They have been practising with success. They have been defending it against right and "left" opportunism, with success. This task was performed in the main by the communist revolutionaries in Andhra, who were then led by Andhra Pradesh Communist Committee (Revolutionaries). The two varieties of revisionists looked at them as "left" sectarians, dogmatists and splitters. The "left" adventurists and individual terrorists looked at them as revisionists. One can understand the extent of their slander campaign which was unprecedented in the history of Indian Communist movement.

There were "left" adventurists and individual terrorists inside the organisation of Andhra Communist revolutionaries from top to bottom, mainly in the leading positions. They took cover under the mass revolutionary line to begin with. They were already on the war path by the time the article was written. But the issue was under discussion. As a result it was not mentioned in the article. The leadership came out in the open when the "left" adventurists forced a split in the

organisation. At the same time, Charu Majumdar's variety of "left" adventurism was fought in the open and a document to this effect had appeared by the month of October of the same year. The document concerned with the "lefts" in the organisation appeared subsequently i.e., in the year 1971. Therefore there is no reason to understand that the leadership was reconciled to "left" adventurism of its own organisation.

The article characterised the struggle in Srikakulam district and in Khammam, Warangal and Karimnagar districts, as armed struggle. It may appear as odd, because the respective leadership took the path of "left"-adventurism and they were characterised as such. The fact of the matter was: the Naxalbari armed struggle was a people's armed struggle to begin with. It had a background of mass peasant movement built by the leadership, local or otherwise. The "left" adventurism and individual terrorism had come to the open, once the people's armed struggle began. Ever since the leadership practised the same. The life of genuine people's armed struggle was very short. Even then it was characterised as genuine people's armed struggle because it was so to that extent. Such a characterisation did not contradict or minimise the scope and extent of "left" adventurism in any way what so ever. The Naxalbari Struggle was an event of 1967.

The same applies to the armed struggle in Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh. The leadership had discussed the subject in one of its earlier documents of April, 1969. Suffice it to say here, that it was a genuine people's armed struggle to begin with, and retained its character for a short while to be replaced by "left" - adventurism and individual terrorism though it existed as a trend although. That is why we had separated the two, upheld the genuine nature of people's armed struggle and carried on struggle against the "left"-adventurism etc., in the subsequent months, treating it as a part and parcel of Charu Mazumdar's line.

The scope and genuine nature of people's armed struggle was very limited in Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar districts of Andhra

Pradesh, *Mainly* to individual incidents. All the activities and actions of the concerned sections were paraded by them, as armed struggle. The leadership of the Communist revolutionaries had rejected their contention and characterised it as a departure from Marxism-Leninism. While carrying out this struggle, the leadership upheld the genuine nature of armed struggle however meagre and negligible it might be. The article mentioned this aspect prominently while it refrained from touching "left" adventurism etc which was being practiced even when the article was written. The subject matter under discussion was defending the genuine people's character of armed struggle as against the revisionist distortion and slander and the article correctly confined to this point alone.

However, the article *did* mention about Che. Guevara and his line and characterised it as having nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism it should be noted that Indian variety of "left" adventurism and individual terrorism had its roots in what he had advocated and practised. (Che Guevara was a Cuban revolutionary hero, who advocated and practiced a guerilla war without masses and mass revolutionary movement. His attempts ended in a miserable failure.)

Though, not many were carried away by the revisionists slander against the armed struggles, yet a rebuff was necessary in view of the situation prevailing at the time of writing the article. Even the squad actions which were prevalent in Srikulam, Khammam, Warangal, Karimnagar and elsewhere in Andhra Pradesh had received a severe set back because of repression let loose by the armed forces. Almost all the revolutionaries, fighters and other functionaries, who led and participated in the "actions" were killed while the rest of them were arrested. As a result demoralisation set in in the ranks and the people. The revisionists swung into action to use this opportunity to sow legal illusions and capitulation among them. They started a propaganda campaign as a part of it. The present article was a reply to it. One of such articles was written by Srikrishna, a topleader of Andhra revisionists. The "Visalandhra" which published them is their daily.

Certain points, which had direct and indirect bearing on the subject of armed struggle, were mentioned in the article. They need some clarification.

The article characterised India as a Neo-colony. Such a characterisation can be found in various documents issued by the leadership in those days. The draft programme and path, circulated by the Andhra Communist Committee (Revolutionaries) contained the same. It was in force till April 1975, when as a result of the discussion with other groups, the committee had agreed to have it as semi-colony, while leaving the subject matter for future discussion. It is obvious that a differentiation was made between neo-colonial exploitation of two super powers and neo-colonial features of Indian society on one hand and Neo-colony on the other. While the present day line of the organisation (UCCRI) accords with the former, the earlier line accorded with the latter.

The article mentions about armed struggle being the main form of struggle for the entire period. As we know there was a revolutionary situation when the article was written. The armed struggles faced setbacks not because the revolutionary situation had receded into one of lull and stagnation. They were the result of an unprecedented repression together with a *totally* wrong leadership of "left"-adventurists and individual terrorists. The revolutionary situation continued ever since and still continues. But the people do not adopt the armed struggle as the main form automatically simply because there is a revolutionary situation. People have to be prepared for this purpose. They should be allowed to acquire the necessary experience through struggles, which enables them the need for armed struggle in which they participate. Thus they adopt other forms of struggles as the main before they take up arms. Other forms become secondary when they take up arms. This is the only correct understanding of the armed struggle.

A mention was made about the then Indonesian situation in which the mistakes of Indonesian communists were equated to those of Indian revisionists, in having legal illusions with their respective governments. A further explanation clearly shows the fundamental nature of the difference between the two types of mistakes. They should not be equated even though they appear to be one and the same, because the sources of the mistakes are quite opposite. The revisionists having illusions on parliamentary criticism is not a mistake according to the theory and practice of revisionism. On the contrary it makes revisionism total, in form and content. It is not

the same with Marxists-Leninists, who are likely to commit such mistakes because of overestimation or underestimation of a given situation. Indonesian communists belonged to this category. They could correct their mistakes even after heavy losses whereas revisionists slid down all along. In India, they degenerated into social chauvinists and now into social-fascists.

Imperialism is becoming weak with every passing day. The entry of Soviet Social Imperialism made no difference of a fundamental nature. Therefore, revisionism, which depends for its existence on imperialism is no more a stable force and it can not be one. At the same it has to be fought and defeated in all fields of people's life. Communist revolutionaries are carrying on this task with more determination than ever.

Experience of last one decade has proved that India needs a revolution and parliament can not become a weapon to bring social changes. Marxism-Leninism never accepted parliamentary path. It has developed in its struggle against all varieties of opportunism, parliamentary path being one of them. INDIA is no exception to it. Opposing the parliamentary path is one thing. Carrying on struggle against it with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Dse Dung Thought as a guide is another thing. "Left"-adventurists oppose parliamentary path from a "left"-opportunist stand point. Hence it

is untenable. The stand point of the Communist revolutionaries accords with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Dse Dung Thought. Hence their opposition and struggle against parliamentary path is on correct lines. The article expresses the views they had on the subject, about a decade ago. The views are still valid and correct.

The month of July is important for people as well as communist revolutionaries because two of the most important events took place in this month. Komarayya was shot dead on the 4th, 33 years ago. The day has become a turning point for Telengana people's movement to reach a higher stage i.e., armed struggle. Com. T. N. died on 28th of this month, 3 years ago. He was an outstanding leader of the communist revolutionaries, who fought for a correct line, till the last day of his life. It is significant that the last article and the last unfinished sentence of the article he had written, was directed against revisionism. The present article expresses his views as well.

It is in the fitness of the things that the English version of the article is published in the Proletarian Line of July, when the people and communist revolutionaries pledge to dedicate their lives to the cause of the revolution, on the path these martyrs have shown.

18-6-79.

—Aditya.

Marxism-Leninism and Armed Struggle in India

It is known to one and all by now, that the leaders of the CPI are working with the sole aim of protecting the ruling classes of the country. It is only in keeping with this that they are getting frightened at the sight of the revolutionary struggles raging in the country; they are opposing the armed struggles going on against the ruling classes. They opposed the 'Naxalbari' armed struggle which started in West Bengal in 1967. They are opposing the armed struggle going on presently in various parts of Andhra Pradesh.

This is not the first time they are opposing armed struggle. Let alone the fact that they could not develop armed struggle against imperialism in our country before and during the world

war; it is they who posed obstacles to see that the present struggles which unfolded throughout the country after the second world war (1946-47) do not take the form of armed struggle. It is these very people who posed obstacles saying that the Telangana armed struggle should not be carried on against the Nehru government. It was under their very leadership that this struggle was withdrawn and the parliamentary path embarked upon.

These people have been working unflinchingly to withdraw armed struggles by entering into the field whenever armed struggles started and became the target of the severe repressive policy of the enemy; quoting from the basic

works of Marxism Leninism and saying that conditions for armed struggle do not exist in India. This greatness belongs to them alone.

It is only in keeping with the above that Shri Vemulapalli Srikrishna writes as below in an essay in the daily Vishalandhra, March 10, 11, 1970 regarding the armed struggle going on in the country under the leadership of the revolutionary communists and Marxist-Leninists.

"In addition to not getting results from these methods of struggle which are not suited to either the present day conditions in the country or the level of the movement; there is the danger of these struggles taking self-destructive wrong trends if the leadership does not give the correct path to come out of the situation at a time when the movement is on the decline. Moreover, there is the additional danger of some anarchic forces going on the rampage under their name and bringing stigma to the very aims of the struggle through highway robberies, murders and such other acts. That is why, the time has come for these people--who have the liberation of the oppressed people as their aim--to embark on an analysis with the experiences already had in this matter and take proper lessons."

(10-3-70)

These people mentioned the armed struggles of Vietnam, Cuba and Algeria in this essay. They also wrote about Indonesia, Bolivia in South America and regarding the opinions of Che Guevara.

On the one hand arguing that conditions for armed struggle do not exist in India, they are giving the advice that 'It is the mark of revolutionist to get ready for withdrawal and change of path with the same courage with which they participated in the struggle.' They are indicating that "It is necessary to follow the suitable revolutionary road on the basis of an analysis of the concrete conditions existing in our country."

The only "revolutionary task" left for the Indian revisionists, who feel "India is a country where there is opportunity to bring about social changes through parliamentary democratic methods and through democratic struggles", (Vishalandhra 22-3-'70), is to oppose the armed struggle against the ruling classes. It is in keeping with this

that they are advising the revolutionary communists and Marxist-Leninists to withdraw armed struggle.

An insect in the cowdung regards the filthy matter around itself as a flower garden and is happy with it. In the same way there is no surprise. If the Indian revisionists, who have betrayed Marxism, Leninism are worshiping revisionism and regard the parliamentary path they are following to protect the ruling classes as a revolutionary path and follow the same.

The path of armed struggle embarked upon by the communist revolutionaries is a path in accordance with the conditions in India, with the experiences of Indian revolutionary struggles and with the experiences of the international revolutionary movements; it is a path we are following as a result of applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought to the concrete conditions of India; hence the issue of either changing or giving up this path on somebody's advice does not at all arise. In spite of this, it is necessary to analyse how the opinions expressed by the writer in his article are in opposition to Marxism-Leninism, to the experiences of Indian revolution and finally to the Indian revolutionary conditions.

Though the neo-revisionists are saying in recent days (after getting seats won from seats of governments) that they will resort to "use of force" for self-defence, they are defending their parliamentary path saying that conditions for armed struggle do not exist in India. They are agreeing with revisionists on main issues. To this extent, our analysis also applies to neo-revisionists.

The Immediate Task is to Arm the People.

The ruling classes in India are not prophets of non violence, Indian people do not have a non-violent nature. Even in the slave period and in the feudal period, the ruling classes were armed and depended on their armed forces to carry on and maintain their exploitative rule. It is only with the help of these armed forces that they carried on their direct rule.

The Indian people too, have been staging armed revolts in all periods. In various periods revolutionaries realised the need to arm the people and built up armed forces. Some of them were victorious; others failed.

A number of armed revolts took place against British Imperialism too. Of these, the peasant armed revolts are very important. The main reasons why the British Imperialists could suppress these is not because of their modern weaponry alone. The mistakes of the leadership are also reasons along with the unfavourable objective conditions.

However, the Indian bourgeoisie led the national movement and introduced the counter-revolutionary theory of non-violence. Through this, it obstructed the Indian people from arming themselves against British imperialism. It tried to keep the Indian people disarmed. This way, in addition to protecting the interests of British imperialism, the bourgeoisie also tried to see that people are not armed when they and the landlord class become the rulers.

The leadership of the C.P.I. could not face the counter-revolutionary theory of non-violence. It could not arm the people. It could not carry on armed struggle against British Imperialists. The main reason for this failure was the inability to apply the following basic principle enunciated by Lenin, to the concrete conditions of India.

"An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through class struggle. In every class society, whether based on slavery, serfdom, or as at present, on wage labour, the oppressor class is always armed.

(Military Programme of Proletarian Revolution.-Lenin, S. W. Vol. I. P. 743)

This principle enunciated by Lenin applies then and now to the Indian people and the Indian ruling classes. The present ruling classes also inherited the armed forces along with the armed equipment existing when they took power from the British Imperialists. Since then, the number of armed forces and the weaponry have increased tremendously. They increased the army on the pretext of protecting the country from China and Pakistan. They increased the armed police forces under the name of protecting law and order. Of

these the Central Reserve Police is very important. The Central Reserve Police comes in whenever the local armed police forces in states cannot suppress a mass struggle. The army is always ready to suppress struggles which cannot be suppressed by the Central Reserve Police--mainly the peoples armed struggles.

This way we have been seeing the ruling classes use these armed forces there and then to nip peoples struggles in the bud. The ruling classes are deciding to suppress much more severely those struggles which stand up to repression, may they go to a higher stage and come forward as armed struggles.

There was no need for the Indian revisionists, who have united with the ruling classes, to follow the Leninist principle mentioned above. In addition, they have decided to implement the fundamental principle of the present ruling classes who are faithfully serving the imperialists i.e., to suppress the mass struggles. Achuta Menon used the C. R. P. in addition to local armed police to suppress the agitation led by the "Marxists" against his Ministry and he defended his action in the following way :

"Whenever agitations take on violent forms, any government has to use force. There is no meaning in complaining against the policy of police repression and the central police."

(The Hindu, 6-2-'70)

Through these words Achuta Menon has proclaimed that there is no difference between his Ministry and the congress Ministry. Our own experience has proved that there is no difference between the violence perpetrated by the present Indian ruling classes and the imperialists in the matter of suppressing mass movements and the peoples armed struggles. Now matters have come to a stage when the revisionists have also joined the ruling classes to implement this violence and suppress even ordinary mass struggles with armed forces. What a degeneration!

Revolution of Eastern Nations -Some New Features.

The Russian revolution had some new features when compared to the revolutions of the

nations of western Europe. The main among these new features is the participation of peasantry in the revolution. In the Chinese revolution, the peasantry in addition to being the main force also participated in the protracted armed struggle. This went on after the I world war, during the II world war and also after. Armed struggles went on in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America after the II world war. Some of these were victorious; (Algeria, Cuba etc.) others are continuing till today.

The working class armed insurrection which started in the countries of West Europe was victorious in Russia. The revolution in China went on as peasant armed struggle and was victorious. All revolutions, which took place in various countries after the second world war, took place as peasant armed struggles. Some of these went on for a long time. Others were completed in a short time.

If the Russia revolution was victoriously led on the basis of worker-peasant unity, the communist party in China built up broad united front on the basis of worker-peasant unity and victoriously continued the revolution. In other countries the revolutionary forces united against imperialism and reactionary classes and have led the revolutions to a success.

This is what Lenin meant when he said that the revolutions of the Eastern nations are going to introduce new concepts compared to those of the nations of West Europe and said the following :

".....For instance, it does not even occur to them that because Russia stands on the border-line between the civilized countries and the countries which this was for the first time definitely brought into the orbit of civilisation--all the Oriental, non-European countries--she could and was indeed, bound to reveal certain distinguishing features; although these, of course are in keeping with the general line of world development, they distinguish her revolution from those which take place in the West European countries and introduce certain partial innovations as the revolution moves on to the countries of the East."

(Marx,-Engels-Marxism. P. 455)

Whether it is the Chinese revolution or whether they are the post world war II revolutions of Asia, Africa and Latin-America, they prove that the above words of Lenin are extremely true and far sighted.

Revisionists agree, though only in words, that it is a fact that China gave a lot of new experiences related to the revolutionary theory and practice.

They are agreeing that "The Chinese Communist party decided to liberate the village areas through protracted armed struggle and ultimately liberate towns. History has proved that this path alone is correct." (11-3-'70). After all, for whom is it that China gathered these new experiences? Is it not for us? These people say no. They argue that these experiences apply only to the particular conditions of China and that they do not apply to other countries. They are blaming the Chinese leaders saying that they "Have caused and are causing a lot of harm by preaching that their path alone is to be followed".

The experiences of the Chinese revolution are making it clear that building up the peoples army, taking up armed struggle as the main form of struggle, to encircle the cities by liberating villages and ultimately liberating the towns, to build up a revolutionary united front and to build up a 'revolutionary party' capable of leading the armed struggle are necessary for the victory of the revolution. There is no surprise in the revisionists, who are drowned in bourgeois parliamentary cretinism, saying that these experiences do not apply not only to our country but also to other countries. However, the revolutionaries of the various countries have victoriously led and are leading the revolutions by applying these experiences to the conditions of their countries.

Algerian revolutionaries had no socialist country as their rear as the Chinese revolutionaries possessed in socialist Russia. In spite of this the revolution went to a success through protracted armed struggle. They could build the peoples army, liberate the villages and could ultimately liberate the towns. This way the revolutionaries applied the experiences of the Chinese revolution to the concrete conditions of their country.

Armed struggle was victorious in Cuba though it is a very small country and had no socia-

list country at its rear. Protracted armed struggle did not take place because there was no direct interference of American imperialism due to some particular situations. The revolution was completed in a shorter time than for other countries.

"The communist parties of those countries could not become part of this upsurge of armed struggle in the beginning because of thinking in the routine way". The author could not escape agreeing to the mistakes of the communist parties of those countries. They thought mechanically in the routine way, decided that the conditions of Russia and China do not exist in their countries and could not apply the experiences of the revolutions of these countries to their particular situations. As a result they were away from the revolutions in the beginning. They participated in the last stages. They could participate in the revolution atleast in the last stages only because of not following policies supporting the ruling classes and the parliamentary path. However the Indian revisionists have become permanently isolated from the revolution because in addition to thinking in the 'routine way' they are also following the parliamentary path and are supporting the ruling classes.

The revolutionaries of Vietnam are carrying on peoples war on the basis of the experiences of Chinese revolution. In the armed struggle going on for a long time there, building up peoples army, building up a board national united front, building up a communist party which can lead the revolution, faking up armed struggle as the main form of struggle, liberating the villages and gradually liberating the towns-- This is how the Vietnamese revolutionaries applied experiences of Chinese revolution to the concrete conditions of their country. As a result of this alone, they carried on the Guerilla war with the help of underground tunnels. In addition they gained many new experiences in guerilla war. Unlike for Algeria and Cuba, for this country peoples China acted as a rear and helped the progress of the revolution. This support is proving very helpful in resisting the American Imperialist armies.

The Laos, Thailand and Combodian peoples armies have been formed and are carrying on the struggle to liberate their countries from imperialists and reactionary ruling classes. The revolutionaries of these countries are also following the Chinese path.

In all these countries, people have not only given help and cooperation but are also participating in the armed struggle in a number of forms. It is only because of this that the revolutionaries are able to carry on the protracted armed struggle. The path followed and still being followed by the revolutionaries of these countries is none other than the path of peoples war.

The author made a vain attempt to prove that the path of peoples war is wrong by mentioning the experiences of Indonesia. Though the Indonesian Communist Party followed Marxism-Leninism in the ideological sphere, it made some important mistakes in applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of their country. They underestimated the necessity of destroying the state machinery because of developing illusions on the limited bourgeois parliamentary set up existing in their country and on the 'Sukarno' group of the ruling classes. They did not get prepared for protracted armed struggle against the reactionary armed forces. As a result they could not repulse the armed attack of the counter-revolutionaries. Moreover, they fell a prey to that attack. There were severe irreparable losses. There were severe set backs to the Indonesian revolution.

The Indian revisionists are making the same mistake as the Indonesian communists in following the parliamentary path and in having illusions about the ruling classes. (The line they are following in the ideological sphere is the revisionist). What is special is that the Indira group, which is leading the Indian ruling classes, is not playing an anti-imperialist role even to the extent of the Sukarno group in Indonesia, has also collaborated with American Imperialism and Soviet social Imperialism and is acting as their running dog. The revisionists are supporting the same ruling classes. This way there is a fundamental difference between the mistakes committed by the Indonesian communists and those being committed by the Indian revisionists. Indonesian communists are advancing along the path of armed struggle after correcting these mistakes.

The author mentioned how Che Guevara failed to conduct armed struggle in Bolivia, quoting Che Guevara and his words. It is necessary for all revolutionaries to take lessons from the Bolivian armed struggle. *There are people even in our country who believe that revolution in a country will be successful through efficient armed squads*

rather than on the basis of the peoples consciousness and their organisational might. This trend is opposed to Marxism - Leninism - Mao's thought. It is possible to overcome this trend by correct Ideological struggle.

It is true that in the latter part of 1919, Lenin explained some problems of the eastern nations (the necessity of peasantry to fight against feudalism is one problem) and said that their solutions "will not be available in any communist book" and that their solutions will have to be found out only on the basis of 'independent experiences'. After this the great Chinese revolution culminated successfully and solved these main problems. These experiences are collected in Mao's writings. The revolutions which came later added more experiences, Not to see these changes or inspite of seeing, to argue that their importance will be limited to those countries only and that they will not be applicable to any country's revolution, will amount to arguing that the Marxism-Leninism did not advance after Lenin. This is not correct.

Actually the writer is mechanically listing the experiences of revolutions in other countries only to say that revolutionary conditions do not exist in India and that the experiences of Chinese revolution do not apply to India; By quoting Lenin's words out of context. People belonging to this category say that "India is a country where it is possible to bring about social changes through parliamentary democratic methods." (Vishalandhra 22-9-'70). This way they say that it is possible to bring about social changes without overthrowing the Indian ruling classes through an armed revolution.

If we analyse the concrete conditions of present day India, the armed revolutionary struggles which took place and are taking place in India, and the counter-revolutionary policies of the ruling classes, it is clear that there is no scope at all for the opinions expressed by them.

In the present stage Chinese revolution is a guide to the revolutionaries of all countries. The revolutionaries of various countries are applying these experiences to the concrete conditions of their own countries and are leading the revolutions. It is not possible to delete India from these countries. The above explanation is making it clear that those who say that the experiences of Chinese revolution do not apply to India and those

who argue that a 'revolution itself' is not needed in India are one and the same.

The experiences of revolutions in various countries themselves prove that the words of Lenin-- that with the extension of the revolutions of the eastern countries new changes will come-- have been confirmed in the matter of the Chinese revolution and in the content of the post world war II revolutions in various countries.

Armed Insurrection as an ART :

The writer saying that armed struggle should not be so easily looked at, writes as follows :

"Marx-Engels described revolutionary struggle as an art which should be conducted subject to certain rules. They also warned that either transgressing or neglecting these rules will cause irreparable harm to the party. They also asked us to refrain from playing with insurrection without being fully prepared for the consequences". (Vishalandhra 10-3-'70)

To the revolutionaries armed struggle is not as terrifying as felt by the author. Revolutionaries will go to the people. They will mobilise them for revolutionary struggles. They will start armed struggle at a particular stage of the revolutionary movement when it will be necessary to give arms to the people. Though some knowledge and training regarding armed struggle is necessary for the revolutionaries, they will get skilled mainly in the process of armed struggle. The art of armed struggle now in primary stages will develop into an art in advanced stages. The experiences of Chinese revolution and those of other countries teach us exactly this lesson.

Lenin summarised the sentences of Marx to regard armed insurrection as an art in the following words :

".....It (insurrection) must be treated as an art, that you must win the first success and then proceed from success to success, never ceasing the offensive against the enemy, taking advantage of this confusion....."

(Marxism - armed insurrection P. 351)

This is completely true so far as it relates to armed insurrection. In armed insurrection we mainly depend upon attack for victory. This alone is the correct path to achieve quick victories and capture power.

However in protracted armed struggle, it will be necessary to carry on defensive struggles in addition to offensive struggles. Only after carrying on defensive struggles for some time will the revolutionary peoples armies be in a position to launch offensive attacks on the enemy. Hence, in armed struggle defensive battles also have a main role along with offensive battles.

Armed struggle will start with guerilla war. Guerilla war is the armed struggle carried on by the peoples armies which are weak and are in the form of guerilla squads against the strong enemy armies. It will be possible to develop armed struggle by carrying on armed struggle following the strategy and tactics of guerilla war. There is no terrifying aspect in this.

The Indian revisionists--who are studying the ruling class army and the parliamentary path as an art--can neither understand nor study armed insurrection and armed struggle as an art.

The Conditions in India.

It is a habit with all the opponents of armed struggle to say "The political conditions of the countries where armed struggle took place and is taking place are different from the conditions of our country." There are many examples when the absence of worst feudal exploitative system was advanced as the main reason for armed struggle not developing in various parts of the country when the armed struggle was going on in Telangana during 1946-51. Though there were some areas where conditions were not like those in Telangana, there were many areas where feudal exploitation worse than that in Telangana. In those areas there was an upsurge of peasant struggles. The Thebaga struggle in Bengal, Worli peasants struggle in Maharashtra, the Ajamgarh peasant struggle in U. P., the Punnappa Vayalar peasant struggle in Kerala, all belong to this category. The then communist leadership following a policy of supporting the ruling classes, characterised these struggles as partial.

But, the Andhra revolutionaries led these struggles in Telangana so as to enable them to

develop into armed struggles. The experiences of the Telangana struggle have proved that there are conditions for armed struggle to develop even in other parts of the country.

The writer says "we have to see the difference between a country under foreign military occupation and a country which has been liberated from foreign rule." The then communist party leadership could not lead the peasant struggles in various parts of the country when they reached the stage of armed struggle during the time India was under British military occupation (before 1947). (We have cited some of them above). Now the writer is showing a pretext saying "well, there is no military occupation on our country! Ours is an independent country!", in order to pose himself and his followers as people who lead many revolutionary struggles. The Russian revolution started against Tsarist rule and ended victoriously. The foreign imperialists intervened militarily only after the revolution was victorious. The revolutionary masses, under the then leadership of the Soviet communist Party repulsed the military intervention of the foreign imperialists. The Chinese revolution, in the beginning as well as in the end, took place against the native reactionary rule. In between it was against Japanese aggression. The Cuban revolution started against native reactionary rule and culminated victoriously.

To say that India is a full-fledged independent country just because there is no foreign military occupation is contrary to actual conditions. India is subsisting by depending financially and militarily on foreign countries. The reactionary Indian ruling classes are faithfully serving the foreign imperialists. Though they are native rulers, they are not able to hide foreign slavery.

Whereas the British imperialists dominated the scene when the congress rulers came to power, today American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism along with British imperialism are the main forces in the country. Our country has become a neo-colony of these imperialists. According to the writer's argument armed struggle can go on only in colonial countries; but in neo-colonies and countries with reactionary ruling classes armed struggle is not necessary. No revolutionary can accept this argument.

Though there is some difference between countries under foreign military aggression and

those without this, armed struggle is not only possible but also necessary in countries with reactionary ruling classes. India is one such country.

The writer says one more thing. "We have to see the difference between a country where bourgeois parliamentary democracy is in existence and a country under military dictatorship." That there is no military dictatorship in India, that there is bourgeois democracy and therefore conditions favourable to armed struggle do not exist here—this is the essence of this argument.

The big bourgeois, landlord class, which are existing as agents of the imperialists in India, has introduced a limited bourgeois parliamentary democracy, in order to stabilise its rule. Just as the capitalist system fell into a crisis, the bourgeois parliamentary system which is one form of its (administration) rule has also fallen into a crisis. This crisis has become more severe in India which is a neo-colony. The breaking up of the ruling classes and parties into pieces, the president rule which is being imposed day in and day out in the states are proof of this. Under the pretext of protecting law and order, the rule, not only of local armed police but also of the central reserve police, is continuing every where. The struggles, which the central reserve police can't suppress, are being suppressed with the help of the military. What is this if not military rule?

Feudal relations are strong to this day in the rural areas of India. It has become a common feature to mobilise voters and to vote on the basis of caste during elections. The parties and representatives of capitalists and landlords are able to twist the results of elections in their favour by spending huge amounts of money in various forms. In addition to following other unjust methods to prevent the voters from freely using their right to vote, they are also using goondalism aided by armed (forces) might. As a result of all these the material foundation necessary for bourgeois parliamentary democracy have disappeared and it has become namesake. Whenever the few illusions which existed in the Indian masses, in the beginning about bourgeois parliamentary democracy are vanishing, it is these people who are protecting, at least to some extent, the illusions on elections by saying that peoples problems will be solved through 'united front governments'.

The writer is saying "As a proof of bourgeois parliamentary democracy in the country we are

seeing the emergence of United Front governments, through elections, the ruling classes conspiring and overthrowing them and Memo the democratic forces defeating them again and coming to power." When we see the fate of the united front governments of Kerala and Bengal we do not find any basis for their petty glee.

All the state governments including the united front governments and the central government are only tools for ensuring profits to the foreign imperialists, native monopolists, big landlords and for suppressing peoples struggles. The United front governments have suppressed and are suppressing the peoples movements just as the congress governments did.

Whether it is the limited bourgeois parliamentary system existing in the country or the opportunities to mobilise the people, they are existing only for the forces supporting the ruling classes. Only such forces are utilising these opportunities for supporting the ruling classes. The Dange revisionist group parading under the name of the CPI is one among such forces.

When it comes to the problem of suppressing anti-government revolutionary forces, all the ruling classes along with the united front parties, (CPI is one such party) are casting off the mask of bourgeois democracy and are coming out nakedly in fascist, semi-fascist forms. Shooting to death people and revolutionaries, detaining hundreds and thousands of people in jails without trial—what are these if not the features of fascist rule?

The present rulers have preserved all the repressive acts of the British imperialists and are implementing them to the letter. Moreover they have enacted repressive acts more repressive than these. As a result of all these, the ruling classes are drowning in blood the struggles being waged by the people to better their living conditions and for social change.

Though the revolutionaries are yet to use those aspects of the moribund, limited bourgeois democratic parliamentary system which are necessary for the advancement of the revolutionary movement, they are understanding the repressive machinery of the ruling classes which is the main obstacle for the development of the revolutionary movement and the way it is being implemented throughout the country and are dealing this with

tactics of resistance and the policy of armed struggle. The author, full of glee at seeing the bourgeois democracy, and his followers are depending on the same.

On the onehand the ruling classes in the country could not solve the main problems of the people; on the otherhand, due to the intensification of the exploitation by the Imperialists; monopoly capitalists and landlords, the people are suffering in an unprecedented manner. The rising prices of the essential commodities and unemployment are haunting the people like demons. It is only because the people have been revolting against these miserable situations that the ruling classes are trying to suppress the revolt by using their armed forces and resorting to firing. In addition to worker's struggles, the struggles of the government employees are going on in the country. Struggles are going on against the government's policy of taxation. Fierce peasant struggles are going on against feudal exploitation. The Girijan peasant struggles have taken the form of armed struggle. It has become routine for the ruling class parties and united front to fall apart and fight amongst themselves and for the governments to collapse. All these are definite proofs of the deepening of the economic and political crisis in the country.

However much the ruling classes may propagate the myth that the country has progressed much economically, nobody can hide the miserable economic and political state of the people. The present day struggles of the people are meant to come out of this plight. With no problems being solved by ordinary struggles and with the ruling classes determining to suppress these struggles with the help of armed forces, people have embarked on armed resistance for the degence of revolutionary movements. The peoples armed struggle is starting with this. All the armed struggles which took place till now and which are going on today are of this type. That, these very armed struggles can gradually spread throughout the country, liberate the country from the foreign Imperialist-big bourgeoisie landlord rule and establish peoples democracy, is beyond doubt.

Armed Struggles in India.

Right from the end of the I world war till today peasantry has been carrying on armed stru-

ggle in India in various parts and at various periods: against British imperialism, feudalism, congress rule and against united front governments. The leadership of the CPI never tried to analyse these struggles from the Marxist-Leninist view point and take lessons from them. This way, in addition to international experiences, this leadership could not digest the revolutionary experiences in the country. Moreover, because of frequently following reformist, revisionist lines, it has also been opposing these armed struggles, in addition to not being able to lead them.

In the period between 1920-24 came the armed revolt of the 'Girijan people against British imperialism' under the leadership of Alluri Seetarama Raju in the agency area of the East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh.

At about the same period, the Moplah peasants waged the armed revolt against British imperialism in the Moplah region of Malabar.

In the Bengal State, the peasantry was frequently revolting against the mode of feudal exploitation there and against the British imperialists. Some of these took the form of armed struggle.

The British Imperialists could suppress them.

In 1940 armed peasantry clashed with armed police in the Kayyar village of Malabar district and killed some policemen. With this pretext British Imperialists hanged three comrades from Kayyar.

If we analyse the experiences of the peasant armed struggles mentioned above, it will be clear that even by 1940, armed struggle developed as peasant revolutionary struggle. In addition, in this period, communist party units had been formed and were working throughout the country.

After the world war II, there was a revolutionary upsurge throughout our country against imperialism and feudalism. Some armed struggles took place only as part of this upsurge. The naval armed struggle and the Tiruvankoor people's armed revolt are the main among these. When the peasant struggles of Thebaga in Bengal, worli in Maharashtra, Punnappre-Vayalar in Kerala, Ajimgarh in Utter Prdaesh and in punjab reached the higher stage and took the form of armed struggles,

the party leadership conducted them as partial struggles and stopped them in the middle.

In 1950 armed struggle went on for an year in Tripura.

In 1960 came the peasant struggle against Betterment Levy in Punjab. When this struggle took the form of armed struggle the central leadership of the party betrayed it and stopped it,

In 1967, peasant armed struggle took place in the Naxalbarry region of West Bengal under the leadership of the present "Maxist-Leninists". This was suppressed by the united front government under the leadership of the Marxists and the central government.

In 1968, peasant armed struggle started in the Girijan area of Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh under the leadership of "Marxist-Leninists" and is still going on.

In 1969 armed struggle started in the Khammam, Warangal, Karimnagar districts of Telangana under the leadership of Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Committee and is still continuing.

News is being received to the effect that armed struggles are going on in the Bihar and Bangal states also.

Historically-- these armed struggles went on against British Imperialists before 1947, afterwards they were waged against the big-bourgeois-landlord government which has aligned with the imperialists and is protecting their interests. In recent times, they also went on against the united front governments which are protecting the above class interests.

The revolutionary struggles which came as part of the revolutionary upsurge after the II world war had a countrywide character. These were armed struggles which were waged on the basis of the agrarian revolution against Imperialism and feudalism.

The Telangana armed struggle, which went on for five years and which was then stopped by the communist party leadership, went on not only against the rule of the Nizam Nawab, but also against the congress rule which is protecting imperialism and feudalism. This was also stopped by the party leadership.

When we look from this point of view, it is clear that armed struggle developed as a form of struggle not only against British rule and the rule of native princes but also against the congress rule. The revisionists, who do not recognise this argue that the congress has a broad mass base, that there is bourgeois democracy in the country and that as long as this situation remains armed struggle will not be the form of struggle against congress rule.

However, people and revolutionaries did not listen to their sermons and sit with folded hands. In 1967-68 in the Naxalbarry region of West Bengal, in 1968-69 in the Girijan areas of Srikakulam, Khammam, Warangal, Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, People took the forms of armed struggle. Even in other parts of the country, armed struggles have developed as the peoples revolutionary struggles. People are following them as forms of struggle even against congress rule.

Lenin put two theoretical principles before us for understanding the forms of peoples struggles from a Marxist view point:--

"Let us begin from the beginning. What are the fundamental demands which every Marxist should make of an examination of the question of forms of struggle? In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by not binding the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It recognises the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not "concoct" them, but only generalises, organises, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in course of the movement. Absolutely hostile to all abstract formulas and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the *mass* struggle in progress, which as the movement develops, as the class-consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defence and attack. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle possible and in existence at the given moment only, recognising as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the partici-

pants of the given period, *inevitably* arise as the given social situation changes. In this respect Marxism *learns*, if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim whatever to *teach* the masses forms of struggle invented by "systematizers" in the seclusion of their studies. We know--said Kautsky, for instance, when examining the forms of social revolution--that the coming crisis will introduce new forms of struggle that we are now unable to foresee.

In the second place, Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism. At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political, national, cultural, living and other conditions, different forms of struggle come to the fore and become the principal forms of struggle; and in connection with this, the secondary, auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in their turn. To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position." (Italics in the print are underlined)

(Marx-Engels-Marxism -- Page 157-158)

We have to apply these principles to the Indian conditions. The Indian peoples consciousness is at the level of using armed struggle in various parts as a mode of defence and attack. The form of armed struggle is not something created by somebody. The people themselves have created it with their own experience. There is no need for the revolutionaries to confine themselves to forms of struggle sanctioned by the constitution. On the other to analyse these armed struggles and learn from them is alone Marxism-Leninism.

These forms of armed struggle were by no means against the direct rule of British imperialism alone. They are going on against the congress rule and now against the united front govern-

ments. People will not be satisfied by the temporary changes in administration, without the removal of imperialism, feudalism and capitalism and will follow forms of armed struggle.

Because of the existence of unevenness in the peoples consciousness and the level of the movement in the country, it will be necessary to follow appropriate forms of struggle. It will be necessary to follow the form of armed struggle in places where people are prepared.

In view of the revolutionary situations existing in India today, in view of the economic and political crisis in which the ruling classes are entangled, in view of the armed struggle being followed by the people, armed struggle will be the main form of struggle. Other forms of struggle will be of secondary and supporting nature.

The Chinese Communist Party victoriously led the armed struggle and the revolution by adopting armed struggle as the main form of struggle. In Vietnam, the communist party is victoriously leading the revolution by adopting armed struggle as the main form of struggle. Communist revolutionaries, taking lessons not only from the revolutionary experiences of China but also from the experiences of revolutionary struggles in India; taking note of the present day revolutionary situations and adopting armed struggle as the main form of struggle; are advancing the peasant struggle. They are marching forward by applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought to the revolutionary situations of India and by taking lessons from the experiences of the armed struggles.

Communist revolutionaries, who accept armed struggle as the main form of struggle on the one hand, adopt other forms of struggle as secondary and supporting forms. This is in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Mao's thought.

TELANGANA ARMED STRUGGLE -- Some Important Features.

That the Indian people are not non-violent by nature, that they have not formed deep illusions on bourgeois democracy is made clear by the very forms of armed struggle adopted by them in various stages, in various instances. The Telangana armed struggle, which continued for five years, has made it clear, that it is possible to conduct protracted armed struggle in the country. Of these armed

struggles, some were suppressed by the ruling classes. Though the armed struggles in the later periods had to face the cruel suppressive policy of the ruling classes, they have failed only because of the failure of the communist party to develop them into protracted armed struggles and to carry on those which could so develop. The experiences of the Telangana armed struggles make clear exactly these :

Regarding the Telangana armed struggle the author writes the following :

"It is a mistake to think that a struggle which was waged against the Nizam's State and Razakars, a struggle which continued by distributing lakhs of acres of the lands of Jagirdars and Deshmukhs can get peoples' support on the same extensive manner even after the entry of union armies. It happened that the change in the strength of the enemy forces was not realised. However we could not change the tactics of struggle till we suffered big losses after stubbornly continuing the struggle for some more time."

This is the distorted commentary which the writer gives on the Telangana armed struggle.

Telangana armed struggle is not a struggle meant to change the rule of the Nizam Nawab and establish the congress rule. This was an armed struggle which took place under the leadership of the communist party to complete peasant agrarian revolution and to seize state power. That is why in addition to taking place against Nizam's feudalism it also continued against the congress rule which collaborated with it.

What happened with the 1948 September police action was that the Nizam's rule was replaced by the rule of congress landlords was established; but agrarian revolution was not completed. People did not get power in their hands. That is why it became necessary for the people to continue armed struggle to complete agrarian revolution and to capture state power. The revolutionaries led the struggle even after this just as they did before.

The experiences of China are making it clear that the peoples' democratic revolution is mainly an agrarian revolution and that it is a revolution where people fight for state power. The experiences of the Telangana armed struggle are also in tune with this.

The understanding of the revisionists regarding Telangana Armed Struggle then and now is nothing but a change of rulers. It is enough for them if the rule of the Nizam Nawab goes and congress rule is established. That this is favourable to the ideas and needs of the congress landlords and rich classes is clear. Their views are clear that it is their line then and now to oppose the completion of agrarian revolution through armed struggle against the congress rule.

The main reason for the severe losses of the revolutionaries after police action is not the "stubborn continuation" of the armed struggle. It is the failure to adopt correct tactics at the correct time during the course of the armed struggle. It is a fact that circumstances which did not allow armed struggle to be conducted in the way it used to be before police action, were created. With the concentration of the enemy armed forces increased after police action and because the landlord class, which was in a helpless situation, reentered the field. In keeping with the new situations we should have shifted the Guerilla squads and revolutionaries from plain areas to mountainous and forests regions and should have continued the resistance from there. We did this at last, but there was some delay. The majority of the losses incurred took place in this period. The losses incurred after we entered forests was little.

The revolutionaries and Guerilla squads were subjected to severe losses even in the early days of the armed struggle against Nizam Nawab's armed forces. In addition to the weapon power and organised might of the enemy, the lack of experience on the part of the revolutionaries are also reasons for this.

Basing himself on the losses incurred either due to lack of experience or due to the unpreparedness in facing congress armies due to the limited 'anti-Nizam struggle' understanding-- the writer says that to carry on armed struggle itself is wrong. This is usual: Whenever the revolutionary struggles are faced with enemy attack, whenever revolutionaries incur severe losses, the counter-revolutionaries and reformists come forward with the advice 'All that you are doing is wrong, withdraw the struggle'. They seek to strengthen their arguments by quoting Marx-Lenin out of context. Revolutionaries must be vigilant against them. This is what exactly these people did after

police action in Telangana. No wonder if those who are supporting the ruling classes and have undertaken the parliamentary path; feel that the armed struggle against the ruling classes is wrong?

In Telangana, the peoples army was formed in the course of the anti-Nizam armed struggle. The majority of this peoples army was constituted of youth from agricultural labour, poor peasants and middle peasants. Until the time of the police action the numerical strength of the peoples army increased satisfactorily (upto 10,000 approximately). Apart from this there accrued strength and efficiency in the matter of experience and organisation. The revolutionaries and Guerilla squads were subjected to severe losses because they did not retreat to secure areas immediately after the police action. Along with this, the leadership of some areas surrendered arms to the enemy saying that the armed struggle has ended and that we should not carry on armed struggle against the congress rule. They disbanded the Guerilla Squads and voluntarily surrendered to the armed forces.

As a result of this the major part of the guerillas were dispensed. Only a small part went to the forests and carried on resistance from there. In the course of this resistance the number of guerilla squads increased. Live contacts were established with the people. They could gain further experiences in guerilla resistance. The self-confidence, that the congress armies are not invincible' and that it is possible to resist them, developed. They went to extensive areas and continued their programme. Though there were mistakes and weaknesses to be rectified in the armed struggle of this time, there was no need to withdraw the armed struggle. In spite of this the leadership, which had illusions on the ruling classes and the parliamentary path, withdraw the armed struggle. It abolished the peoples' army which was formed in the protracted armed struggle.

Where as facts are like this, the writer gives a distorted comment of history by saying that "we incurred big losses by continuing armed struggle" and that "we could not change the tactics of struggle."

The communists in China already had an army of 40,000 at the time of splitting from Kuomintang. With the help of this they started and continued armed struggle against the Kuomintang government. In the course of the armed struggle

the peoples' armies were subjected to many losses; the numerical strength decreased. These losses occurred because of the mistakes of leadership and due to concentration of enemy forces. The Chinese communist party under the leadership of Chairman Mao could victoriously conduct the revolution only because they continued armed struggle by following the strategy and tactics of protracted armed struggle necessary to fall the enemy.

To say that protracted armed struggle does not suit our country by saying either that we do not have a 40,000 army as in China or that some more favourable situations are not there, is the main aim of counter-revolutionaries. The Telangana armed struggle has proved that this is wrong and that protracted armed struggle is possible in India. The conditions in India and those in China will not be the same in all occasions. It is not necessary.

The experiences of Telangana prove that since peoples' army was formed in the course of the anti-feudal armed struggle in Telangana, it is also possible to develop peoples' armies in other parts of India by developing anti-feudal armed struggles there. To develop peoples' armies this way is not blindly copying the experiences of China. On the other hand it was possible only by applying those experiences to the concrete situations in India. It will also be possible in the future.

How incorrect it is to say that armed struggles cannot be victorious without the rear of countries like Soviet Russia and China is proved not only by the revolutionary experiences of Cuba and Algeria but also by those of the Telangana armed struggle which went on for five years. In situations where socialist countries are not at the rear, we have to carry on defensive battles for a long time. There will also be a necessity for the struggle to spread throughout the country. Revolutionaries have to take care about this.

In vast countries with centralised administration like India it is only through protracted armed struggle that we can weaken the centralised power and break it to pieces and victoriously complete the revolution. It is a fact that the Indian government has strengthened its oppressive machinery and armed forces many times since the time of Telangana Armed struggle. When view in this way, there were favourable conditions for continuing the Telangana Armed struggle then. But for

protracted armed struggle there is no way to break the heavily strengthened suppressive machinery of the rulers. The revolutionaries will not fear the repressive machinery; they should not. The experience of 20 years of parliamentary path proves that it is only because the path of armed struggle was rejected and the parliamentary path was followed that the ruling classes could strengthen their repressive machinery and could weaken the revolutionary forces.

Only as a result of the peasant revolutionary struggle and armed struggles, will the ruling classes be exposed in their true colours as agents of imperialists and feudal landlords and will be isolated from the people. Revolutionaries will be able to strengthen their positions and extend the same. If they abandon the revolutionary path and taken up the parliamentary path they will themselves be subjected to illusions in addition to helping the ruling classes to sow illusions among the people. After the world war II, in all the areas where peasant revolutionary struggles took place, the influence of the ruling classes received a setback and they were isolated from the people. The results of the first general elections prove exactly this. After that the leadership of the communist party weakened its position among the masses by following the parliamentary path. While some are raising to the skies the anti-feudal anti-imperialist role of the ruling classes, some others are saying that 'at least to some extent' such a role exists. This way, in addition to sowing illusions among the people, they themselves are following the ruling class.

The writer says that if armed struggle is not immediately called off, the struggle will be diverted, murders and deceptions will increase and anarchy will become widespread. Everybody knows that there is no shortage of anarchy, murders and deceptions whether in congress rule or in the united front rule. We also know that quite often the ruling classes mainly the police officials, landlords and rich classes have a hand in such incidents. We can check these only through a disciplined armed struggle. Revolutionaries will not fear such anarchy.

In the course of the armed struggle changes take place in the relative strength of the enemy classes. The revolutionaries will change their tactics in keeping with this. But giving up armed struggle and surrendering to the enemy is not a

revolutionary tactic. Mainly making use of the peoples upsurge in the colonial, semi-colonial countries after the world war II, the armed struggles took place. In some countries due to the severe concentration of the enemy's armed forces, the revolutionaries were subject to severe losses and could not advance. In such conditions they stopped armed struggles and saved the remaining peoples armies. But they did not surrender to the enemy and accept the parliamentary path. They have started armed struggles and are continuing it as soon as favourable conditions returned.

We can show the armed struggles in Burma and Malaya as examples of this. In Burma the peoples armies had to lose most of the areas which they previously captured when the Indian armies went there in support of the reactionary government there. The peoples armies retreated to the Chinese border, established liberated bases there and for a time remained there without advancing. As soon as favourable conditions returned they are continuing the armed struggle. Though, in recent times, there were talks between the revolutionaries and the government the revolutionaries never agreed to abolish their armed forces or the peoples army.

In Malaya the armed struggle received a setback due to the concentration of the British armies and a situation developed where in armed struggle could not be continued. With this the revolutionaries stopped the armed struggle and took shelter in the forest and mountainous regions on the border and are still there to this day. The Malayan revolutionaries could exist inspite of no favourable country existing on the borders. Reports received indicate that they have started and are continuing armed struggle in recent times.

In 1950-51, the leadership of the communist party, in connection with the Telangana Armed Struggle, did not follow the revolutionary line and revolutionary tactics followed by the Burma, Malaya revolutionaries. On the other hand they developed illusions on the bourgeois parliamentary system which was advanced as a bait by the ruling classes and followed the parliamentary path. They withdrew the armed struggle.

To put it briefly-- It was wrong to give up the Telangana Armed Struggle. This was not a struggle which was withdrawn in inevitable situation. This was an armed struggle which was given up in order that the leadership may follow the parliamentary path.

The Telangana Armed Struggle-- heralded the dawn of agrarian revolution, and the peoples democratic revolution in India.

The Telangana Armed Struggle--is an armed struggle which started against the Nizam rule with a few guerillas, spread into vast areas and which continued for 5 years withstanding the cruel fascist attacks of the congress armies.

The Telangana Armed Struggle--is an armed struggle which proved that though the Geographical situations are unfavourable we can carry on protracted armed struggle by depending on the peoples fighting spirit.

The Telangana Armed Struggle has made it clear that the existence of centralised administration is not a main obstacle to start and continue armed struggle and that the centralised administration weakens only in the course of the armed struggle.

The communist revolutionaries are surging ahead with a Marxist-Leninist view point, in the light of Mao-Tse-Tung's thought and by taking revolutionary lessons after analysing the experiences of the Telangana Armed Struggle. The revisionists say that we can be proud of the Telangana Armed Struggle; but they tremble at the sight and talk of the losses and difficulties incurred in the course of the struggle and try to be permanently away from such armed struggles.

These in brief are the two different viewpoints towards the Telangana Armed Struggle.

Armed Struggle alone is the Correct Path.

When the writer is opposing the path of armed struggle, it is clear that he is expressing the opinions of the CPI. Majority of the present leadership and their following are people who have been opposing the armed struggle against the ruling classes since the time of the post world war II revolutionary upsurge. It is only as a result of carrying on severe ideological struggle while continuing the armed struggle that the armed struggle went on for five years in Telangana.

Hence, there is nothing new in these people opposing armed struggle today. Surprise is much less there. At best by opposing the armed struggle this way, they are exposing the respect they

have for the ruling classes and their counter-revolutionary nature.

Today these leaders are of the opinion that the ruling classes in power under the leadership of Indira Gandhi are opposed to imperialism and big-bourgeois, big-landlord classes and that there is a necessity for a united front with them.

They are of opinion that we can usher in social changes through the present parliament and through democratic struggles.

We are of the opinion that no problem can be solved, let alone social changes, through this parliament and assemblies, which have become centres of chit-chat. The experience of the past 20 years is proving this.

They are of the opinion that the fundamental laws of Marxism-Leninism do not apply to our country, that we have no need to overthrow the ruling classes here through armed revolution and that social changes can be brought through the parliament. This is totally revisionism.

We are of the opinion that the fundamental laws of Marxism-Leninism do not apply to our country, that the people should overthrow the ruling classes of this country through armed struggle and capture state power and establish peoples democracy.

These leaders hold that the experiences of China and such other countries do not apply to us and that we should mind only our own experiences.

Opposed to this, we are of the opinion that the main points of the experiences of the Chinese revolution apply to our country also, that Mao-Tse-Tung's thought fully applies to our country and that Mao-Tse-Tung thought is the Marxism-Leninism of today.

The parliamentary path which supports the ruling classes is born out of the above ideological, political viewpoint of the writer and his followers. Those who follow it are opposing armed struggle. This is totally revisionism. This amounts to be-

traying Marxism-Leninism; betraying the Indian revolution.

The path of armed struggle which we are following is a result of the application of Marxism-Leninism Mao-Tse-Tung thought to the concrete conditions of the Indian Revolution. We shall develop this path with the experiences we shall get from its implementation and use it as a tool in victoriously completing the peoples democratic revolution.

Indian revolution has entered a very important stage. People are coming forward into struggles disregarding the firings of the armed police. The ruling classes are bogged down in the mire

of economic crisis. National and international situations are favourable for the progress of armed struggle. The communist revolutionaries know that in the beginning during the armed struggle against the enemy's armed force, innumerable sacrifices are necessary. Only those with feeble hearts fear these sacrifices. In the light of Marxism-Leninism Mao-Tse-Tung's thought, revolutionary communists will face all obstacles and will victoriously lead the revolution.

May, 1970.

— D. V. Rao.

(Translated from Telugu Text)

Read

The Proletarian Line

MONTHLY ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES OF INDIA

