

Vol. I  
(1943-1951)

HISTORICAL AND POLEMICAL  
DOCUMENTS OF THE  
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF INDIA



# Historical and Polemical Documents of the Communist Movement of India

Vol. I  
(1943-1951)



TARIMELA NAGIREDDY MEMORIAL TRUST  
VIJAYAWADA

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Documents of the  
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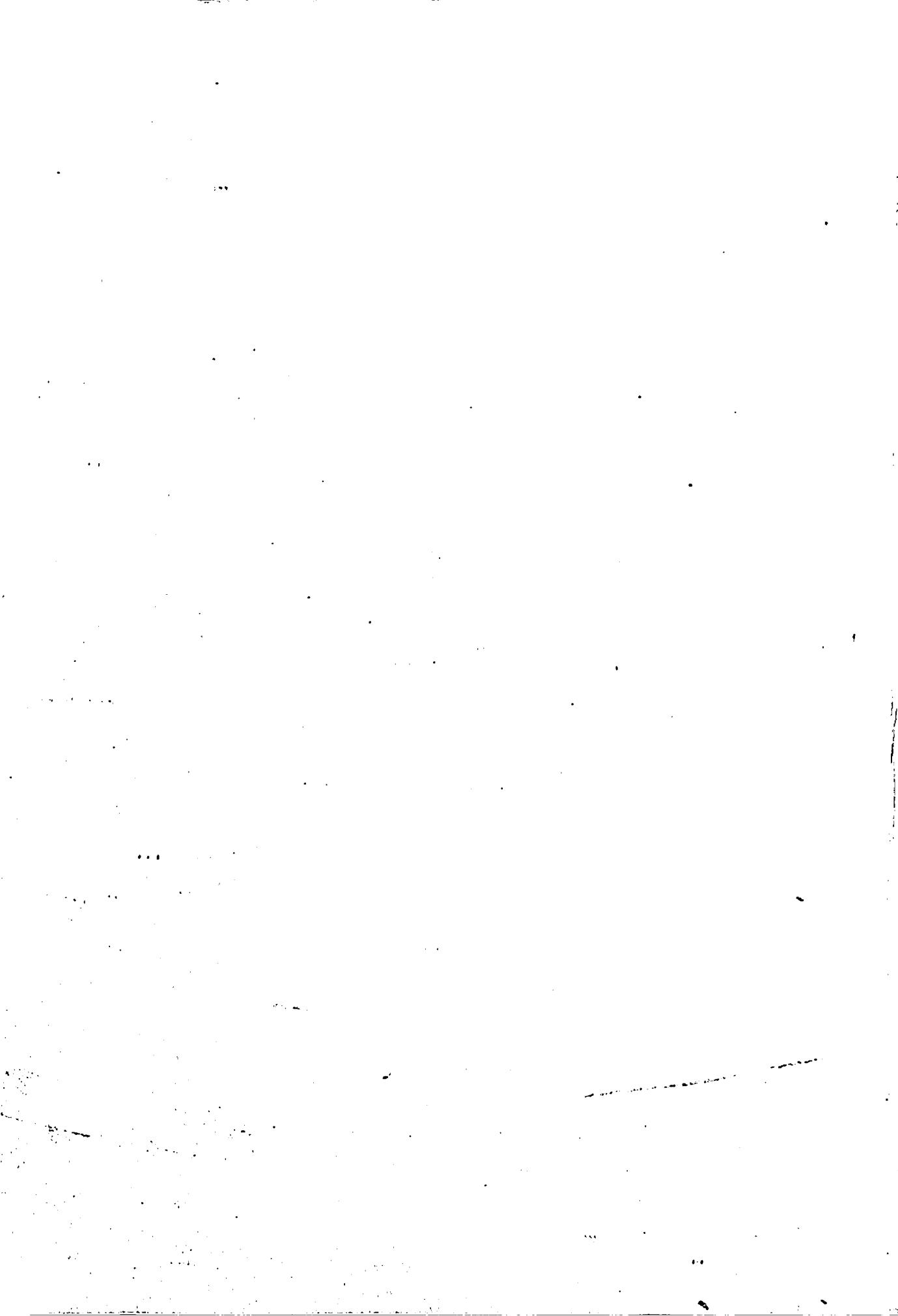
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## **Acknowledgement**

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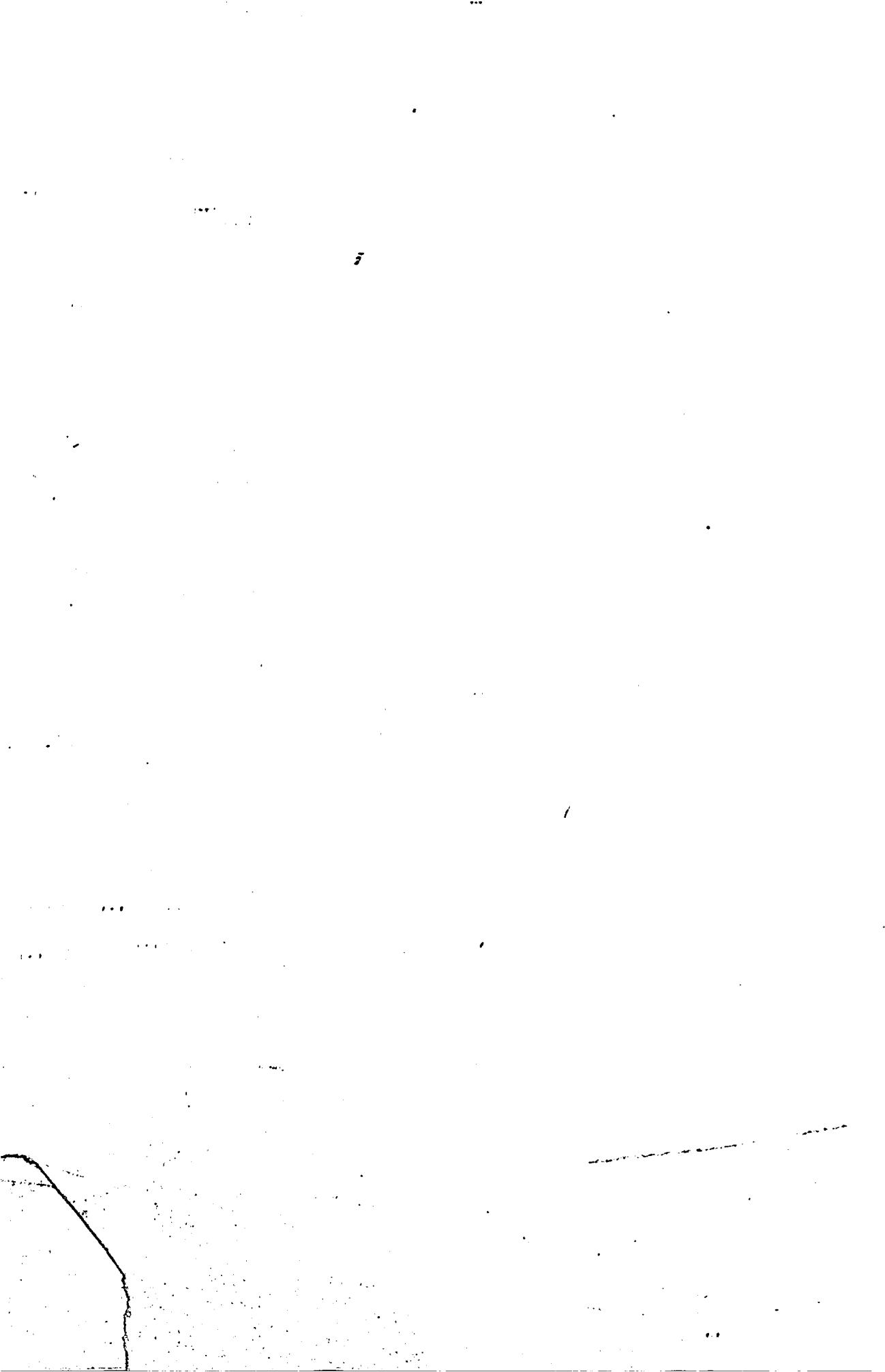
The T.N. Memorial Trust has undertaken the task of publishing the documents concerning the communist movement in India. A three-member Editorial Committee has taken up this responsibility. Com. Subodh Mitra as its Convenor, Com. Madhu and Com. P. Jaswantha Rao as the members have taken up this task. The T.N. Memorial Trust expresses its appreciation of the work by the Editorial Committee in bringing out this first volume.

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**TARIMELA NAGIREDDY MEMORIAL TRUST**



# **HISTORICAL AND POLEMICAL DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF INDIA**

**VOL.I  
(1943-1951)**



**TARIMELA NAGI REDDY  
MEMORIAL TRUST**

**VIJAYAWADA**

# **HISTORICAL AND POLEMICAL DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF INDIA**

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## Foreword

The Communist Movement in our country has a long history and a life of eight decades. It is a mine of rich and inexhaustible experiences. We must be aware of the fact that the present communist revolutionary movement is a part and continuation of it. So we must study, analyse and learn from the achievements, failures, mistakes, strength and weaknesses that got reflected in its life with the help of documents, connected facts and every available source of knowledge that can be had from veterans and masses.

**TARIMELA NAGI REDDY  
MEMORIAL TRUST** has taken upon itself the stupendous task of compiling and publishing the documents of the Communist Movement of India. It is now coming out with the first volume of it pertaining to the period 1943-51. We are thankful to it.

This volume deals with a historically and politically significant period in the entire life of the Communist Movement. We can see in this period the rise and fall of right

reformism, left sectarianism. We can see the emergence of a correct revolutionary line. It remained as the line and leader of the entire communist movement in India for over a period of time. It was thus a golden chapter in the history of the Communist Movement. The documents and material pertaining to this period show how best were the attempts to apply Marxism - Leninism to concrete conditions and practice, how rich were the experiences gained in the struggle against the deviations, wrong trends and the practice of class struggle and practice of revolutionary line. All these are reflected in the documents connected with the period of historic Telangana Peasant Revolutionary Movement and Peoples Armed Struggle. We can also find in this volume, attempts on the part of deviationist forces to drag the Communist Movement into reformism, revisionism, and left sectarianism.

We hope that this volume will greatly help the comrades and friends to study this part of history objectively and learn from it.

**- Editorial Committee  
For Publishing the Documents**

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# **UNITY IN ACTION**

## **FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**

**(RESOLUTION PASSED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE FIRST CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
MAY, 1943)**

# FORWARD TO UNITY IN ACTION

## *Resolution*

### **I. NEW WORLD SITUATION**

1. Meeting under the shadow of the deepening menace of Japanese Fascist invasion, when the robber army of the Jap imperialism is pressing on the Bengal - Arakan Front and when Jap bombs are almost daily destroying Indian homes and lives in Chittagong and in the eastern districts of Bengal and Assam, the first Congress of the Communist Party of India declares that the supreme task before our people today is the defence of the Motherland. The struggle for freedom of our country merges with this task, which can be discharged only by achieving the all-in unity of our people and in the closest co-operation with the peoples of the United Nations defending their independence and freedom against the fascist Axis. A new situation faces every people as well as India. A clear understanding of this alone would enable us to determine the correct patriotic policy and the task which face the people. The main features of this new situation are as follows :

- a) One issue dominates the life of every people in the world today. It is the titanic conflict between the camp of the people and the camp of fascist - imperialism, between the forces of liberation and those of enslavement - the war between the coalition of the freedom - loving peoples of the U.S.S.R., China, America and Britain and the robber combine of Hitler Germany, Fascist Italy and Militarist Japan.
- b) Before every people is posed the grim choice : Victory or Death; Freedom or Fascism; a People's world or a World of Enslaved Peoples.
- c) It is the death battle of imperialism - the culminating point of a 25 year long road of deepening crisis of World Imperialism. The forces of fascism - the spearhead of aggressive imperialism are hopelessly surrounded. The growing unity of the peoples of the world, drawn in the battle array under the lead of the Soviet Union, draws the noose tighter round its neck. The prerequisites of the annihilation of Fascism, of the end of World Imperialism as such are at hand.
- d) The mighty Red Army of the Socialist Soviet Union, bearing the main brunt of the fascist onslaught has transformed the whole situation. By its unparalleled blows, it has already tipped the scales of battle in favour of people's victory. It is transforming the peril of fascist - imperialist enslavement which menaces every people into an opportunity to win its own freedom, by uniting its people to defend the country and by uniting with the other peoples to strike together for a free world.

India's fate and freedom is indissolubly linked with the fight for world freedom. This is no longer a fine phrase but a grim reality which emerges ever more clearly out of the gruelling experiences of our own people during the last eighteen months as well as from the happenings during the last two years of the war of liberation now being fought in five continents. Our people must unite to defend the Motherland, shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the United Nations. That alone leads to freedom. Refusal to see this leads to the disastrous illusion of "freedom through the Japs as through Hitler". It leads straight to the other camp and to fascist enslavement.

Such is the clear issue posed by the new situation.

### Stage Set for Final Battles

During the two years of epic battles against fascism, the Soviet Union has not only stemmed the gigantic onslaught of the Hitlerite hordes but inflicted on it such signal defeats at Moscow (December, 1941) and at Stalingrad, (January, 1943) as have brought about a turning-point in the war. Soviet victories have given time and opportunity to the peoples of the world to strengthen their unity, internally and on a world plane, so that all may strike together the final blows that will crush fascist-imperialism and free the world. The basis for people's victory and liberation is laid.

But the victory is yet to be won. The fascist beast is maimed, but not crushed. It is preparing for its last desperate counterattack to escape its inevitable doom. Hitler, expelled out of North Africa and severely mauled by the hammerblow of the Red Army, is preparing for new military ventures. The Jap fascists will yet stage a full-scale invasion of India, taking advantage of our weakness and thus attempt to forestall the encircling counteroffensive by India, China and Australia, aided by the armies of Britain and America.

The fascists are seeking to utilise every crack and fissure in the unity of the anti-Hitlerite nations, to paralyse them from within. For this they rely upon those reactionary pro-fascist elements yet powerful in the ruling circles of Britain and America. These are the descendants of the same "Munichites" who in the prewar days, conspired against peace, nourished the fascists and built up anti-Soviet plans. Today these are working against the speedy opening of the Second Front in the hope of weakening the U.S.S.R. They support Darlanism in North Africa, reactionaries in the Polish and Yugoslavia governments, because they want to sabotage the people's revolts and liberation in the Nazi-occupied countries of Europe. They support forces who deny India freedom because they want to perpetuate imperialist domination over the Eastern peoples. These disruptive intrigues of the agents of the fascists working within the camp of the United Nations, hold up the total mobilisation of the people and their united and decisive action on the key sectors, and imperil the outcome of these final battles due to begin after the clearing of North Africa, on which depends the fate and freedom of every people.

As against the desperate machinations of these reactionaries, the force of people's unity, inspired by the towering Soviet victories, and led and organised by

the Communist Parties, is growing in every country. In the fascist-occupied countries of Europe, the National United Front of the anti-Hitlerite patriotic forces is growing, leading to ever-greater sweep of patriotic partisan actions against the fascist butchers. The hour of liberation of the fascist-ridden peoples of Europe strikes. In Great Britain and America, the unity of the working class and the people is growing. The Communist Parties are in the forefront, carrying on a ruthless struggle against fascist agents, against promoters of disunity. They are striving to unite the labour and popular masses ever more firmly for the urgent and essential demands of common victory, viz., "Invade Europe Now!", "Support anti-Hitler-Fascist revolutions in Europe!" "Organise and raise production for victory!", "No quarter to friends of Hitler!", "Free India for common struggle for the liberation of East Asia from the Jap Fascists!", "Closest cooperation, political and military, with the U.S.S.R. for victory and after!".

The first congress of the Communist Party of India greets the brother Parties who are performing marvels of heroism and organisation in uniting the working-class and the people in their respective countries for victory in the common struggle. The communist Party assures them that it is sparing no effort to rouse and unite the Indian people and bring them in the common battle-line, for the final all-out assault against the fascist gangsters.

## **II. NATIONAL CRISIS**

### **Forces And Policies Behind It**

#### **Imperialist Policy**

India is faced with a double peril. The menace of Japanese invasion remains and grows. On the top of this comes the internal peril. Ignoring the grim warning sounded by the collapse of the imperial colonial regimes in Malaya, Singapore, and Burma, in the face of Japanese invasion, the British imperialist bureaucracy continued to think and act in terms of defending India as their colony and refused to free India to ensure active and voluntary cooperation of the people. Thus when under the pressure of the unity of the British and American people the Cripps Mission materialised, these reactionaries sabotaged it. The Cripps Mission failed mainly because the bureaucracy refused to part with real power to the Indian people and prevented formation of a National Government capable of mobilising the people effectively for defence. Thereafter they passed over to the repression against the Congress which culminated in the arrest of the national leaders. They took full advantage of the failure of the Congress and the League to unite and to take initiative for rousing the people for national defence. They took advantage of the Congress threat of struggle and noncooperation. They justified the repression of the Congress in the eyes of the British and American peoples. They painted the Congress as Fifth Column which wanted National Government to negotiate with the Japanese and not for national defence, and thus drove a wedge between the people of Britain and America and those of India. The result was that the national crisis, precipitated by the arrest of the national leaders, has gone on deepening.

The ghastly repression launched by the bureaucracy on the one hand and the sabotage movement organised by the Fifth Column and with the help of the angered patriotic masses on the other, created a situation of the gravest peril to India as well as to the cause of the United Nations. The political crisis has depend during the last 10 months. It got intertwined with the economic crisis on the production and food fronts, which came in its trail. This means that while the menace of invasion grows the rear too is cracking up. Such is the double peril which faces our country. Policy of Disunity And Defeatism.

It was certainly the bureaucracy which struck the first blow and precipitated the crisis of August 9. The communist Party of India declares that the responsibility for the debacle in India rests in the first instance, on the heads of those reactionaries in the British Government who think of defending India as imperialist colony, who think and act as if victory over fascism can be won militarily and without the active and voluntary cooperation of the people. They are playing with the fate of India as well as with that of the peoples of Britain and America.

But that is only one part of the picture. For, it was the policy which our patriotic parties pursued, the policy of rejecting the only patriotic duty which the situation demanded, viz., the duty to unite the people to defend the country, which enabled the bureaucrat to run riot and gravely imperil the fate of our nation. The two great patriotic parties of our country, namely, the National Congress and the Muslim League, instead of realising that their first unconditional and paramount duty was national defence, instead of going forward to unite the people for the same, waited for the imperialists to give them power. They did not base their policy on the strength of national unity which was now possible on the broadest scale ever achieved, for the most simple reason that a common peril now faced every class, every section of the people. They did not base their policy on the vast reserves of patriotism of our people which could now be called up by stirring call to the defence of the Motherland. Instead of basing their policy on the unity and the patriotism of the people, they relied upon the greed of the imperialists to keep India as their colony. They thought and acted on the assumption that the imperialists wishing to defend India as their possession against the Japanese, would come down sooner or later and settle up with them if they held up national defence long enough. It was the most disastrous miscalculation in history. In practice the policy led to two things :

- a) It opened the flank of the nation to an attack by imperialist bureaucracy.
- b) It opened the front of the country to the foreign invader.

### Features Of The Crisis

It is true that the A.I.C.C. Resolution of August 8 spoke in the language of burning antifascism of Nehru , and demanded National Provisional Government for the defence of India in collaboration with the British and American armies. But this was coupled with the negative policy of refusal to take initiative to unite the people to defend the country. Nay, more. It was coupled with the threat of "struggle" of active mass noncooperation with the war and national defence. This gave the bureaucrats the excuse and opportunity to strike suddenly at the national leaders

and justify that step in the eyes of the British and American peoples as a timely step against a planned Fifth Column revolt by the Congress. It gave them the opportunity to split the Indian people from their great allies, the British and American peoples. This is how the flank was opened to the imperialist offensive.

What followed was a spontaneous outburst of the patriotic masses, angered and incensed by the arrest of the leaders and repression. The Fifth Column entered and sought to seize control of the same and attempted to organise it as a widespread mass sabotage movement directed against national defence. The Fifth Column got the ear of the patriotic masses. It led them into acts of sabotage against communications and transport. It instigated strike and deadlock movement against production. It organised provocative bomb outrages against the police and the people. It let loose anarchy, loot and terrorisation in the villages, and incendiary acts in the educational institutions. It justified all this in the name of "freedom revolution". Indiscriminate and widespread repression which came on top of this, only added to disruption and anarchy and progressively destroyed the morale of the people. The country was rent from end to end with conflict. The police struck against all and sundry through collective fines, terrorisation, and mass arrests. The Fifth Column organised anarchy against the people and goaded the patriot to destroy the means of defence, to stop production and to dislocate trade. A situation was created which was extremely favourable to the invader.

#### Political Crisis intertwined with Economic Crisis:

Political crisis thus created, got intertwined with economic crisis which was maturing during the two years of war. It deepened and aggravated the national crisis to the extreme. The intensification of the economic crisis leading to the disruption on the production and food front follows the same pattern as on the political plane. The bureaucracy refuses to part with power to the people, and rapidly goes over to repression when they make the just demand of "power to defend". The national leadership instead of taking initiative for uniting the people for defence, goes over to plans of holding up national defence. The Fifth Column steps in and drives the patriots to create disruption chaos and anarchy.

#### The Food Crisis:

The deepending of the food crisis takes an exactly similar course. The Government's efforts to check prices of food grains which begin to rise during the course of the war, prove singularly useless. They were based neither on the control of stocks nor on the general scaling-down of prices, nor on the cooperation of the people and the traders. The prices soar as the war approached the border of India. The bankruptcy of the Government policy of checking prices by chaotic bans and restrictions became apparent. It created the profiteer who now turns hoarder. The grain begins to disappear from the market. As the political crisis approaches, the Government attempts to eliminate the profiteering grain monopolists by entering the market directly for making purchases for the army as well as for the cities. After the 9th of August, the grain monopolist hits back and goes over to systematic

holding-up of stocks and as a part of struggle. The Government repression, and the general insecurity which follows makes hoarding by traders general. Food disappears from the market. A situation of mass starvation and food riots takes shape everywhere in the cities, towns and in villages. The Fifth Column appears on the scene, inciting hoarding by all and sundry and inciting food riots. "Government is robbing your food, so keep your grain," "Riot for food"; and "Loot, that's the only way to food", are its slogans. This is how disastrous the food crisis appears and deepens against the background of the political crisis. The complete crack-up on the food front with the enemy standing at the door created a situation of the gravest peril.

#### Production Crisis:

A similarly perilous situation arises and matures on the production front. When war comes to the soil of India, the production and transport apparatus have to meet the immense requirements of defence of India against invasion. At such time, the Government following its traditional imperialist policy obstructs the development of Indian industries because it fears the growth of Indian capital as against British monopoly capital. It refuses to grant the working class its basic demands and to get its organised co-operation for raising production because it is afraid of the rising political power of the working class. The result is that the entire transport and production apparatus begins to crack up under the load of new requirements. Industrial goods become scarce. Their prices soar up to 400 percent (e.g. cloth). The worker is starving and discontented. The Indian capitalist grousing under the Excess Profit Tax and the lack of avenues for fresh investment is curtailing even the existing production. The political crisis coming on the top of this with the slogan "hold up production", and "deadlock" finds ready response among some industrialists who go over to sabotage and stoppage of production openly and others more clandestinely. The Fifth Column agents appear on the production front and attempt to close factories by all devices, by calling for "political strike for national struggle", by provoking strikes through the economic end, by taking the help of the millowners and closing the mills from above, and by finally attempting destructive sabotage in factories and the bombing of workers out of the mills.

Here again it is the policy of imperialist bureaucracy which creates the conflict, deepens the crisis and clears the ground for the fifth column. The policy of disunity, defeatism leading to suicidal struggle, followed by the patriots feeds the fifth column, who acts as saboteur on the production front, threatening a grave crisis in production. This is how national crisis reacts on the industrial front, imperilling production and transport, the main basis of national defence.

#### Changing Face of Crisis

In the 10 months that followed the 9th of August, the national crisis shook the entire political, economic and social structure of the country. The fifth column, for whom the ground was cleared by the imperialist policy and who got the backing of

the patriotic masses, thank to the defeatist and suicidal lead given by the national leaders, succeeded for a time in riddling the country with anarchy, economic disruption and chaos. The invader could not have wished for a better preparation for an attack. The country was brought to the brink of national disaster.

Though the crisis has deepended and broadened during the last 10 months, the country had been saved, though temporarily, from a national disaster. The main factor which is responsible for bringing about this change is the heroic fight of the Communist party against the Fifth Column and its slogans, the fight to isolate it from the patriotic masses, to unite the latter for defence, production, food and the release of leaders, to forge Congress-League unity for winning National Government of national defence. However, whatever success the Communist party has so far achieved in averting the disaster, is rendered possible by two other factors. It is the thundering Soviet victory at Stalingrad (January 1943) and the expulsion of the Hitlerite armies from the Caucasus, which not only smashed Hitler's dreams of crashing through the Caucasus into the Middle East and of invading India, but forced the Jap fascist to revise his invasion time-table. This warded off the blow when India was most vulnurable and gave us time to isolate the Fifth Columnists from the patriots. The second favourable factor was the sound patriotic sense of our nationalist masses, born of 50 years of our freedom movement. It is this which enabled the patriot, out of his experience, to turn away from the Fifth Column. It is these three factors which have gone to save the country for the time being from the grave peril which faced our country in the most critical days of the crisis.

The fight of the Communist Party against the Fifth Column, aided by the sound patriotic sense of the nationalist masses, and by the favourable conditions created by the Soviet victories are bringing about a new shift in the camp of patriots. It is at present small but proves clearly the soundness and strength of our policy and shows how it is changing the face of the crisis. The changes that have taken place during the last 10 months are briefly as follows :

- i) The Fifth Column, the advance - guard of the fascist invader has lost the first round. He attempted to seize control of the entire nationalist movement and sought to build out of the first spontaneous outbursts an organised sabotage campaign. He failed to do so. After the first experience of the outburst and the repression which followed it, many Congress patriots began to turn away from sabotage, and the political base of the Fifth Column began to crumble. In the first flush of anger, the patriot mistook the Fifth Column policy to be patriotic and the logical continuation of the policy of the jailed Congress leaders. But as the ugly anti-people and treacherous face of the Fifth Column emerged, through his criminal bombings, through his leaflets, and through his slogans on the food front, the patriot began to turn away from him. Communist Party actively assisted the process, by directly fighting against sabotage, by intervening in the disturbances between the police and the people, by its bold exposure of the Fifth Column and its slogans.

The followers of Nehru were the first to make the turn. Many genuine Gandhites too are turning away. The growing political isolation of the Fifth Column from the patriots is a major defeat for the former. But it is not yet his annihilation. The bulk of the patriots who have turned away from sabotage think they have fought and lost because the Fifth Column groups were worthless leaders. They do not yet see that the lead which the Congress gave them itself was wrong. They realise vaguely that unity is essential, doubt if it is possible. They do not realise what is necessary is unity in action for national defence, for holding the rear (food and production) and strengthening the front against the fascist invader, they do not realise that this alone will make the bureaucrat bend and get them national government. Consequently they fell frustrated and demoralised. This represents a potential danger, for in the event of an invasion, it will afford a basis for the Fifth Column to stage a comeback.

- ii) The fifth Column sustained a signal failure on the production front. Except in two centres (Ahmedabad and Jamshedpur) where the stoppage was powerfully engineered from the top, saboteurs whether from the top or from the bottom, nowhere succeeded in stopping production. The Fifth Column threw the whole prestige of the Congress into battle, with the slogan "Strike for Swaraj under the banner of the Congress". Communists went into action against them with the slogan: "Stick to your jobs, for the defence of the country, under the banner of the Party." The rout of the fifth column was complete. The communists held the industrial front against the assault of the fifth column because of their long standing political and trade union leadership of the working class. But the Communists have not so far been able to advance from this defensive position. They have not been able to rouse a patriotic upsurge among the working class thereby enabling it to play its leading role in the defence of the country. Unless the working class itself girds its loins and comes forward to implement a patriotic production policy, for raising production for the army, and for the people, the anti-working class policy of the bureaucracy, the sabotage and restriction of production by profiteering owners and the nefarious activities of the fifth column cannot be finally defeated. Unless the Communists make this decisive turn, the situation on the production front will continue to be as perilous as it is today.
- iii) Large scale Jap invasion did not materialise when chaos and disruption was at its peak or even later. When the invasion did begin in the form of the bombing of Calcutta and the eastern districts of Bengal, it became a test of the political strength and organisational capacity of the Communists to fight the fifth column, to sustain the morale of the people in Calcutta and in the countryside and to hold production and transport. The communists of Bengal have passed the test with flying colours. The heroic fight they waged against the fifth column, the marvels of patriotic mass mobilisation they performed in the face of Jap bombs

has become the beginning of a new shift in the patriotic masses all over India. It served to further isolate the treacherous fifth column from the patriotic masses. At the same time, the experience of Jap raids on Calcutta served to underline the danger which demoralised patriots represent by affording applicable material in the hands of the fifth columnist mischiefmakers.

- iv) Mahatma Gandhi's correspondence with the Viceroy released at the time of his 21 day-fast in February last, in which he came out against sabotage and expressed his wish for a reconsideration of the situation and for the solution of the food crisis was another blow to the fifth column. These statements of Gandhiji became the starting point of another shift among the patriotic masses to move away from the policy of sabotage. They helped the communists wean away sections of patriotic students as well as Congressmen from the grip of fifth column influence. But Gandhiji's statements by themselves do not help the patriot to free himself from the coils of a negative policy, which is the cause of his demoralisation. For Gandhiji repudiated sabotage and wants settlement but goes on fast to achieve it. He does not advance to accept self determination as the basis of Congress-League unity. He does not advance from repudiation of sabotage to unity for defence and food. Therefore, his statements though they serve to turn the patriot away from sabotage, leave him yet helpless and demoralised.
- v) The campaign run by Communists for Congress-League unity on the basis of self-determination, for the release of leaders, and against sabotage, as well as the successful efforts made by them in some provinces to forge unity with the League for the solution of the food crisis, has brought about a shift in the ranks of the League patriots. The desire to see Congress and League united for the solution of the deadlock and for the winning of National Government of national defence is growing among League patriots, among the rank and filers as well as among provincial and district leaders. This mass urge for unity has found expression in the statements of Mr. Jinnah which he has made in recent months. He has concretised the demand for self-determination still further which should bring the League near the Congress. He has expressed himself for Congress-League unity if Congress were to take the first step. But Mr. Jinnah and the League continue to pursue a negative policy towards unity and defence which is parallel to that pursued by the Congress. The League will not rouse the Muslim masses for national defence till the Government grants the self-determination demand. The League will not campaign for Gandhiji's release till Gandhiji writes to him his agreement on the self-determination demand. The grip of the influence of this negative policy on the League patriots is yet powerful. It presents the mass urge for unity from advancing to action for unity.

### **III. ROLE OF THE PARTY IN THE CRISIS - MAIN DEVIATION**

Against the dark clouds of deepening national crisis, the remarkable growth of our Party and its dogged fight against the fifth column stands out as a streak of silver-lining. During the past nine months, our Party has grown from a hunted underground organisation to a major political force in the country third in importance after the National Congress and the Muslim League. During this period we have surpassed in many respects all that we achieved in the last 15 years of our Party's life. Our membership has grown from 4,464 in July 1942 to 15,563 (May Day 1943). The circulation of our Party organs in all the 11 languages has reached a figure of 60,000. Workers and kisans organised in trade unions and Kisan Sabhas, under the influence of the Party, number about 3 lakhs and 4 lakhs respectively. 39,000 organised students stand under the influence of the Party. Thousands of women have awakened to political life under the influence of the Party's work. 41,000 of them are organised in Mahila Sanghs. This progress we have achieved during the period of the crisis, at a time when the bulk of the nation and the patriots did not approve of our policy and thought it was a surrender. The Party has achieved this progress by tirelessly working for unity for food, production and defence by campaigning for national unity on the basis of self-determination, for the release of Congress leaders and for National Government of national defence. Ever-growing number of patriots are realising to-day that our policy is sound and our practice yields results. The Party prevented sabotage in cities, villages and educational institutions. It stopped food riots and inspired faith and hope that food crisis can be solved. It kept up production and transport. This enabled the Party to isolate the fifth column politically and forge closer links with the Congress patriot. Through ceaseless work for Congress League unity, the Party has brought patriots from Congress as well as from the League to realise that unity is possible and essential.

Our achievements are great but they are of a defensive and negative character. We have held the fronts and created an urge for unity. But we are not yet able to transform that urge into a mass-swing for unity in action for food, production and defence. The crisis is worsening very rapidly. The tempo of our mass mobilisation is slowing down. While the growth of the Party between August 1942 and January 1943 has been a leap; from January to May 1943, our progress has slowed down. In the first period, the task was general agitational-the popularisation of our basic slogans. In the second period, the task is to strengthen mass organisations, to draw masses in the campaign for food, production, and for growing more food.

The main reason for this lag is a serious left-nationalist deviation which runs like a red-thread through all our agitation and mass campaigns. Thus in the first period of the crisis, we concentrated the fire on the bureaucracy as the main incendiary. We exposed the fifth columnist and his sabotage slogan. But we did not expose to the patriot the negative and defeatist policy of the national leadership

which had brought him straight into the hands of the fifth column. The result was that when mass of patriots swung away from sabotage, they remained sunk in demoralisation instead of advancing towards the policy of patriotic defence. It is not enough to expose the fifth column to the patriot. We have to rouse the patriot to fight the fifth column. This we will be able to do only when we wean him away from the negative attitude towards defence which the Congress leaders taught him, only when we make him see that any advance against the bureaucrat is possible only by uniting for defence.

In the second phase, namely, that of building national unity in action, continuance of left-nationalist deviation is a far greater drag on progress. For instance a food campaign which reduces itself to a mere exposure of the bureaucracy coupled with formulation of general demands, leads not to food but to riots. The point is to unite the people against riots and for positive tasks in connection with the solution of the local food problem. This enables us to force the bureaucracy to change or modify its measures and prevent riots. Not to do this is to open the door of food riots to let in the fifth column.

In the case of both "grow more food" as well as in the case of the production policy on the working class front, the main deviation is to completely miss the patriotic political basis of the production policy. The tendency is to carry out work on the kisan front as well as on the working class as of old, i.e., under the slogan, unite the kisan and the worker to win partial demands. This is sheer economism. Refusal to rouse the worker and the kisan to the patriotic task of defending the country by raising production, leads to failure to win the demands as well as to strengthen organisation. This would leave the worker and the kisan helpless against the fifth column and the production front both industrial and food, exposed to the danger of sabotage.

On the student front, again, the tendency has been to take the easy path of carrying on the release campaigns as anti-repression campaigns only. Propaganda against sabotage, against the fifth column and his role as well as for the main slogan, unite for the defence of the country, has been slurred over. The result has been that our student Communists pleased the patriotic boys but failed to bring about a mass swing among the students for unity and defence.

All these deviations have one common root—namely, the failure to conduct a sharp struggle against the fifth column and its slogans, failure to expose the negative policy followed by the Congress leaders and the tendency to over emphasise the "exposure" and the wordy abuse of the bureaucracy. In practice, this leads to under-emphasis on the slogans, unite for defence, fight the hoarder and the rioter, etc. If this tendency were to persist, it will reduce the striking power of our policy and practice and reduce our progress to stagnation. This deviation must be rooted out from every front in order that we may be able to advance from general agitational a wakening to moving masses for unity in action.

## IV. MAIN SLOGANS AND CAMPAIGNS

The basic slogan of to-day is national unity for national defence to win National Government of national defence. To implement this slogan, to win National Government the urgent need to-day is to build unity in action for defence, food and production. That alone would lead to freedom and victory. The Communist Party, therefore, enjoins every member and every Party unit to put out supreme effort to rally the people behind the following mass campaigns :

1. Unity For Defence against sabotage, against fifth column, for civil defence and for the support of armies. The fight against the fifth column as the agent of the foreign invader comes first and foremost. He must be fought out on all occasions, every-where and on all issues. The groups which make up the fifth column are the Forward Bloc, the party of the traitor Bose; the C.S.P., which betrayed Socialism at the beginning of the war and pursued a policy of opportunism and disruption and ended in the camp of the Trotskyite - traitors; and finally, the Trotskyite groups which are criminal gangs in the pay of fascists. The Communist Party declares that all these three groups must be treated by every honest Indian as the worst enemies of the nation and driven out of political life and exterminated.

The Communist Party exhorts everyone of its members in the threatened provinces to join the A.R.P. and Civil Defence Services.

The Communist Party exhorts every member to popularise the role of the Indian allied armies as defenders of India.

In the threatened areas, Communists must offer organised co-operation of the people through their mass organisation, and Party units, to the British or Indian troops for offensive as well as defensive preparation.

For the support of the armies, and to build fraternal relations between them and the people, the Communist Party offers its anti-fascist cultural patriotic squads to raise the morale of the Indian and British armies.

2. Unity for the release of National leaders. The key slogan which we place in the forefront in the course of this campaign before all is END DEADLOCK. We want the release of national leaders, for making settlement possible, for their participation in the National Government of national defence. In uniting Congressmen for the release campaign, we must rally them against sabotage, against the fifth-column and for accepting the right of self-determination of Muslim (and other) nationalities. It must be brought home to them that this alone is the key to the release of leaders and no other. In winning the support of the League patriots to this campaign, we must explain how the release of leaders and no other. In winning the support of the League patriots to this campaign, we must explain how the release of Congress leaders, and Congress-League unity alone is the way of winning self-determination and no other. The only way to smash the resistance of the bureaucracy here and to assist the forces abroad which are pressing the British Government in London, is to bring about a mass swing among Congressmen against

sabotage, and for the acceptance of self-determination as well as a mass swing among the Muslim followers of the League for the release of leaders.

3. Unity for Food means first and foremost unity to prevent food riots, and unity against hoarding. The danger and gravity of the present food situation demands the concentrating the fire of propaganda against rioting as mutual slaughter and bold intervention to prevent food riots. The wrath of the people must be roused against hoarding as thieving people's food.

Communists must practically intervene in the food situation by building all-in people's food committees with all sections and parties in it. The more they discharge these agitational and organisational tasks the more they will be able to solve the problem and change the present position in which the bureaucracy makes paper schemes minus the people and leaves the execution in the hands of the hoarder and officials. District and town people's food conferences must be organised under the joint initiative of popular organisations and parties to create joint food committees, to achieve the following : defeat the fifth column propaganda among the peasants to withhold stocks, prevention of rioting and exposure of hoarders, the unearthing of their stocks, fair price to the kisan, public control of all stocks, stabilising of all prices at a reasonable level, transport facilities for getting stocks, and smooth working of rationing in towns, and a regular supply of stocks to honest traders and food committees in rural areas.

4. Unity of the working class to produce more for the defence of the motherland. The production policy of the Party is the practical and specific application of the main slogan : Unity for Defence. To the industrial front, production is the key base of national defence which the working class mans. It is the patriotic duty of the worker to strengthen defence by taking initiative for organising more production and better transport, and against stoppage of work irrespective of what the boss or the bureaucrat does. The worker alone has the production in his grip and therefore, he alone can make practical production plans.

- 100 percent unionism is the key lever for implementing the slogan of production for the army and for the people.
- Communists take a bold and open stand against strikes as they injure the defence of the country by holding up production.
- 100 per cent unionism, winning recognition of trade unions and mill and factory committees and the formation of Joint Production Committees to organise production to enable the worker to win his demands.
- Communists intervene in spontaneous strikes and settle them as soon as possible.
- Vigorous political explanatory campaign must be launched among workers exposing the role and the real face of the fifth - column groups such as C.S.P., Forward Bloc and the Trotskyites. Expose the role of the Royists as the splitters of Trade Unions and as anti-patriotic agents of the bureaucracy.

Production Conferences should be organised in the different industrial centres. Through them is launched simultaneously an intense explanatory campaign for our production policy, for drive for mass trade unions, and for the formulation of practical plan for increasing production which workers can put into practice on their own, despite existing obstacles. This specific plan must be worked for each industrial centre by studying the industry mill by mill through preliminary workers 'delegates' meetings.

The crux of our production policy is to rouse the worker to his patriotic duty in this hour of country's peril, is to rouse him to the consciousness of his leading role in defending and saving the country. Even the elementary appeal for 100% unionism to-day must not be made through the economic end of partial demands but through the patriotic end : "To defend the country, to raise production." Unless the Communists make a decisive turn on the industrial front and rouse the working class to implement the patriotic production policy, they will not be able either to strengthen organisation or to win for the workers, adequate dearness allowance, 25% rise in wages, bonus, and the recognition of union. Unless this is done, the perilous situation which exists to-day on the production front cannot be liquidated and the door bolted and barred to the fifth-column. It is by carrying out this production policy that the working class strengthens the industrial rear and leads the organisation of National Defence.

5. Unity of Kisans to Grow More Food. The slogan of "Unite the peasantry to grow more food" plays the same role in the present situation on the kisan front, as the slogan "Unity of the working class for production" plays on the working-class front. It is the specific application of the general slogan "Unite to defend the Motherland" on the Kisan front. The appeal to the kisan to unite in thousands in the Kisan Sabha must to-day strike the strident note of patriotism-Unite to defend the hearth and home, unite to defend your fields and crops, unite to grow more food. Patriotism demands of the kisan that he unites to grow more food, to solve the food crisis to feed the army that defends his land, to feed the worker who makes goods for the army and for the people. The kisan occupies a key role in the defence of the country which is on a par with that of the worker. The bureaucrat beats the drum of the "grow more food" campaign but wants to run it without winning the willing co-operation of the kisan or of his organisation, both of which he hates, and without granting a single demand essential for the success of the campaign. No wonder that the campaign has brought no change. The landlord too cannot be expected to take the initiative for the grow more food campaign. Left to himself, his patriotism does not go beyond his rent receipts and he has no love for the Kisan Sabha either. It is the kisan who has to get on his legs and gird his loins for uniting thousands of kisans for the campaign. As soon as the kisan unites on this patriotic basis neither the bureaucrat nor the landlord can withstand his just demands for fallow land, for irrigation facilities, for seeds, taccavi and for relief or remission from rents and interest.

The basis of all Kisan agitation and organisation, at present, must be this patriotic slogan of growing more food. The village unity built on this will be invulnerable to fifth column incitement to civil war. Congressmen and Leaguers can and must be drawn into this campaign. Thus it will not only enable us to bend the bureaucrat and the landlord and to expel the fifth-column from the village but will also enable us to build national unity in the village. To popularise the slogan and to initiate campaign, organise every local kisan conference as Grow More Food Conference, to plan out practical steps to grow more food and which in the locality must be made the basis of the campaign. In the preparatory campaign for the conference the political patriotic essence of the slogan must be thoroughly explained and the kisans won for it on that basis.

**6. Unity Of Students.** Unity of the students to guard their right for education and freedom in institutions, to fight out the Fifth Column from the institutions, unite the students for civil defence and for the defence of the motherland, for food and against sabotage – these are the main slogans on the student front. It is of the utmost importance to intensify political explanatory campaign among the students. It is essential to expose the real treacherous role of the various fifth-column groups (C.S.P., F.B. and the Trotskyites) to the patriotic students and tear to shreds their pretensions to being Marxist - Leninist groups. It is essential to emphasise the acceptance of the right of self-determination as the only basis for national unity and the release of leaders. Special efforts must be made to draw the Muslim students into student organisations, closer links must be established between the Muslim Students' Federation and the A.I.S.F for joint action on the issues of food, release of national leaders, civil defence, etc.

**7. Women's Movement.** One of the most striking features of the mass awakening that has taken place as part of the Communist crusade for unity during the crisis period, is the upsurge of women's movement, especially in the threatened provinces of Bengal, Andhra and Malabar. Profiting from this experience, Communists everywhere must pay special attention to the organisation of women especially toiling women. The main slogans for the organisation of women are self-defence, food and national unity. The entire Party must be awakened to the tremendous importance of women's front in the fight to win over the patriotic masses and strengthen all mass organisations.

Such are the main campaigns which this Congress of the Communist Party directs its units to undertake and pursue with determination and vigour to create among the patriotic masses a mass swing towards unity in action for defence, food and production. Only if we make them a resounding success can we take our nation out of the crisis, prevent its deepening and extension, and bring National Government. There is no other short-cut to National Government.

## **V. BUILD MASS C.P. AS BUILDER OF NATIONAL UNITY**

The Congress emphasises with particular stress that only an all-round consolidation of the advances made by us in the growth of the Party and its building up as a mass Communist Party alone would enable the Communists to mobilise the widest masses for unity in action, for defence, food and production, for winning National Government for National Defence. The phenomenal growth registered by the Party during the last 10 months clearly shows that all the conditions necessary for building a mass C.P. firmly rooted in the working class and the toiling peasantry are at hand. If the progress has been slowed down during the last two months, it is entirely due to certain sectarian approach towards the recruitment and training of Party members. The growing number of working-class, kisan and student militants who are daily participating in the mass campaigns under the direction of the Party either as Red Guards or as Volunteers must be bodily recruited inside the Party and must be rapidly educated as active Party members.

Above all, the mass campaigns enumerated above must be run in such a way that they result in building up of mass organisations. Building up of Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, and Students' and Women's organisations as a part of the, "grow more food," production and national unity and release campaigns is the more urgent task. Every Party unit must be drawn planfully on this drive to build the mass organisations. This is absolutely essential for laying an ever-widening base for the building of a mass Communist Party.

## **VI. FOR FREE INDIA IN A FREE WORLD**

The national crisis is reaching a new stage, the pre-requisites for its solution are maturing. They are seen in the growing mass swing of the patriots away from sabotage, in the growing sweep and striking power of our unity campaigns for food, for Congress-League unity, for the release of national leaders. What we have achieved so far is but a silver-lining in a situation which is yet dark. But the silver-lining is growing and is pointing the way to the solution of the crisis. All out effort on all hands, on all fronts, is the supreme need. The destiny of the nation is in our hands. We are the only Party on whose shoulders rests the task of pulling the nation out of the bog of demoralisation and getting the patriotic parties together to turn away from the barren path of disunity to the only patriotic path possible to-day, namely, for all-in unity for national defence. We are quite capable of shouldering this task. We are the Party of the working class, which is destined to shape the future of the world and of mankind. It is doing so already. The glorious Red Army under the leadership of Stalin and of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union is blasting the way to victory and freedom for us, for every people in the world. The strength of the peoples of the world is rising in support of our country's freedom as never before. For it is the urgent need for every people that India that

is a breach in the world front today be converted into a bastion of popular national defence and a base for people's offensive for the liberation of East Asia. That is why every effort we make for unity here is healing the breach in our country. It is reinforced by the rising unity of the British and American people. Every blow we strike against the fifth column is struck against the common enemy together with the Red Army and is reinforced by it. What is needed is :

- ALL - OUT EFFORTS FOR NATIONAL UNITY
- FOR THE SUPREME PATRIOTIC DUTY WHICH FACES US TODAY – NATIONAL DEFENCE.

We will unite the patriots to save the Motherland shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army and the armies of the United Nations and win a free India, in a free world.



# POLITICAL THESIS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

*Passed by the Second Congress at Calcutta*

*Feb 28 - March 6, 1948*

## I. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The defeat of Hitler Germany and Fascist Japan in World War II has completely altered the international landscape and moved the balance decisively in favour of the working class and its revolutionary movement. Though the elimination of powerful rivals like Germany and Japan might appear to have strengthened other imperialist powers, yet the total result is not the strengthening of the world-imperialist system but its immense weakening; not the strengthening of American imperialism but its tremendous weakening before the world-revolutionary movement; not the strengthening of the capitalist world but the strengthening of the Socialist World and of the movements and people heading towards Socialism and national emancipation.

These results are to be seen in the direct increase in the power and strength of the revolutionary forces.

The imperialist expectation of a tremendous weakening of the Soviet Union, its economic collapse and chaos after the war has not only not materialised, but the contrary has come to be true.

In spite of the tremendous slaughter of manpower and the most devastating destruction of resources, the Soviet Union has come out stronger - an object of admiration for the people and a great rallying point for the working class and the masses in the struggle against capital. The might of its arms creates confidence among the masses of all countries and shatters the myth of the invincibility of imperialist arms.

Not only the military, but also the economic, organisational and industrial prestige of the Soviet Union has increased tremendously, and the people in capitalist countries contrast the planned, organised life in the Soviet Union with the anarchy in capitalist society.

Secondly, the rise in Eastern Europe of People's Democracies - where power belongs to the people, where large-scale industry, transport and the banks are owned by the State and where a bloc of the labouring classes of the population headed by the working class constitutes the leading force-is another big blow to world capitalism.

It takes away a population equal in number to that of Britain and France put together and a big territory from the orbit of capitalism, and puts it firmly on the path to Socialism.

By tearing these countries out of the orbit of the imperialist-capitalist world, by establishing People's Democracies in them, which shatter the political and economic power of the exploiting classes, by organising States which embody the sovereignty of the people based on the alliance of workers, peasants and oppressed middle classes, and by strengthening the world socialist sector, the Eastern European Democracies further widen the breach created by the Russian Revolution in 1917.

The strengthening of the revolutionary movement of the working class and the weakening of capitalism is further seen on the European continent in the immense rise in the strength of the Communist Parties- the vanguard of the working class - and in the growing unification of the class around them. The rise of the Italian and French Communist Parties, apart from those in Eastern Europe, was the logical conclusion of the great role they played in the revolutionary struggle against Fascism.

A measure of this immense strength is to be obtained not only by the immense growth in Party membership, but in the growth of the mass organisations led by the Parties; in the parliamentary successes scored-with the Communist Parties often coming out as the biggest single parties.

The rise of the Communist Parties in these countries epitomises the strength of the working class and the instability of the present regimes and the maturity of the revolutionary developments. It shows that before the parties of the Right can restore the pre-war capitalist balance, economically and politically, before the ruling class can successfully throw the burdens of the crisis on the working class, it will have to wage big battles against the workers-battles in which the working-class strength is immense and great. It shows that the working class is in a position to defeat the new offensive and solve the revolutionary tasks of the present period.

Europe for the capitalists is on the brink of a disaster. In Britain, it is the Labour Government that stands between the mounting discontent and the capitalist rule. In America, which is getting more and more in the mire of the crisis, which is hungrily searching for markets all over the world and is attacking the living standard of its own people and the freedom of other nations-the crisis opens new battles between the financial autocrats and the common people.

The successful struggle for Chinese liberation that is being waged under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party strikes another powerful blow at the world imperialist order, threatening to alter the political landscape of Asia and preparing the way of throwing the imperialists and their agents out of the colonies. The growing rout of Chiang Kai-shek's armies and the fiasco of the policy of American imperialism unmistakably show that the imperialist policies and aims come up everywhere against insuperable obstacles in the shape of people struggling for freedom.

## THE ROLE OF RIGHT-WING SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

In this new and decisive period of revolutionary developments, the right-wing Social Democrats, the traditional hangers-on of the bourgeoisie, come forward with their usual treacherous role as the lackeys and servitors of the bourgeoisie.

In the period of the anti-Fascist war, the Social Democratic leaders of France, Britain, etc., found themselves in the People's camp, along with their capitalist masters, who were compelled to join it. They joined it after they had slandered the Soviet Union, supported the Munichites, disrupted the Popular Front, split the ranks of the working class and had seen the utter fiasco of the foreign policy of their masters.

In the course of the war, the Social Democratic leaders sabotaged the revolutionary armed liberation struggles against the Fascists, joining their imperialist masters, firstly, in relying on the Anglo-American invading armies and, secondly, in supporting the old reactionary imperialist agents (Badoglio, Mihailovitch, Mikolajczyk, etc.) as against the people's liberation movements. Thus they acted as a brake on the initiative of the masses.

Today when in each country the question of fight against capitalist rule is being decisively posed, the right-wing Social Democrats, as true reformists, come out in favour of the capitalist order, as its defenders and apologists, as a hypocritical "third force" directing its fire on the working class and the Communist Party.

In the post-war elections, they capitalised the discontent of the masses against the traditional bourgeois parties, and secured majorities in parliaments (Britain); they capitalised the prestige which the participation of their ranks in the anti-Fascist struggle had won for them to get into Governments, and split the ranks of the working class.

The Social Democratic leaders, in conformity with the needs of their capitalist masters, follow a policy of attacking the living standards of the working class, of throwing the burdens of the crisis on the workers, of engaging in a mad hunt for markets, suppress the working class and the people, attack democratic rights, pursue an anti-Soviet, anti-Socialist and anti-revolutionary policy- a policy of defending the capitalist order and taking the people to another war.

The right-wing Social Democratic leaders have also emerged as the initiators of plans of bestial suppression, of full-scale wars against subject peoples in revolt at the end of the war. They have combined their military suppression with new forms of imperialist enslavement of subject peoples in alliance with native bourgeois classes, miscalled "independence." The British Labour Government has granted such fake "independence" to India, Pakistan, Burma, etc.

The Socialist Government of France, in defence of the French Empire, is suppressing with armed forces the Vietnamese people's struggle for freedom. The Dutch Socialists are fully supporting Dutch imperialism's colonial war in Indonesia.

The right-wing Social Democratic leaders, under the dictates of American imperialism, conspire with the reactionaries in throwing Communist Parties out of Government, in forming stop-gap coalitions with bourgeois parties to open the way to reactionary regimes, throw themselves on the mercy of American money and loans to maintain the present order and lend their influence to combat the growing wave of revolutionary discontent. Anti-Sovietism, anti-Communism, defence of capitalism, become the keys to understand the policies of the Social Democratic leadership.

## New class Alignments

The close of the anti-Fascist war has thus led to a new constellation of class forces. The old combination, in which certain sections of the bourgeoisie and their reformist hangers-on were found in the people's camp in the common battle against Fascism, is replaced by one in which the entire world bourgeoisie, ranged together with its reformist hangers-on and reactionary supporters, is attempting to blend itself together to stem the tide of revolution and oppose the working class, the people, the Socialist Soviet Union, the Eastern Democracies and the colonial peoples.

The impact of economic crisis and the imminent menace of revolution are the basic reasons why the new set-up comes into existence and the bourgeois States begin to conspire against the Soviet Union; why Anglo-American imperialism more and more uses its majority in U.N.O. as a bloc against the democratic nations.

Even during the course of the people's war, the contradiction between the Socialist and the capitalist worlds was developing (delay of the Second Front, Anglo-American intrigue to bleed the Soviet Union and support for reactionaries like Darlan, de Gaulle, Badoglio, etc). After the end of the war and the sudden release of the economic crisis, the contradiction sharpened immensely.

The basic line of the bourgeois parties in each country, and of their reformist hangers-on, is to fight the revolution at home and abroad. That is why the old set-up completely changes. This is what creates two camps—the imperialist anti-democratic camp, and the anti-imperialist democratic camp composed of the Soviet Union, the Eastern European Democracies and the fighting people all over the world.

The leadership of the imperialist camp is in the hands of American imperialism whose strength has immensely grown in relation to its old rivals. It has out-distanced Britain to such an extent that Britain is a supplicant for alms at the American door. It has gained the most from the elimination of its most powerful rivals, Germany and Japan; this has whetted its appetite for markets. With its territory far from the field of war, it was able to develop its resources quickly in the war period, with the result that today its productive capacity has grown immensely.

With it have grown the lust and need for markets, for domination of colonies so that new fields of investment are opened and strategic war bases are secured, for subordinating every Government, whether of a colonial or advanced capitalist country, to stave off the crisis in America.

The rise of the American colossus overriding all other capitalist countries, subordinating nation after nation to its financial rule and operating as the most important factor in determining the policies of the capitalist world, is one of the basic elements in the new situation.

The maintenance and expansion of American imperialism can be achieved only by crushing the freedom and independence of all countries and by establishing Fascist reactionary dictatorships all over the world. The necessity of maintaining the old order has forced American imperialism to come out as the open enemy of all mankind.

The role of classes, political parties, leaders and organisations, therefore, must be judged in relation to this basic role of American imperialism.

Simultaneously with this, there has been a flare up in the inter-imperialist antagonisms. The elimination of Japan and Germany has not solved but intensified the rivalry between Britain and America, and the two come into conflict in almost every part of the world : in the Middle East for oil; in South East Asia and French Indo-China; in Europe, the American dollar more and more forces back the British sterling. American imperialism even holds back British Big Business' own plans for rebuilding British industry, badly shattered during the war (for instance shipbuilding), exacting harsh terms in return for its loans; it is by using this whip-hand that it continuously applies its pressure to bring Britain firmly within its imperialist orbit, reducing it to the status of a second-rate power and its own satellite.

Today, with Britain dependent on America, the rival claims are being adjusted in favour of America - America forcing Britain to pull down or reduce import tariff walls, give wider scope to American trade, accept all kinds of conditions on loans and make Britain's colonies dependent on America. Britain has no choice as long as she continues to remain a capitalist country, and she is forced to trail behind America.

But a solution of the rival claims in this way only worsens the conditions of the British masses and hampers economic development. This will lead to growing consciousness and determination of the British working class to fight the Anglo-American reactionary alliance. Thus the basis of Anglo-American cooperation against the Soviet Union, against democratic revolution, gets weakened by the experience of the masses.

### **Imperialism's way out**

Faced with the biggest revolutionary wave menacing its very existence, with the utter collapse of the capitalist order in Europe, with new gains scored by the working class and the people against monopoly capital and with the threatened collapse of capitalist production in America-American imperialism seeks to find a way out of the present crisis in the interests of the capitalist order.

It pushes ahead with its Marshall Plan which is essentially directed to build the Western Bloc, a bloc of reactionary capitalist States in Western Europe, bound hand and foot to American imperialism, a reactionary bloc in which the restored industrial belt in Western Germany, controlled by American monopolies, acting directly and through the still-surviving Fascists, will occupy a central position.

The granting of American credits is directed to succour Europe's collapsing capitalist order and stave off the revolution, while in return these countries are forced to sell their economic and political independence to American imperialism, offering themselves as outlets for surplus American goods, thus turning themselves increasingly into virtual colonies of the U.S.A.

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan based on it serve the needs of American expansion.

Economically, the Marshall plan is a plan of rendering economic assistance by means of American credits to reactionary regimes in Europe. This economic "assistance" helps American imperialism to find a market for its goods in the country to which such assistance is rendered. American imperialism thus seeks to mitigate the crisis of over-production in America.

Politically, it is an attempt to bolster up anti-democratic reactionary Governments which, relying on reactionary vested interests, can act as stooges of American imperialism and sell the economic and political independence of their countries to American imperialism. American "assistance" generally means the domination of the political life of the country by American imperialism; sooner or later only those parties remain in power as are prepared to accept the dictates of Washington in their home and foreign policies and crush the democratic and working masses of their own countries.

American imperialism relies on the right-wing Social Democrats of certain countries for help, since the parties of the Right are already discredited. It relies on the anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism, and the anti-revolutionary policy of the right-wing Social Democrats to do its job. Financial measures and immediate relief given by the U.S.A supply a base for the treachery of the right-wing Social Democrats. They arm them with a weapon to cheat the masses and to parade before them the necessity of American aid by taking advantage of their starvation and loss of jobs.

The right-wing leaders of reformist parties today are used as the first weapon to split the ranks of the working class and begin the process of setting a country on the road to Fascism.

Simultaneously with this, American imperialism goes on arming and strengthening the real Fascists like de Gaulle.

It is on the basis of this aid to the collapsing capitalist structure that the American imperialists attempt to draw the right-wing Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties into a common front against the Soviet Union, into a Western Bloc to fight

the Soviet Union and Eastern Democracies. The rebuilding of capitalist Fascist Germany, and the formation of the Western Bloc to unleash war and to fight the Soviet Union are integral parts of the imperialist plan to solve the crisis at the expense of the people. The war propaganda now being carried on, the atom bomb threat repeatedly given, and the anti-Soviet slander which has become a part of the bourgeois offensive - all show that imperialism seeks a way out through war, if it can do so.

To achieve this end, the unleashing of a Third World War, however, is not easy; for the Marshall Plan and its political counterpart, the plan to build a Western Bloc, can only succeed through destroying the independence and national sovereignty of the countries of Western Europe, transforming them into America's colonies; these plans are, therefore, bound to meet and are already meeting with the growing resistance of the democratic forces of Europe, headed by the Communist Parties and the working class, whose strength can certainly defeat the provocateurs of war.

The Marshall Plan is thus imperialism's way out of the crisis, a plan for the enslavement of the world and the colonial fascisation of Europe.

### In The Colonies

The post-war revolutionary epoch has brought the colonies to the path of armed struggle against the imperialists and their allies. So powerful are these struggles and so great their revolutionary sweep that the achievement at one stroke of People's Democracy (as in the countries of Eastern Europe) becomes an immediate attainable objective. The imperialists and their bourgeois collaborators are overthrown and power passes into the hands of the toiling people led by the working class, which assures not only complete national independence but also the liquidation of the capitalist social order and the building of Socialism.

As in the metropolitan countries, so in the colonies, the old imperialist order - the colonial order - was collapsing. Ground down by exploitation and poverty - first by the imperialists and then by the Fascists - the people in many countries resisted the imperialists' attempt to come back after Japan's defeat, and fought with arms. Viet Nam and Indonesia carried on regular wars of liberation. Burma fought with weapons. India began to see armed struggles, mutinies and fraternisation of the army and the police with the people.

In the centre of this great struggle for colonial liberation stands the glorious fight of the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army, delivering massive blows against the main bulwark of colonial rule in Asia and the world. People's victory in the Chinese struggle will change the entire shape of Asia and the world, and ensure the doom of the colonial and the capitalist order.

Faced with this onrushing tide of revolution, imperialism makes desperate attempts to save the colonial order by seeking new allies with influence and with a mass-base, by cheating the colonial people with fake freedom and independence.

In China, American imperialism openly finances the murderous campaign of Chiang Kai-shek-and yet, aware of the fact that the Kuomintang was discredited, makes an attempt to draw other parties into the fight against the Communists. But it places its main reliance on the Kuomintang and the armed help given to it.

In Indonesia, it sought to capitalise the vacillations of the bourgeoisie to temporise, defeat and betray the armed struggle of the people.

On the continent of Europe the imperialists first rely on the right-wing Social Democrats and then on other parties of the Right to achieve their objective. Everywhere their strategie aim is to secure a mass base for their offensive against revolution.

### **Fiasco of Imperialist Policy**

The essence of recent international developments however, is the growing frustration of imperialist designs, the growing isolation of Anglo-American imperialism and its henchmen in country after country, both in Europe and Asia.

The Conference of the Nine European Communist Parties in Poland in September 1947 and its decision to establish an Information Bureau for exchange of information and coordination of activities based on mutual agreement, marked a historic turning point in the development of the struggle between the democratic camp and the imperialist camp.

The militant call of the conference to unite to resist the expansionist policy of American imperialism and its agents in every country and its drive to war, has led to a new upsurge of the democratic masses throughout the world who have increasingly gone over to the offensive against the Anglo-American imperialists and their local allies.

The firm refusal of the Central and Eastern Eruopean People's Democracies to support the Marshall Plan has dealt a heavy blow to American economic expansion. Subsequent developments in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, as well as in Rumania and Bulgaria, signify the utter isolation of reaction in these countries. The fact that the toiling masses ranged behind the Socialist and peasant parties in these countries have firmly expelled traitorous elements and adhered to the democratic bloes, and thus defeated the American conspiracy to foment civil war in these countries, underlines the tremendous isolation of the forces of imperialism and reaction, and the enormous strength of the democratic and popular forces.

In Greece, the heroic Democratic Army, commanded by General Markos, has liberated seven-tenths of Greek territory, while all American imperialism's attempts to crush it have been fought back determinedly; at the same time, America's agents, the Greek Fascists, are thoroughly isolated from the toiling people and face a growing opposition even in the territory they yet control, as reflected in numerous strikes and demonstrations.

The heroic struggle of the French working class in defence of the working-class interests and the sovereignty of French people has given another big blow to American plan of imperialist expansion.

So also in Italy, the growing strength of the People's Democratic Front, based on Communist-Socialist unity, evidenced in the successful mass struggles waged by different sections of the workers and agricultural labourers, reflect the increasing people's opposition to the American conspiracy to turn Italy with the aid of de Gasperi and local reaction into its Mediterranean colony.

A similar process is revealed in the growing disintegration of the mass following of the Kuomintang in China, the mounting workers', students' and people's upsurge against U.S.-Kuomintang dictatorship, contrasted with the ever-larger rally of the exploited masses around the banner of the Chinese Communist Party, inflicting on the Kuomintang militarists one defeat after another.

Despite the serious diversion created by the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine, the revolutionary anti-British demonstrations by the students and workers of Cairo, the successful students' and people's revolt in Iraq which led to the downfall of the puppet Government and the rescinding of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of slavery, the persistence of revolutionary discontent in Iran, necessitating martial law in Azerbaijan-all go to underline the immense revolutionary possibilities of the situation in the Middle East.

Therefore the chief danger before the working class today is to underestimate its own strength, the strength of the anti-imperialist camp of democracy and Socialism, and to overestimate the strength of the enemy camp, the camp of imperialism and reaction and its puppets and collaborators in each country.

The developments show that the people's revolutionary forces of the world are stronger than imperialist reaction and that reaction thrives only to the extent it can disrupt and blackmail the democratic camp with the help of the right-wing Social Democratic leaders.

Frustrated in its attempts to solve the crisis of capitalism by means of peaceful expansion of its "sphere" of influence, alarmed by the growing threat of workers' counter-offensive all over the world and menaced by the imminence of a new crisis of overproduction which is inevitable, American imperialism is making hectic preparations for a new world war. All these preparations will only intensify the capitalist crisis and meet with increasing resistance from the toiling people all over the world, rousing them to fight all the more against war and imperialist domination.

## **II. CHANGES IN INDIA DURING WORLD WAR II AND ECONOMIC BASIS OF COLLABORATIONIST POLICY OF BOURGEOISIE**

In India, the British imperialists saw the menacing tide of revolution, irrepressible and advancing, and realised that the days of the old order were over. The old colonial rule in which British imperialism was the avowed master and was supported

by a feudal retinue, bureaucrats, landlords, etc., was an order based on perpetuation of feudalism and opposition to the bourgeoisie.

It was an order which could be maintained only by the most naked use of force - for neither imperialism nor the Princes had any social base, while the order oppressed the entire people alike.

It was an order which was maintained by repressing the people and keeping the bourgeoisie away from State power as well as by obstructing its economic development.

Imperialism could rule in this way only so long as the movement for national emancipation had not risen to huge dimensions.

The imperialist policy of obstructing capitalist development threw the bourgeoisie into opposition, into the people's camp, and made it oscillate between revolution and imperialism. The bourgeoisie, though drawn by self-interest to join the anti-imperialist movement, always acted as a brake on the militancy of the movement and repeatedly compromised at the expense of the people.

The post-war situation saw the national revolutionary discontent reaching the level of armed struggle in India. The national bourgeoisie, though it lost the gamble of a "swift and short struggle" in 1942 - which relied for its success on Fascist advance - had nevertheless increased its strength and influence over the people enormously, because the people looked upon the 1942 struggle as an anti-imperialist struggle and the national bourgeois leadership as its leader. The exploitation of the anti-imperialist discontent in 1942 now paid its dividend. The national bourgeois leadership could now head and unite the discontent if it so wished. Imperialism realised that that would sound the death-knell of its rule.

The way to bar the revolution, to save the old order, was to purchase the very leaders who were at the head of the national movement and thus broaden the social base of the Government, split the revolutionary forces and strike at them.

Menaced by the revolutionary wave, and finding the bourgeoisie also frightened by it and therefore agreeable to compromise, imperialism struck a deal with the bourgeoisie and proclaimed it as independence and freedom. Imperialism was basing itself on a new class - the national bourgeoisie, whose leaders had placed themselves at the head of the national movement and who were immensely useful in beating down the revolutionary wave.

The objective was the same as in Europe. It was to forge new economic chains to enslave the country and while formally transferring power to the bourgeoisie, keep it as a permanent junior partner in operating the state. The object was to install a reactionary Government of vested interests in power, which while protecting the imperialist order, would screen imperialist designs.

This imperialist way out of the crisis is the way of continued subjection, of national enslavement, of retaining the colonial order, its poverty and ruin, of hampering industrial development and keeping the feudal framework intact.

It is once more an attempt to throw all the burdens of the crisis on to the backs of the people and intensify their poverty and exploitation many times. It is the way of suppressing the democracy of the toilers, the rights and liberties of the people and preparing the way for colonial fascism. In short, imperialism is pursuing the same objects as it pursues through the Marshall Plan in Europe.

### Basis of Revolutionary Wave

The basis for the post-war revolutionary wave and the collaboration between British imperialism and the national bourgeoisie was laid during the course of the war itself when the process of colonial exploitation reached its extreme limit. The colonial exploitation during the war made the Indian people extremely desperate and ready to do anything to liquidate the present order.

India's economy based on the maintenance of feudal relations on land, landlordism and feudal domains, combined with debt slavery as in ryotwari areas, an economy of scattered petty production, was already a deficit economy with the toiler remaining a starved worker all the time. The parasitic growth of landlordism, debt slavery, and feudal domains sucked dry the tiller, and agriculture decayed rapidly.

The total acreage under major foodgrains declined in the twenty years upto 1942 as follows :

In 1921-22, the area under major foodgrains was 158.6 million acres; in 1941-42, it was 156.5 million acres. The total production of major foodgrains also declined. In 1921-22, it was 54.3 million tons; in 1941-42, it was 45.7 million tons.

The yield per acre of rice had declined by 254 lbs., or 25 percent, during the 25 years before the war. It went down from 982 lbs. per acre during 1909-13 to 728 lbs. in 1938-39.

The average yield per acre of wheat declined from 724 lbs. during 1909-13 to 636 lbs. in 1924-33. (Figures about acreage and production from Technological Possibilities of Agriculture in India by W. Burns.)

Out of this falling production, the tiller had to yield a major part to the landlord.

Already before the war India had to import food from Burma to make up the deficit. This fact, together with the policy of inflation which the imperialists were pursuing to finance the war at the expense of the people, caused complete chaos and led to the death of hundreds of thousands when during the war imports from Burma stopped.

Feudal relations on land hampered intensive cultivation. They destroyed all initiative of the peasants to grow more food. They made it impossible to utilise the land fully with modern means and equipment, and starved the tiller. These relations became a fetter on the further development of production. They could be kept up by continually starving the tiller—the price was famine, hunger all round—a continuous process of pauperisation, expropriation of peasants and concentration of land in the hands of landlords, rich peasants or money-lenders. The agrarian revolution,

completely eliminating all feudal exploitation and giving the land to the tiller, was the only way out.

The war and the economic results created by it aggravated all these effects ten times, making the peasantry a seething mass of anger and discontent.

The British imperialists, in possession of the country's resources, decided to finance the war by predatory methods at the expense of the people.

With the shifting of the front to India with Japan's attack, the imperialists needed goods worth millions from India, to procure which they resorted to inflation and paid India's common man, the producer, the worker and the peasant, with depreciated money. This meant not only that the nation as a whole was cheated to make a gift of 1,600 crores of rupees to Britain (the amount of Sterling Balances), but that the poorer classes of India were made to part with this 1,600 crores of rupees.

The peasant's income, the worker's wages and the salary of the middle-class employee, all were depreciated to below 50 per cent of the former income making full allowance for the higher prices and dearness allowance given to them.

The poorer sections of the peasantry were looted from both sides. They could not get the full benefit of the rise in prices, they had to purchase industrial goods at still higher prices and also food at extortionate prices when they went to the market to buy it towards the end of the season.

Inflation was an instrument of defrauding the peasantry from all sides, robbing and looting it, passing on the burdens of the war crisis to the starving peasant.

Its result was immense pauperisation of the peasant, still more concentration of land in the hands of the landlords and rich peasants, famine, and three million deaths during the Bengal Famine.

With prices of bullocks, iron, plough immensely risen, India's poor peasant finds it impossible to carry on cultivation and becomes a pauperised peasant. Inflation has further intensified rack-renting, ejection, illegal demands-making the life of the peasant unbearable.

## Workers and the War Crisis

Imperialism continued its policy of blocking industrial development in the period of war with the result that once the war jobs are dispensed with, there will be lakhs of unemployed from the army, industries, Government services, middle-class clerks and others, without any alternative avenue of employment.

Already nearly a million persons have been thrown out of Government services. Railways, docks, civil staff-all are awaiting orders for a general retrenchment.

Indian industry in wartime prospered at the expense of the workers. No new plants were allowed, but the placing of war orders and the extortionate prices secured from the people enabled the capitalists to keep the factories working for all the twenty-four hours.

The workers, however, got their real wages reduced with a rise in the cost of living. In industries where the workers were organised and where strikes took place, the workers secured some dearness allowance, but in other cases, the compensation was a mockery.

Inflation reduced the real value of the rupee earned by the worker to six annas or so, and threw the burdens of war on his shoulders.

This, combined with the deterioration in the quality of foodstuffs, has lowered the physical capacity of the workers, leading to their absenteeism and a steep fall in their standard of living.

The working class has been fighting against this deterioration for the last seven years.

With the close of the war, the cost of living continued to rise still further and the condition of the working class began to deteriorate still more rapidly, and in the case of a majority of peasants and a considerable proportion of workers and employees it fell too much, below 50 percent or even less.

Even according to the official estimates which are generally gross understatements of reality, the cost-of-living index for Bombay had risen from 100 in August 1939 to 224 in 1945 and 285 in September 1947.

◆ In Ahmedabad, the cost-of-living index rose from 100 in August 1939 to 272 in 1945 and 322 in August 1947.

In Sholapur it rose from 100 in August 1939 to 360 in September 1947.

In Kanpur (on the same basis of August 1939-100), it rose to 308 in 1945 and 420 in October 1947.

In Madras, it rose from 100 in August 1939 to 228 in 1945 and 285 in October 1947.

In Trichur (Cochin State) it rose from 100 in August 1939 to 301 in September 1947.

The all India food index (wholesale) rose from 100 in August 1939 to 239.4 in August 1945 and to 348.5 in February 1948, that of cereals standing at 405 in February 1948. The worker's food now costs him nearly four times as much as before the war.

This attack on workers' wages was bound to unleash working-class anger. Imperialism tried to forestall it by introducing the eight-hour day (1947), some legislation for holidays with pay for certain sections of workers; appointment of the Pay Commission for Government servants.

But the discontent could not be checked. The working class, whose standard of life had already deteriorated during the war, who had hardly secured any compensation against the rising cost of living, began to fight back.

The all-embracing strike wave is the biggest since 1942. In 1942, the total number of workers affected was 7,72,000 and the man-days lost were 57,79,000.

In 1945, the number of workers affected was 7,47,000 and the man-days lost were 40,54,000. In 1946, the number of workers affected rose to the unprecedented figure of 19,61,000, or nearly two million, and the man-days lost were 1,27,17,000, or over 12 million. In the first eight months of 1947, the number of workers on strike was 13,23,253 and the man-days lost were 1,11,95,863.

This huge strike wave clearly shows that the economic crisis is rapidly gathering momentum and the masses have already started a desperate fight against the impoverishment caused by the crisis.

Conditions in the industrial areas are rapidly leading to widespread industrial unrest in textiles, railways, etc., to workers' anger against mass unemployment and lock-outs, for a struggle for nationalisation and a living wage, for industrial planning and removal of industrial anarchy.

The imperialists and the bourgeoisie are intent on solving the crisis at the expense of the workers, by means of rationalisation, reducing the wage-bill, stopping all further social legislation and speeding up in the name of national production.

The working class, however, can be satisfied only with a living wage, nationalisation, limitation of profits, which means that experience is bringing the working class to demand the putting into effect of the whole programme of the democratic revolution. Once more there are only two ways; the capitalist-imperialist way or the people's revolutionary way.

The petty bourgeoisie, the vast mass of it, is drawn into the vertex of the crisis as never before. First, the students fighting and striking for cheaper education, for the lowering of fees, disclose the discontent in middle-class households over present conditions which are weighted in favour of the rich. The vast mass of petty-bourgeois earners, clerks, Government servants, secondary and primary school teachers - all have undergone the worst kind of hell during the war years. They were the worst victims of the blackmarket, they were the last to get any addition to their salaries by way of dearness allowance, and now with their patience exhausted, they are resorting to strikes.

The people of the Indian States have also gone through the horrors of food crisis, blackmarketing, extraordinary prices and denial of necessities. The unprecedented awakening caused by the rapid deterioration of economic conditions, the fight against which was often led by the working class, has led the States' people to blaze the new trail for a democratic upsurge in movements like that of "Quit Kashmir." The States' subjects, driven to desperation, have challenged Princely rule in Travancore and Hyderabad and made every Prince quake with fear.

The galvanisation of this front against autocracy shows the all-pervading character of the democratic upsurge.

No section of the oppressed people can tolerate the present order. Their movement has a spontaneous direction - the change of the existing order.

## Economic Basis of Collaboration

But if war conditions made the people desperate, they made the bourgeoisie look to imperialism for a new alliance.

First, the war, though it fleeced the poor-the working class, the toiling peasantry, etc-immensely enriched the Indian bourgeoisie, placing in its hands an enormous amount of liquid capital.

Industrial profits rose to giddy heights. The Economic Adviser to the Government of India gave the following figures.

### General Index of Industrial Profits

(Base 1928-100)

1939	..	72.4
1940	..	99.9
1941	..	135.4
1942	..	169.4

### Index of Industrial Profits (Textiles)

(Base 1928-100)

1939	..	154.6
1940	..	220.1
1941	..	489.1
1942	..	760.7

(From Recent Social and Economic Trends in India, 1946).

The huge Government orders, which enabled the factories to run twenty-four hours and ensured a steady market for the goods, the scarcity of commodities for civilian consumption because of Government demand which enabled the capitalists to charge inconceivable prices besides allowing them to make huge blackmarket profits made the Indian bourgeoisie a willing partner in the common loot and placed an enormous amount of liquid capital in its hands. Never had "Indian" industry seen such prosperous days; never was the market so attractive; never did profits pour down in millions like this.

Notwithstanding the Excess Profits Tax and other measures, the Indian capitalist class gained enormously in the war. In fact, through inflation and high prices, the Government made an unwritten pact with the Indian bourgeoisie to make sure of a steady supply of goods in return for huge profits through looting the people.

The Indian bourgeoisie was not willing to subscribe to Government loans. Its leadership-the leadership of the National Congress-was bringing pressure on the Government through the "August struggle". It, therefore, could not be drawn into an easy economic cooperation in supplying the economic needs of the Government. In fact, in the 1942 struggle two of the biggest industries - Jamshedpur and Ahmedabad - organised lock-outs to bring pressure on the Government.

Only a huge bribe could quieten them for the time being - the mechanism of prices, of inflation, of continually rising profits. Even though the industrialists were supposed to deliver part of their production at controlled prices to the Government, they could charge anything from the civilian population in the blackmarket and thus reap huge profits. That is why the Government did not attack the capitalists for their blackmarket transactions; that is why it appointed them on the Textile and other Boards and allowed them to sabotage such schemes as that of Standard Cloth.

The rise of prices in the open market as well as in the blackmarket is the measure of the loot which the capitalists were able to garner in the war period through the imperialist mechanism of robbing the people through inflation and depreciation of their labour.

The growing accumulation of liquid capital in the hands of industrialists, merchants and traders has solved one of the big problems of the national bourgeoisie - the availability of liquid capital in a poor country. Capital is no longer shy.

This accumulation has made the Indian bourgeoisie - Big Business - ambitious and to look in all directions for investment. The Tata-Birla Plan, propounded by India's money-bags, was an advertisement to the world that Indian capitalists were prepared to invest in a big way and to invite big capital for high stakes. It was the measure of the Indian capitalists' ambition born out of a new confidence created by looted and accumulated cash.

At the same time the capitalists are shrewd enough to understand their own dependence on British and American capital.

British imperialism has successfully denuded Indian industry of all replacement machinery; it has prevented the import of any new machinery to start new industries. Through the Eastern Group Commission and the refusal to implement even the Grady Report, it kept Indian industry on a breakdown level during the war.

Renewal and replacement alone will require machinery worth crores of rupees, apart from that required to satisfy the grand ambitions of Indian Big Business. America and Britain possess the monopoly of capital goods.

Notwithstanding the growth of liquid capital and ambitions, Indian Big Business is hemmed in from all sides by its backwardness, colonial limitations and dependence on Britain - factors which the latter is fully exploiting.

Indian Big Business was counting on India's Sterling Balances amounting to Rs. 1,600 crores for large-scale import of capital goods without any difficulty about securing foreign exchange. The bourgeoisie thought that it could successfully negotiate a deal over this vast sum and secure capital goods at the earliest opportunity.

But the British and American imperialists have joined hands to repudiate the major part of these Sterling debts and forced India to agree to it for the sake of paltry concessions or the release of a very small part of it.

The British, of course, never intend to pay back the Sterling Balances but only hold out the bait of releasing part of them as a weapon to secure new economic bargains.

America also wants that India should not be paid back the major part of these balances so that she does not get capital goods to any appreciable extent and her bourgeoisie is made dependent on American or British mercies.

The terms of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement of December 6, 1945, entered into between the Government of the United States and the United Kingdom, lay down in clause 10 :

"The settlements with the Sterling area countries will be on the basis of dividing these accumulated balances into three categories; (1) balances to be released at once and convertible into any currency for current transaction; (2) balances to be similarly released by instalments over a period of years beginning in 1951; and (3) balances to be adjusted as a contribution to the settlement of war and post-war indebtedness and in recognition of the benefits which the countries concerned might be expected to gain from such a settlement."

The sub-clause (3) is an open proposal to liquidate a substantial part of the balances with the bait that benefits might follow from such a settlement.

Thus the British and American imperialists are using the very debt which Britain owes to India to beat India down, to force India to scale it down in return for some benefits in the shape of capital goods, or in the alternative, to stick to her debt and forego any benefits. Immediately, that is, till India has not made a final settlement, they are not releasing any part of the balances for importing capital goods, though a part is released to import food at extortionate prices.

In order that India should be able to pay for the import of capital goods, when they are not paid out of the balances. India must export her own products to other countries and earn sufficient dollar or sterling. In the absence of a foreign loan, or utilisation of the Sterling Balances, India has no other way of importing capital goods except what she earns through her exports.

The sum earned by India through exports is too little to finance the requirements of Big Business and it is thus brought to face the bitter truth that for its very existence it is dependent on America or Britain. It will have to wait for years if it were to depend on mere exports for financing its need of capital goods. In fact, it will not be able to replace old machinery for years this way.

The refusal to pay back the balances, the insistence on financing imports of capital goods through foreign exchange earned in exports, are devices of imperialism of strengthen the economic dependence of India on the British and American imperialists and force the Indian bourgeoisie down to servile economic agreements.

They are also instruments of drawing the Indian bourgeoisie into the Anglo-American economic net, baiting it by the offer of larger export markets in Anglo-American colonies.

The repeated entreaties for releasing at least a part of the Sterling Balances show the dependence of the Indian bourgeoisie on imperialist mercies.

The Indian bourgeoisie itself is already in need of foreign markets in view of the falling Indian market due to the economic crisis. It knows that unless some outlet is given Indian industry might collapse in a big way.

But this dependence on foreign markets is nothing but dependence on the colonies and semi-colonies of Britain or America, which enables the latter to force down any conditions before access to these markets is given. The foreign exchange earned through this trade will constitute a mere trifle in relation to India's capital requirements and will constantly goad Indian Big Business to shed all the formal trappings of independence and come as a beggar for alms and completely depend on imperialism.

Indian Big Business itself, in its ambition, is looking to widespread foreign markets - to the entire South East Asia - and looking upon itself as the inheritor of the mantle thrown off by Japan. The Indian bourgeoisie realises that its plan of expansion cannot be realised without foreign markets, and members of the Union Government are already talking about exports to South East Asiatic countries. The desire to exploit the peoples of South East Asia with the help of imperialists is one of the most powerful factors in bourgeois politics. The need for foreign markets is the logical conclusion of a desire to develop industries on a capitalist basis with the colonial order kept intact.

Both for its immediate needs - replacement, immediate exports to avoid collapse of industry - and its big plans of expansion of industry, import of capital goods, finding of new markets, release of Sterling Balances, the national bourgeoisie needs collaboration with imperialism, as without imperialism it will not even be able to run its industry regularly, nor expand it.

The businessmen know that these are the crucial years when either industry expands, new markets are captured before the other nations suffering from war devastation come out as competitors, or they go bankrupt. That is why they need collaboration very badly.

This desire for collaboration, therefore, takes the shape of retaining the colonial order and willingly inviting foreign capital for joint concerns. They agree to make wide and sweeping concessions to foreign capital in return for securing access to other colonial markets.

The secret of the joint concerns, planned by Indian big businessman but not yet executed, is this. The Indian capitalists finding no other way of getting capital goods are prepared to accept the most extortionate terms from the monopolists of these goods.

The full meaning of this collaboration is seen in the terms demanded by imperialism and accepted by the Indian bourgeoisie.

Foreign capital through the Havana Trade Pact is demanding full equality, full compensation in case the State takes over any concern; that no measures of nationalisation be carried through, a demand which the Indian Government, itself opposed to nationalisation, has found easy to satisfy through its recent statement of policy when it says that there will be no nationalisation for five years; it demands that no discrimination be made between home and foreign capital; that tariff walls be not raised against foreign capital without previous consultation; and that full security be offered to it, meaning security against labour and State intervention.

These terms, accepted by the Indian bourgeoisie, were openly put in the several speeches of the arrogant American Ambassador to India, Dr. Grady. Speaking in April 1947 in New York, Dr. Grady demanded a fundamental reorganisation of India's taxation structure to suit the needs of the American imperialists for unhampered exploitation of India.

"He was of the opinion that the obstacles to maximum economic cooperation such as the present complicated tax structure that hampered the conduct of manufacturing operations in India by foreign companies could be removed by treaties or agreements" - in short, the State should not encroach through taxation on the profits of the foreign concerns.

Demanding a war on protective tariffs, etc., in the name of world recovery and American assistance and sympathy, Dr. Grady stated (Calcutta, October 28, 1947)

"Until there is truly one-world trading system with bilateralism, preferences and all other forms of exclusive trade advantage eliminated or at least in the process of progressive reduction, world prosperity will be shackled....."

Speaking in November 1947 in Calcutta, Dr. Grady said "that he was not in a position to state what attitude the Export and Import Bank would take for advancing loans to India if the Government of India decided to go ahead with wholesale plans of nationalisation. But if a middle course between private enterprise and State institutions was followed then he believed there would not be much difficulty ...." – thus openly coming out against any genuine nationalisation.

To these insolent demands the reply of the Indian Union Government has been one of meek acceptance with only verbal modifications here and there.

Speaking to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta on December 1947, Pandit Nehru said:

"We cannot have any special privilege for any foreign interest in India. There is a large field especially for the next few years and we want cooperation with other countries during the process of India's development, and I think British and other foreign interests that exist in India will and should have this large field open to them."

This open welcome to foreign interests, seeking to dominate India, though verbally qualified by a declaration of no special privileges, shows how the Government is begging for foreign help.

In practice it accepts one by one all the terms which the foreign capitalists want.

At the Industries Conference, which met in Jan. 1948 in New Delhi, the Government gave a secret understanding to the Indian capitalists that there would be no nationalisation for at least five years to come, thus accepting the demand of Dr. Grady. The resolution which the Conference passed on foreign capital kept quiet on all the insolent demands made, and contented itself by saying that the conditions under which foreign capital is invested in India should be regulated by national interests, and private deals between Indian and foreign capitalists should have the formal approval of the Government.

What results from this is not industrial revolution, not the freeing of agrarian economy from feudal bondage, but the establishment of a few industrial concerns as give some outlet to the accumulated capital without endangering the interests of Anglo-American imperialism; the establishment of such concerns as fits in with the Anglo-American scheme of exploiting the world and drawing India into its war plans.

If this is welcomed by the bourgeoisie it only reveals the narrow and anti-national character of its intentions. But for the mass of the people it only means continuation of feudal exploitation, low wages, no industrial revolution, but continued poverty, unemployment, crisis and famine - the price of tying India to the capitalist order, of collaboration and joint exploitation. That is where the Indian bourgeoisie, and the national leadership which represents it, are taking India - to economic dependence on Anglo-America, subservience to them and to growing poverty for the people.

The collaboration thus represents an economic and political alliance against the democratic revolution through which alone the people can liberate themselves from the yoke of the colonial order, of landlordism, of the Princes and of foreign and home capitalists. It is directed against the agrarian revolution, against the nationalisation of industries, a living wage and planning, and against the widespread industrial expansion which can only be realised on the basis of nationalisation. It is calculated to guard the present order with the bourgeoisie playing the role of a junior partner to imperialism.

### **Imperialism Needs Collaboration**

The need for collaboration arises from the other side also. Otherwise it might be asked: if the bourgeoisie is so dependent, why do the imperialists not continue in the old way, why is even junior partnership given ?

First, the war has meant a certain change in the economic relationship between India and Britain. The repatriation of the Sterling debt has meant that Britain's capacity to drain goods without payment, and thereby automatically have a lien

over India's exports of raw materials, has declined, which also affects her capacity to export goods to India. Britain, therefore, stands badly in need of new investments in India which will restore the old balance of payments and automatically influence the direction of Indian trade towards her. It is, therefore, in her imperialist interests that she should get access to new investments, taking care that they do not conflict with the basic interests at home.

Secondly, Britain is afraid that if she were not to placate the Indian bourgeoisie, America might enter into a deal with it. The Indian bourgeoisie, helped by America, might become a second rival, and, therefore, concessions must be made and collaboration has to be achieved.

Thirdly, as an opponent, Indian capital has become a powerful adversary. It is not the old weakling that it was. It has the powerful backing of the national movement which it can exploit against any plan for pure British concerns and a total refusal to make concessions. It has made it impossible to open purely British concerns and concentrate State patronage on them, and thus is in a position to obstruct British investments or plans of exploitation.

And politically, the situation is such that pure British concerns like a pure imperialist State cannot run unless the bourgeoisie is won over. "Law and order" cannot be maintained, strikes cannot be suppressed, and British lives cannot be protected without the aid of the national leadership which represents the bourgeoisie and controls the people.

Therefore, both political and economic bargains become necessary to protect the old order.

The so-called "transfer of power" was one of the biggest pieces of political and economic appeasement of the bourgeoisie - which was necessary to strike a deal. This power, putting the bourgeoisie in control over the manpower and resources of a vast territory, though as a junior partner, was the dream of the bourgeoisie and it has realised it.

From the standpoint of the revolution all that it means is that henceforth the bourgeoisie will guard the colonial order.

Along with this are being negotiated "treaties as between the equals" for trade, industry, commerce - treaties with the condition mentioned before - treaties which enslave India but enable the bourgeoisie to become a junior partner in the joint exploitation of India.

The concession about exports, about capital goods, etc., however petty they may seem in relation to the needs of the masses, are real in relation to the selfish and petty needs of the colonial bourgeoisie, sufficient for collaboration and betrayal.

This is the economic and political basis of collaboration between imperialism and the national bourgeoisie.

## POST-WAR REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE AND NEW POLICIES OF IMPERIALISM AND INDIAN BOURGEOISIE - NEW CLASS ALIGNMENT

The deep economic crisis and the intensified imperialist exploitation of the war years, which have brought unbearable suffering and starvation to the broad masses of the toiling and common people and sharpened their political consciousness and militancy, continued to operate as a mighty force in the post-war years behind the rising revolutionary fight of the masses.

Despite the secret military plans to crush the struggle which British imperialist statesmen hatched behind the curtain, while they publicly talked of a peaceful transfer of power and of quitting India; despite their backstair intrigues to pitch the Congress and League against each other and provoke a fratricidal war; despite the compromising, disruptive and anti-struggle policies pursued by the Congress and League leaderships; the tempo, the sweep and the militancy of the struggles of the workers and employees in the cities, of the peasants and tenant-serfs in the countryside, of the common people in the feudal autocratic States went on rising steadily in 1945-46.

The sweep of the struggle swept even into the armed forces leading to mutinies and rebellions, strikes and hartals in the imperial armies. Gandhi's non-violent India, guarded by the bourgeoisie for more than a quarter century against any militant action, now suddenly resorted to arms. The development of the struggles into armed clashes signified a new stage of the revolutionary struggle-the final phase when the toiling masses and the common people rise in defiance of imperialism and the victory of the democratic revolution becomes imminent.

The second characteristic feature of the situation was the great role played by the working class in these struggles-economic and political. The strikes of the working class became the great cohesive and centralising force when the bourgeoisie was abjuring struggle and the National Congress was withdrawing from it. In fact, many of the glorious struggles took place in the teeth of opposition from national leaders.

The developing strikes for economic demands and the mass participation of the working class in the political protest strikes were leading the entire struggle in the direction of an all-India general strike, supported by the armed forces and Government servants.

India has never seen such a sweep; never seen the armed forces collapsing so easily before popular pressure; never seen the working class fighting with such abandon and courage.

It was the eve of the total collapse of imperialism.

The heroic fighting spirit of the striking workers was shown in the ease with which the workers responded to the call for protest strikes on every national and anti-imperialist issue. It was seen in the rapid spread of strike enthusiasm to other employees, to bank clerks, peons, primary teachers and to Government servants.

A similar movement started in the armed forces. In 1945 when it was known that tens of thousands of the captured patriotic INA men were being maltreated in several concentration camps, and when the victory-mad imperialists launched a treason trial against the INA leaders, the whole country rose in flaming indignation and demanded their unconditional release.

In November 1945 the students and the workers of Calcutta became the spearhead of big protest hartals and strike demonstrations. They marched under the joint flags of the Congress, the League and the Communist Party and were fired upon by the police and the military. It was then that the first martyrs of the post-war period fell.

In January 1946 the British Commander-in-Chief had to bow down before the popular storm and release the INA prisoners.

Hard on the heels of the release of the INA demonstrations, and powerfully influenced by them, came the discontent in the ranks of the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Indian Air Force.

The naval ratings struck work and went on hunger strike for their demands in the ships and shore-establishments. They demonstrated for their demands in the city, demanded the release of INA men and the withdrawal of the Indian troops from Indonesia. They ran up the Congress, League and Red Flags on their ships.

The naval officers, bewildered and panic-stricken by the new revolutionary spirit in the navy, sought to suppress them by arrests and bullets. Then it was that these navy men seized their ships and fired back. By their heroic, though short-lived, resistance the navy men of Bombay and Karachi heralded the beginning of a new period of revolutionary upheaval. Their revolutionary spirit and united action sent a thrill through the ranks of all branches of the Indian armed forces.

Men of the RIAF struck in several places in fraternal solidarity with the RIN. The Indian troops, wherever they were called out against the revolting men, refused to fire.

The Indian working class, led by the Communist Party, instinctively saw in the naval rising a historic turning point in our freedom struggle and supported it by total protest strikes and hartals in Bombay, Calcutta Trichinopoly, Madras and Madura.

The total strike and hartal in Bombay on February 22, 1946, which came as an instantaneous counter-challenge to Admiral Godfrey's insolent threat to destroy the revolting navy and despite the opposition of Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel and the Congress leadership, struck panic into the hearts of the imperialists. They called out White troops with tanks and armoured cars to spread terror and murder in the streets. Over 200 citizens fell victims to their bullets in two days.

The naval rising and the great solidarity action staged by the advanced guard of the Indian working class in its support were not isolated incidents. They were a flaming signal which announced to the world that a volcanic discontent, an anti-imperialist urge, was smouldering in the minds of the Indian people and their armed forces, ready to be united and harnessed for the final annihilation of the rotten structure of the imperialist - feudal rule.

One has only to recapitulate the striking events and mass actions of the first six months of 1946 to be convinced of the truth of this.

Within a week of the RIN strike, more than 300 military sepoyes stationed at Jubbulpore struck work and paraded throughout the streets with all the three flags, Congress, League and Red (March 4).

On March 8, the workers and citizens of Delhi observed a protest strike and hartal against the victory celebrations. The Town Hall was attacked and set on fire.

On March 18, the Gurkha soldiers of Dehra Dun revolted in protest against insulting remarks by officers.

Delhi policemen went on hunger strike for wage increase and the military was used to arrest them.

Policemen of Allahabad went on hunger strike in protest against ration cut (March 19).

Ten thousand Bihar policemen went on strike on April 3.

Side by side with this beginning of insurrectionary atmosphere in the armed forces and the police, a tremendous strike wave was rising among the working class.

This terrific pace of events in the rest of India was producing the first repercussions among the peoples of the feudal autocratic States.

The people of Kashmir launched in May 1946 a movement for the end of autocracy of the Dogra House and for the immediate introduction of a democratic Constitution. The Ruler promptly arrested Sheikh Abdulla and unleashed a reign of terror against the Kashmiri people, who, however, struck back and performed marvels of heroic resistance.

It was clear that a new round of States' people's struggles, this time for the final abolition of Princely autocracy, was being heralded by the fighting people of Kashmir, and the people of the rest of India were preparing to support them.

Thus the nationwide movement which grew round the demand for the release of the INA men and the naval rising of February marked the beginning of a new period which was not just of mounting discontent and unrest but one which immediately placed on the agenda the democratic revolution and the task of vanquishing imperialism and its collaborators.

The paralysis of the imperialist system was seen not only in the breakdown of its economic structure, the poverty and hunger it created, but in the disintegration of the armed and the police forces which were no longer able to resist the popular pressure and revolutionary upheaval.

Imperialism saw the writing on the wall and opened negotiations with the two bourgeois parties, the Congress and the League. But it was not only imperialism that was frightened by the menace of the approaching revolution. The bourgeois leaderships of the National Congress and the Muslim League clearly saw that the struggle of the masses was getting beyond control and was bringing to the forefront the working class and the exploited masses. They, therefore, were eager for compromise and began to attack the militant struggles of the people.

The policies pursued by the leaderships of the Congress and the Muslim League corresponded to the bourgeois vested interests which they represent and not to the anti-imperialist and democratic aspirations of the vast masses that they claim to lead.

Both the leaderships resiled in panic from the manifestations of mass upheaval against the imperialist-feudal rule and were ready to welcome the Cabinet Mission as soon as it was announced and to seek cooperation with imperialism.

When the Cabinet Mission came with its plan, the Congress leadership turned even more anti-struggle. Its Ministries let loose a wave of repression against the working-class and peasant struggles. It set its face against the struggles of the States' peoples in order to appease the Princes and betrayed the struggle of the Kashmiri people. Instead of rejecting the plan with its non-sovereign constitution-making body and retention of the Princes, as a plan of masked British domination and as one based on the imperialist policy of divide and rule, it accepted it with minor criticisms.

The leadership of the National Congress, representing the interests of the Indian capitalist class, thus betrayed the revolutionary movement at a time when it was on the point of overthrowing the imperialist order. It only exploited the movement to win the maximum concessions possible for its own selfish interests and disrupted for the time being the growing revolutionary movement. By detaching the Congress from the movement, by isolating these spontaneously developing militant struggles, by repressing them, the national leadership played the game of disrupting the battle against imperialism and pursued a policy of repressing it.

The leadership of the Muslim League, representing the interests of the Muslim capitalists and landlords, had always played a disruptive and anti-national role through its policy of communalism, its slogan of division of India and its general policy of obstructing the national emancipatory struggle headed by the Congress. The Muslim League leadership capitalised the backwardness of the Muslim masses and the failure of the national reformist leadership to draw the Muslim masses into the common struggle, and succeeded in giving the freedom urge of the Muslim masses

a distorted expression. The hypocritical talk of "Muslim freedom," of saving the Muslims from the Hindus, stood exposed when in connection with the RIN strike in Bombay. Mr. Jinnah came out against the participation of Muslim workers and people in the common demonstration, and betrayed his fear of independent mass action.

Throughout this period the Muslim League did its best to keep the Muslim masses away from the developing revolutionary wave but did not always succeed. It had sometimes to start demonstrations on its own (demonstration in Calcutta for the release of the INA prisoner Rashid Ali) to give an outlet to the anti-imperialist sentiment of the Muslim masses. The Muslim League leadership was concentrating only on blackmailing the Congress and through obstruction to secure its separatist demand of Pakistan.

It also, therefore, readily took to negotiations on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's Plan. The Muslim League leadership thus betrayed the revolutionary movement and revealed itself once more as an agency of upper-class interests, out to sell the freedom movement for its own selfish gains.

British imperialism, standing in immediate need of erecting a barrier to the revolutionary movement, saw the necessity of placating the Congress to the utmost limit. It realised that only by using the Congress leadership against the revolutionary movement could the imperialist order be saved.

At the same time, having drawn the Congress into negotiations, imperialism fully exploited the fear of the Congress leaders of revolution, their need for economic help from Britain, their conflict with League, and the independent existence of the Princely autocracy, to make them willingly accept the Mountbatten Plan.

The original Cabinet Mission Plan did not provide for direct partition; this was a concession made to Congress pressure. But as soon as the purely Congress-manned Interim Government came into existence the pressure of riots was worked up, taking advantage of the "Direct Action" launched by the League. Pressure was also worked later through Cabinet members of the Muslim League, when it afterwards joined the Government, making it impossible for the Congress to function the Government. The leaders of the Congress were thus forced to accept partition of India.

### **Real Face of the Mountbatten Award**

The Mountbatten Award comes as a culmination of the betrayal of the revolutionary struggle by the National Congress and the League leaderships.

Though the bourgeois leaderships parade the story that independence has been won, the fact is that the freedom struggle has been betrayed and the national leadership has struck a treacherous deal behind the back of the starving people, betraying every slogan of the democratic revolution.

The Mountbatten Plan partitioned India. The national bourgeois leaderships of the Congress and the Muslim League, which had always opposed the solution of the communal problem on the basis of the just and revolutionary principle of self-determination of nationalities, accepted the imperialist solution of partition on the basis of religion. This enabled imperialism to organise the ghastliest riots and mass butcheries of minorities, creating permanent hostility between Hindus and Muslims, and to work up war fever between the two States when required in imperialist interests. The partition is a ready-made weapon to organise riots and sidetrack the revolutionary movement by war appeals. It is one of the biggest attacks on the unity and integrity of the democratic movement and is also used to weaken the bourgeoisie of both the States vis-a-vis imperialism.

Secondly, the plan keeps the Princes, the age-old friends of the imperial order, intact and enhances their bargaining power, enabling the national leaders to parade their accession as a great triumph, for the Princes are now supposed to be independent.

Thirdly, the leading economic strings are still in the hands of the imperialists, who successfully use them to make the bourgeoisie move against the masses, crush the democratic revolution and establish a new line-up of imperialism, Princes, landlords, and the bourgeoisie.

The Mountbatten Plan is the expression of this alliance against the democratic revolution - an alliance which seeks to drown the revolution in blood. It crowns the process of bourgeois vacillation with final capitulation. It is the fruit of the national leadership's compromising policy, culminating in an avowedly anti-national, anti-people and anti-revolutionary policy.

What the Mountbatten Plan has given to the people is not real but fake independence. Through this award British imperialism partitioned India on communal lines and gave to the bourgeoisie an important share of State power, subservient to itself.

Britain's domination has not ended, but the form of domination has changed. The bourgeoisie was so long kept out of State power and in opposition to it; now it is granted a share of State power in order to disrupt and drown the national democratic revolution in blood.

The supreme organs of the State, the army, the navy, the air force, and the bureaucracy, are controlled by the servitors of imperialism. They are dominated by upper-class elements, officered by them, by old bureaucrats who have pronounced pro-British sympathies and bitterly hate all democratic advance. And the final imperialist control will be registered through Military Missions and Military Advisers - "willingly accepted" by the Indian Government.

The behaviour of the military, the police and the civil service in face of the riot offensive of communal elements clearly demonstrates how anti-popular, anti-democratic and pro-imperialist elements control these organs of the State-elements on which the bourgeoisie safely relies for the law and order of collaboration.

At the same time the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the traditional leaders of the national movement, are handed over the reins of Government, while being dominated by imperialism through trade pacts and an open military alliance which is in the process of formation.

The Mountbatten Award does not really signify a retreat of imperialism but its cunning counter-offensive against the rising forces of the Indian people. This is demonstrated by the communal carnage and the setback to the democratic and anti-imperialist struggles after August 15.

British imperialism was forced to change the forms of its domination as a result of the growing popular upsurge for freedom and democracy during the war and post-war days. Faced with the alternative of quitting India, it has given a share of power to the capitalists and landlords in order to be able to remain. To parade this new status as national freedom or as national advance is to shield imperialist designs and the subservience of the national bourgeoisie.

## **National Government and the People**

The deeds and actions of the "National Government" since August 15 fully prove this understanding of the purpose behind the Mountbatten Plan.

The establishment of the Central Government headed by Pandit Nehru has not solved a single problem of the democratic revolution. Its establishment does not mean that the Indian people have won either freedom or independence, nor does it ensure that they will be moving in the direction of democracy and freedom for the people.

On the contrary, the Government has already made a big move in the opposite direction-against the interests and freedom of the people. It is linking itself with the Anglo-American bloc of imperialist Powers-a bloc which seeks to crush all democratic revolutions and to create satellite States. It is manoeuvring to find an advantageous position for itself in the Anglo-American bloc.

The recent acts of the National Government prove beyond doubt that its policy is to suppress freedom and democracy.

The Constituent Assembly, manned by the same leaders as lead the National Government, is preparing an authoritarian Constitution. The working class and the Indian people will not get anything except the right to vote at long intervals and that too only for the Provincial Assemblies. The Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly will be a Constitution for the upper classes to rule the oppressed millions in the interests of joint exploitation by the Indian and British capitalists.

The Constitution provides for arrest without warrant and detention without trial; it authorises the Provincial Governors to act in their discretion, legislate by ordinance and rule by proclamation, thus usurping the powers of the Legislature and overruling them in the name of grave emergency.

It includes the reactionary provision for Second Chambers in Provinces and allows for nomination of members to the Council by the Governor, thus ensuring

that the vested interests and their upper-class spokesmen will have a dominant voice in the Chamber.

The model Constitution for Provinces further does not accept the basic right of linguistic national units to self-determination, thus expressing clearly the reactionary bourgeois interests which seek to dominate the different nationalities.

It does not provide for proportional representation, without which the progressive political parties and the various minority groups cannot get fair representation. It does not provide for freedom and self-determination of the tribal and other backward peoples enabling the formation of autonomous regions or provinces, without which these backward people cannot economically and culturally protect and develop themselves.

Under the Constitution the basic and fundamental rights of the toilers, such as right to work, right to a living wage, equal pay for equal work, right to old-age, sickness and unemployment aid, are denied and do not find a place in the fundamental rights which the new State of India is bound by the Constitution to guarantee and protect.

While these rights of the mass of toilers are not guaranteed, the property and the privileges of the vested interests are specifically granted protection by a clause in the fundamental rights that no property of a person or corporation shall be taken over for public use except by payment of compensation, thus preventing through a constitutional guarantee all plans of nationalisation of industries including foreign concerns.

The Government is carrying out the plan of Indian Big Business to oppose nationalisation, suppress the workers and demand more production through longer hours of work; intensification of labour and rationalisation; freezing of wages in the name of stopping the wage-price spiral; sabotaging the implementation of gains secured by the workers (Railway agreement); holding forth no hope of legislation for a living wage, social security or curtailment of management's power of dismissal; assuring the capitalists of full freedom to loot the people in the name of building a "mixed economy," while slandering the workers for the fall in production, demanding an increase in the hours of work. In short, it is passing the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of workers to keep up capitalist profits.

The control of the Government by the national leadership has placed an additional and powerful weapon in its hands to sabotage the revolutionary struggles against Princely autocracy. It has persistently raised illusions that Princely autocracy can be fought through governmental pressure and has utilised them to enter into accession agreements with the Princes which keep autocracy intact. By parading accession as a big triumph, attention is sidetracked from the democratic struggles inside the States. The latest act of betrayal is the Standstill Agreement with the Nizam.

In a number of bigger States the bourgeois leadership has used the popular movements against Prince-dom to get limited constitutional reforms which do not give power to the people but give a minor share of power to the bourgeoisie. In exchange they have joined hands with the Princes to defend feudal exploitation and oppression of the people and to disrupt and suppress all popular democratic movements.

The policy that the Government follows can only be described as one of supporting feudal reaction and sabotaging the revolutionary, anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggle.

In the matter of civil liberties and democratic rights, the Provincial Governments, under the guidance of the Central Government, have passed the blackest acts—Public Safety Acts—which are freely used against the rising workers' and peasants' movements and against the students; hundreds are detained without trial, extorted or interned.

The leadership of the Central Government has applied the brake to the agrarian legislation of the Provincial Ministries, which itself was an attempt to cheat the peasant in the name of the abolition of landlordism. Saddled with compensation and with no provision for land to the tiller, the legislation is not even a mild reform, retains landlordism under different forms, and is an attempt to split the peasant movement and disrupt the growing forces of the agrarian revolution. It is an attempt to broaden the basis of the present bourgeois Government.

In the matter of minorities, the Government follows a communal policy, which is essentially the bourgeois way of inciting majority-minority conflict. This leads it to practise discrimination and favouritism against the minorities, depriving them of their fundamental democratic rights, and to retreat before the more ruthless and direct incitement of communal conflict by feudal-imperialist reaction, which has resulted in the mass murder of minorities in certain areas.

The admission of Hindu Sabha leader, Shyamaprosad Mukherjee, into the Cabinet and the retention of Akali leader, Baldev Singh, in the important position of Defence Minister, taken together with the open encouragement given to communal reaction, shows how the Government itself wanted to use the weapon of communal division, even before the mass massacres had started in the Punjab.

Thus for the Government, the oppression of the minorities is a conscious and deliberate policy.

This policy, carried to its greatest lengths by Sardar Patel with his praise of the openly communal Princes (Patiala, Bharatpur, Nawanagar) and of the RSS, and his viciously communal incitement of Hindus against the Muslims and Pakistan, has lent added strength to these forces. The result is seen in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by a leading organiser of the RSS.

So determined are the leaders of the Government to utilise and safeguard their use of this communal weapon that even after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, every effort is made to screen and protect reaction; angry people demonstrating

against them are arrested and even shot down, a farce is enacted of arresting some of them-while in reality every occasion is utilised to find an excuse to say a good word for the communalists and save them from the anger of the masses.

The arrests of Hindu Mahasabha leaders, etc., took place because the angry masses set the pace and compelled the Government to take steps against these communalists.

Even the banning of the RSS by the National Government has been done due to the tremendous mass indignation against it and is only a cover for its continued policy of shielding and allying with that organisation and the elements behind it.

According to Pandit Nehru's own statement this policy does not lead to any differences inside the Cabinet; even on this issue there are no political differences, but only temperamental differences. This should be enough to demonstrate the strong pull of communal reaction on the National Government.

### **Government's Economic Policy**

While refusing to develop the industries of our country by nationalising key and vital industries, the Government, at the same time, is encouraging the export drive in the interests of Indian Big Business and at the expense of the people. This is a part of the plan of collaboration with Anglo-American bloc, since these export markets can only be secured in collaboration with the imperialists. By securing foreign exchange through these exports, Indian Big Business wants to purchase machinery for new industries with the help of the Anglo-American imperialists. Thus, again, it has to depend on the Anglo-American capitalists for its industries.

This double economic dependence on the Anglo-American capitalists, both for the market for Indian products and for purchasing new machinery, necessitates a servility and abject surrender to them; and Big Business, helped by the Government, is preparing to sell out India's future to the Anglo-American imperialists.

The latter are demanding a number of concessions and fundamental rights-no discrimination against foreign capital, no nationalisation, no tariffs which are not agreed to, joint concerns for the exploitation of Indian people, full security to them - all of which are embodied in the Draft Trade charter being discussed at Havana and disclose that Indian Big Business and the Government are mortgaging Indian economy to Anglo-American capital in their selfish interests. The natural result of this is not only economic but indirect political domination, so that both the economy and the political freedom of India are being mortgaged to the Anglo-American monopolists.

### **Government's Foreign Policy**

The foreign policy of the Government follows the class interests it represents. From the very beginning Pandit Nehru adopted a line of forming a so-called third bloc-a line which represents the interests of Big Business in as much as it kept India away from the democratic camp and opened the way to the imperialist camp.

Recent events have torn off the mask of neutrality from the Government's foreign policy. On all crucial issues the Indian delegation has taken an anti-democratic and pro-imperialist stand - Korea, "Little Assembly," Ukraine. On the question of Ukraine it allowed itself to be exploited by the USA, and took the hypocritical stand that India stood against Ukraine because South East Asia was not represented.

On the questions crucial for the peoples of Asia in particular, e.g. the American-directed Kuomintang war against the Chinese people and the French colonial war in Viet Nam, it has remained silent and refused to act; while on the question of the Japanese Peace Treaty, it has virtually lined up with Anglo-American imperialism. Over the American-backed Dutch war against the Indonesian people, it has approved of the betrayal of the Indonesian freedom-struggle, achieved through the latest truce, put through by the US-sponsored and dominated Good Offices Committee and welcomed by President Truman.

Foreign policy depends on economic policy and India is also rapidly lining herself up with the Anglo-American bloc in matters of foreign policy. Her diplomats are already uttering anti-Soviet slanders, e.g., Sir Maharaj Singh's statement on war propaganda.

The British imperialists are giving open hints about an anti-Soviet bloc including the overseas territories of Britain, indicating that the role that India will have to play is to support the Western Bloc economically, especially with her raw materials.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January 22, Mr. Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, stated in connection with the formation of a bloc of Western European Powers :

"The overseas territories of these countries (Britain, France, Holland, etc.) should be brought within this Union, so that this tremendous cooperation would stretch through Europe, the Middle East and Africa to the Far East.... The Western organisation of Europe must be economically supported. That involves the closest possible collaboration with the Commonwealth and overseas territories, not only the British, but the French, Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese territories overseas. These territories are large primary producers and are capable of great development."

Along with this come reports about an alliance of South East Asian countries - embracing India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon and in agreement with Britain-an alliance of an entirely "defensive" nature; the aim of this "bloc" as openly reported is to "prevent the spread of Communism in South East Asia," which really means suppressing all struggles for freedom and democracy in South East Asia and bringing these countries directly into the imperialist camp. The Indian bourgeoisie, which is playing the role of chief agent of the imperialists for the formation of this bloc, wants all South East Asian countries to fall in line with them, that is, give up the struggle for freedom and join the imperialist camp, because it wants to prevent the Indian people from being affected by the revolutionary struggle in these countries and also because it wants to get some foothold in these markets, with the help of imperialism, by keeping the colonial order intact.

There are also reports about Military Missions from Britain coming to India to keep her defence properly organised; reports which openly state that British statesmen do not want India or Pakistan to have any defence policy out of the orbit of the British Commonwealth, i.e., independent of British imperialism.

That is where the Government and Big Business are dragging India-from the freedom struggle to the Anglo-American camp.

### New Role of the Bourgeoisie

How is it that a Government headed by the national leaders and one which came to power on the crest of a wave of popular struggles should pursue these policies?

That is so because the national leaders, who headed the popular struggles all these years and who are now in the Government, represent the class interests of the national bourgeoisie, the industrial bourgeoisie.

The leaders of the Government including Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel represent the interests of the Indian capitalist class, and the formation of the Government after August 15-after what is known as the transfer of power, but which in reality is the sharing of power-has meant an immense change in the position of the national bourgeoisie vis-a-vis the people and their struggles.

Formerly the national bourgeoisie and its leaders had to rely on the masses, mass struggles, etc., to secure concessions, share in power, etc., to advance their own interests. The bourgeoisie was excluded from political power, it had no real opportunity to develop industries and had no political power over the people.

The post-war revolutionary upsurge forced imperialism to change its strategy, in order to be able to strike at the democratic forces all the more ferociously.

Imperialism makes big concessions to the bourgeoisie and hands it over governmental power to rule the Indian people in its own narrow selfish interests.

At the same time, the State it has won is dependent on imperialism and is a satellite State.

In the new State, therefore, the national bourgeoisie shares power with imperialism, with the latter still dominant indirectly.

This is the secret behind the reactionary policy of the National Government. The bourgeoisie has ceased to play an oppositional role; it has renounced mass struggles to get concessions from imperialism; it is now depending on the new state and its control over the Indian people to use them as pawns in its bargaining with imperialism, whenever differences and conflicts arise. These conflicts will be solved at governmental level by offering new concessions to imperialism through Customs, lowering of tariffs, securing of joint concerns, etc.

The bourgeoisie, therefore, has turned its face away from the masses, and gone over to collaboration. That is why its Government consistently adopts an anti-mass, anti-democratic policy.

In the past, the bourgeoisie, and the national leadership which represents it, were in opposition to imperialism, now they have given up that opposition. This is the new change brought about by the transfer of power on August 15.

Henceforward the march of the democratic revolution will have to proceed directly in opposition to the bourgeois Government and its policies, and the bourgeois leadership of the Congress.

## Game Behind the Riot Offensive

The fact that the Government is manned by popular leaders and that it arose on the crest of a wave of mass struggles has concealed the class character of the Government and the change in the position of its class.

The riot offensive, inspired and engineered by imperialists and their feudal reactionary agents, and their denunciation of the National Government has led many people to believe that the feudal reactionaries were attacking a revolutionary Government and that it was the business of the people to line up unconditionally behind the Government. This is a totally wrong understanding of the situation.

The unleashing of communal riots in the Punjab, U.P. and the Indian States, the massacre of tens of thousands of innocent Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, the forcible extermination and expulsion of minorities, the terrible sufferings and hardships inflicted on innocent men, women and children, and the economic chaos arising from all this, were pre-planned and organised by the imperialist-feudal counter-revolutionary forces. The object was to disrupt and drown the people's democratic revolution in blood. The main attack was against the people who were moving forward through strikes, armed conflicts and revolts of States' peoples to a democratic revolution.

The attempt of the forces of counter-revolution was to sidetrack the revolutionary discontent into communal channels, disorganise the people and through it consolidate a line-up of all vested interests against the mass movement, a line-up in which the bourgeoisie will move more to the Right, allying with feudal and communal interests all the more, so that a stronger front against the masses could be created.

This was to be achieved by strengthening the openly communal elements inside the Government, to appease Hindu communal reaction and surrender to the Princes on the question of maintenance of autocracy, by strengthening the consistent communal policy of Sardar Patel and checking the inconsistent and vacillating policy of Pandit Nehru.

There is no doubt that the deeply laid plot of counter-revolution very nearly succeeded in creating confusion, vacillation and demoralisation in the ranks of the people and of political parties. The main objectives were forgotten and a tendency to line up behind the Government in panic was noticed.

The imperialists and their agents would precisely like such a lining-up of the working class and democratic forces behind the Government, as it would lead to

the giving up of all efforts to carry through the democratic revolution and to the doing away with all opposition and criticism of the Government in its policy of combating all national democratic advance.

For such a policy ensures the success of their strategy. Why are riots on a mass scale possible today ? Precisely because the national bourgeois leadership has, through its anti-national compromise, disorganised the forces of revolution and allowed the reactionaries to divert the discontent.

Communal riots are the direct result of the imperialist conspiracy and bourgeois compromise. Imperialism has strengthened the basis of communal riots in four ways : (i) partition which made one community hostile to another; (ii) fixation of boundaries in a manner that roused communal bitterness to its height; (iii) independent position for the States which could manoeuvre between India and Pakistan and play one against the other in a most vicious manner; (iv) communal poisoning of the most of the army chiefs and bureaucrats, which has resulted in the use of the State machinery for spreading riots.

Imperialism is instigating communal riots in order to create conditions in which the national bourgeois leadership will be increasingly forced to submit to imperialist domination, and the common toiling people will be forced to submit to the leadership of the upper classes. It also aims at smashing people's unity and crushing all democratic movements.

Fascist elements like the RSS, Hindu-Muslim-Sikh communal reactionaries and bureaucratic administrators trained up by imperialism are the chief agents for provoking riots. The Princes and landlords are at the head of them. But the bourgeoisie, including sections of the leaderships of the Congress and the League, has also played a leading part in communal riots, though certain sections of the Congress and the League leaderships have taken a stand against them.

Sections of the national bourgeois leadership also provoke riots as a matter of policy - as part of their policy towards the minorities. The policy of compromise with British imperialism, the policy of relying on it in the conflict between the Indian Union and Pakistan, leads straight to the massacre of minorities as a weapon of intimidating the Government of the other Dominion. The massacre of Muslims, for instance, is a part of the game of intimidating Pakistan, of replying to anarchy with anarchy-a game which suits the interests of the British excellently. The minorities have become a big pawn in the game of power politics of the compromisers.

A section of the bourgeois leadership encourages and protects communal armed bands for using them against political opponents and democratic movements and for strengthening the Princes and other vested interests; they even incorporate communal armed bands into the police, Home Guard and Army.

Another section of the bourgeois leadership, while continuing the policy of compromise and thus creating conditions for riots, are scared by riots when they actually occur, due to the disorganisation of administration, trade, etc. They take only palliative measures to stop the extreme forms of riots and anarchy.

The workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia are the most determined forces that resist all riots, just because riots smash all democratic movements. In fighting riots, they must make use of all opportunities including the Government measures to combat them.

But until the bourgeois policy of collaboration with imperialism and feudalism and its hostility to the principle of self-determination are successfully defeated, riots will take place again and again.

Not only communal riots, but other kinds of riots between one nationality and another, between the advanced castes and backward castes, between the tribal people and others, will also take place until full democracy and self-determination of the people are achieved and the imperialist hold over the organs of the State is completely smashed.

A determined fight against the reactionary policy of the Congress and the League leaderships is, therefore, essential to end the possibility of all riots. An end to these riots can only be brought about by complete elimination of imperialist domination and full democratic progress.

### **Unmask the Compromisers and Communalists**

The policy of compromise with feudalism and imperialism has already bred riots and will breed more riots. Compromise feeds counter-revolution, and it is so in the case of India also.

The hands of all national leaders are equally tainted with compromise and they are all responsible for the mounting offensive of the communal elements.

Unless their compromising policies are exposed before the people, unless the people see the connection between them and the riot-offensive and push their policies back, the feudal-imperialist offensive cannot be defeated.

It is, therefore, wrong to draw basic distinctions between different national leaders on the question of their approach to the communal problem. Sardar Patel who takes an openly communal stand, and Pandit Nehru who comes out against riots and for the protection of the Muslim minority, also both move in the vicious circle created by compromise. In the final analysis, Pandit Nehru has no independent line and has to fall in line with Sardar Patel.

Pandit Nehru's own stand, which regards Hindu Communalist reaction only as a reaction to Muslim communalism; and does not see in it the forces of counter-revolution; his indulgence in threats of reprisals against Pakistan on the Kashmir issue; his failure to take a bold stand against the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS even after Gandhiji's assassination; his full acquiescence in the policy of the Central and Provincial Governments of utilising this assassination in order to strike at the democratic, revolutionary and really anti-communal forces in the country; - all these only show that Nehru has completely surrendered to Patel's policy.

The Party will utilise every opportunity to fight riots and will make use of every measure taken by the Government to stop riots. It will regard riots as an

offensive against the revolution but, at the same time, will have no illusion that the National Government can or will fight against riots.

In doing this, it is, no doubt, the duty of the Party to utilise every anti-riot utterance of men like Nehru and counteract the openly communal policy of other leaders. Such utterances, acts and propaganda have some importance in as much as they enable us to expose more easily men like Patel who are nearest to feudal reaction.

## **Patel and Nehru**

Not only on the question of riots but also on the question of democratic policies, there exist illusions about Nehru.

Nehru is seen as a fighter against Patel's policies and almost made to appear as the leader of the democratic forces. Every verbal opposition of Nehru to Patel is magnified. It is thus that an illusion is created that if Nehru's hands are strengthened as against Patel, the Government will be transformed into an instrument of the people's will.

This estimate of Nehru is anti-Marxist and serves to tie down the masses to the bourgeois leadership. It must be clearly understood that Nehru is as much a representative of the bourgeoisie as Patel is. They both defend the class policies and interests of the bourgeoisie which is now collaborating with imperialism.

Today, Nehru is following the same policy as Patel. It is so in the matter of foreign policy, of the States, of de-control, of industrial policy, etc. He often outdoes Patel on vital issues. He denounces strikes of the working class as a stab in the back.

In fact all shades of difference within the bourgeois camp (such as those between Nehru and Patel) are entirely subordinated to the new basic realignment of the class as a whole, namely its role of collaboration with imperialism. Both Nehru and Patel represent this collaborationist class, and all differences between them are being and will be solved within the fundamental framework of the collaborationist policy of that class as a whole. The working class cannot go forward without fighting the policy of this class. That is why today it is anti-Marxist for the working class to base its strategy on "differences" within the bourgeois camp such as "Patel-Nehru" differences.

It is thus clear that the Central Government, manned by leaders of the National Congress, is the avowed enemy of the national democratic revolution. Marxism-Leninism has always taught that in the period of declining capitalism-of the general crisis of capitalism-the bourgeoisie cannot lead the democratic movement to victory, that it betrays it and goes over to the opposite camp, and that it is the working class which must lead it.

## **National Leaders and the Masses**

We must remember that those in charge of the Government are still looked upon by the majority of the people as their leaders and the Government is still

looked upon as a National Government in contrast to the previous imperialist Government.

The masses do not yet realise that the National Government is collaborating, that the country is being sold to Anglo-American imperialism, that the policies of the leadership are leading to riots, that the Government is being run in the interests of Big Business; they still believe it to be a freedom Government and are the victims of national sentiments and national illusions about the Congress leadership. The trusting masses of our country, though they are getting rapidly disillusioned with the National Government, have not yet lost their faith in Nehru, their faith in the Congress, and though repeatedly betrayed, they yet cling to old illusions.

Any criticism of the National Government which does not take into account these sentiments about it, is likely to defeat its purpose.

If in criticising the policies of the Government, we do not base ourselves on concrete instances, if we do not patiently argue on the basis of a series of such instances and bring the masses to the point at which they can for themselves see the truth about our characterisation of the policies of the National Government; if we do not take into consideration the strong ties of loyalty that still bind the people to the Congress, our criticism will not impress the people and will not succeed in its aim of making them break away from their collaborating leaders.

At the same time, the rapid economic deterioration and disillusionment of the masses have created conditions for the successful unmasking of these reactionary policies-conditions which did not exist in the past.

To be able to move the masses into action for the fulfilment of the democratic aims, the working class must tear them away from the bourgeois leadership and build a new movement based on a new understanding of national unity.

#### **IV. DEEPENING ECONOMIC CRISIS IN INDIA..... THE CAPITALIST AND THE PEOPLE'S WAYS OUT**

The causes of the upsurge lie in the crisis of colonial economy, accentuated by wartime exploitation and post-war developments.

The main features of the crisis in India are :

1. Growing collapse of agrarian production because of feudal relations, and ruin of small-scale production;
2. The decline of industrial production from the middle of the war itself, in spite of favourable factors, showing the utter rottenness of the colonial order;
3. Accentuation of all the factors of colonial crisis by wartime inflation, which was the device of imperialism to transfer its war burdens to the people of India; and,
4. Following this, a still further polarisation of wealth and poverty in India, the masses of workers and peasants being forced to lower standards of life, or utter destitution.

The post-war upsurge continues because the exploiting classes, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the landlords and the feudal Princes, once more attempt to pass the burdens of the crisis on to the backs of the masses; because they seek to protect their profits in the face of decline in production; to protect their rights and interests in the face of deterioration of agriculture, at the expense of the workers and peasants, at the expense of middle classes. This leads to a sharpening of the economic struggle of the masses and develops it to a still higher stage - political struggle.

## **Collapse of Agrarian Economy**

The colonial economy based upon feudal and semifeastal landlordism had already started cracking long before the war. Agrarian revolution came on the agenda with the commencement of the world capitalist crisis in the year 1929, it became accentuated when the Second World War had broken out in 1939. By this time the outmoded land-relations had already become such a fetter on agricultural production that even the Royal Commission on Land Revenue was forced to recommend abolition of Permanent Zemindary Settlement with, of course, adequate compensation to the landlords.

But one decade of peasant struggles (1930-1940), bursting out at intervals in different parts of India, revealed that complete abolition of all forms of landlordism without any compensation and a redistribution of land to the tillers had become an urgent social need.

On top of this came the war economy which threw rural economy completely out of gear during the period of Second World War. The devastating Bengal Famine of 1943, the famines of Bihar, Orissa, Malabar and Andhra came as a rude reminder that the land system was collapsing very fast.

Imperialist war economy, namely inflation and high prices and acute scarcity of all essential goods, resulted in impoverishment of the toiling peasants to an unprecedented extent. The cost of agricultural production increased abnormally while the family budget of the poor and middle peasants became upset. Inflation, which increased the economic burden on the mass of the peasantry and was an imperialist device to pass the burdens of war on to the Indian masses, meant a rapid process of expropriation of the peasantry.

The landlords have taken full opportunity of the rack-rented peasants' misery and grabbed land to an ever-increasing extent. Small peasants' land passed into the hands of landlords whose monopoly hold over food stocks increased. The landlord became the principal food hoarder and the main source of blackmarketing in grains. The rich peasant also grew richer by grabbing the poor peasants' land and selling surplus stocks in the blackmarket at abnormally high prices. The landlord, the rich peasant, the war contractor and the dealer together constituted the new village rich, the criminal blackmarketing gang.

As a result of these developments the number of the middle peasants dwined and the poor and landless peasants have grown in number to an unprecedented scale. A small percentage of middle peasants has swollen the ranks of rich peasants. Disintegration of the middle peasantry is an outstanding fact of the new period.

Mass evictions of poor peasants by landlords and rich peasants intensified the new class differentiation in rural society. Small-peasant economy is thus passing through a deep crisis.

The burden on the middle and poor peasants and other semi-proletarians of the village was much more than the Rs. 1,600 crores taken by Britain in the shape of Sterling Balances. For, apart from this, the black-marketeers and speculators netted crores from the peasantry.

The end of the war, therefore, saw the sharp polarisation of the classes and intensified class antagonism in the villages. The middle, poor and landless peasants began militant struggles, as in 1946, against the new village rich, the landlords and the prosperous peasants.

Agrarian economy, under the control of the new village rich, the food hoarders and land grabbers, is already on the brink of a precipice. The parasitic landlords, rich peasants and other blackmarketeers have been ruining agriculture; while the poor peasant is to toil, the parasites are only to grab. Agricultural production is therefore deteriorating very fast, famine has become a normal phenomenon.

This meant, on the one hand, peasants' fights against land-relations and big mass struggles. It, at the same time, meant the accentuation of the contradiction involved in a capitalist development of the colonies. It meant a narrowing of the market for capitalist goods—the peasant becoming less and less of a buyer.

Every step forward in establishing capitalist relations, in the advance of large-scale industry, transport, etc., was accompanied by growing impoverishment of the peasantry and a consequent narrowing down of the market.

Both the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie relied on the vast millions to be their market. Both found that with their method of exploitation the market must go on narrowing.

The contradiction involved in capitalism itself narrowing its market was stated by Engels:

"For it is one of the necessary corollaries of *grande industrie* that it destroys its own home market by the process by which it *creates* it. It creates it by destroying the basis of the domestic industry of the peasantry. But without domestic industry the peasantry cannot live. They are ruined as peasants; their purchasing power is reduced to a minimum; and until they, as *proletarians*, have settled down into new conditions of existence, they will furnish a very poor market for the newly arisen factories." (Letter of Engels to Danielson, p. 439, *Marx-Engels Correspondence*, National Book Agency, Calcutta.)

In India not only was the peasant's domestic industry destroyed but he was deprived of his land also. Hence the maintenance of feudal relations meant a continuous narrowing of the market.

All these contradictions have burst forth with great force during and after the war.

The predatory method of war finance - inflation - has accentuated all these contradictions and brought Indian agriculture to a collapsing point.

The deepening world crisis of capitalism will hit the toiling peasants most. The prices of agricultural commodities will fall faster than that of industrial goods, and the process of large-scale expropriation of the toiling peasants will be quickened still further.

All these will set in motion colossal class forces, the toiling peasants and rural artisans will pass on to the offensive against landlordism and the imperialist-bourgeois-feudal State to overthrow the colonial social order. Abolition of all forms of landlordism and all land to the tillers is the battle-cry of the fighting toiling peasants.

The agrarian areas of India have become a huge volcano which has started erupting every now and then. The desperation of the peasant is seen in the great Tebhaga struggle of Bengal, the Telengana struggle of the Nizam's Dominion, the struggle of the aboriginal Warlis of Bombay, the great struggles of the peasants of Bihar for *bakash* land and the militant kisan struggles in Malabar and Tamilnad.

Out of the several un-coordinated struggles is coming forth the single demand: "Abolition of all forms of landlordism, land to the tillers." All ways lead to the agrarian revolution.

## Industry and War

The imperialist policy towards industry during the war, together with the impoverishment of the peasantry, now determines the character of the industrial crisis.

Following its usual policy of obstructing industrial development, imperialism did not permit any expansion of industries during the war, afraid that such industry might compete with the industry at home. While in the USA the means of production increased by 50 per cent and in Britain they increased by 25 per cent, in India there was no increase whatsoever.

Imperialism also prevented machinery for replacement coming to India. Wartime industrial production was mainly increased by multiple shifts and not by adding to the means of production. There was hardly any new avenue of employment opened out for the Indian people.

Industry would have collapsed during the war period because of the narrow peasant market. In fact, industrial production did start falling during the war itself, in spite of the most favourable circumstances. Had the war not come, industrial production might have totally collapsed.

Indian industry sustained itself during the war on the basis of huge Government orders. Government orders were worth Rs. 28 crores in 1939-40 and by 1942-43 they rose to Rs. 247 crores. In 1944-45 itself they were 145 crores.

The military took 54 million yards of cloth in 1939; 211 millions in 1940; 372 millions in 1941; 852 millions in 1942; 601 millions in 1943; 802 millions in 1944, and 575 millions in 1945.

Out of a total production of cement of 17,33,000 tons in 1939-40, the military took 8,74,000 tons; in 1940, out of a total production of 17,27,000 tons it took 10,39,000 tons, and so on.

Thus in 1940 it bought nearly 60 per cent of the total production of cement while in 1942 nearly 90 percent.

This enormous and steady market ensured by Government orders had a double advantage. On the one hand, the market for goods was assured, on the other hand, Government orders, by creating scarcity for civilian consumption, sent prices rocketing high and enabled the employers to garner huge profits.

The prices of all industrial commodities rose enormously, except in one or two cases.

The cloth-price index rose from 100 in 1939-40 to 442 in 1943-44 and remained at 262 in 1946-47.

The coal-price index rose from 100 in 1939 to 174 in 1943, 282 in 1944 and 304 in 1945.

Pig iron rose from 100 in 1939 to 117 (controlled) in 1944 and subsequent years.

Jute rose from 100 in 1939 to 238 in 1943, 270 in 1944, 251 in 1945.

Obviously industry would have had no chance with this rise in prices at a time when the market was getting impoverished and the mass of the peasantry was getting pauperised.

The price structure of industrial goods was totally at variance with the purchasing power of the people.

But industry continued because of the huge Government orders which offered a stable market.

Secondly, it sustained itself on those sections of the people which had grown rich during the war, or those which had a greater purchasing power, etc - a small and narrow section - but which offered enough market to take a good part of what was left by the military or the Government.

The question of the market was thus temporarily solved, in spite of the impoverishment of the masses.

But with the close of the war and the falling off of Government orders, the problem of market once more faces the industry.

First, the fact that new industries are not being built, the fact that erection of new factories is not yet taking place, is an important factor in the narrowing of the market. It follows logically from the imperialist policy of denying any capital goods to India till a deal is put through. It follows from the very colonial status of India.

Secondly, when all these goods have to be consumed by the people, directly or indirectly industry comes up against a pauperised people, whose purchasing power has been drastically limited or destroyed, and who can no longer buy the products of the industry.

The wartime market, composed of the rich and upper-middle class strata, etc., is no longer sufficient, since now the question is of selling the entire production and not only that part left by the military.

The same process which accumulated an enormous quantity of capital in the hands of the capitalists, has destroyed their market. Inflation and wartime exploitation robbed the masses of their capacity to pay *not only* the imperialist masters but also the Indian capitalists, and have led to the killing of the market on a large scale. It is this contradiction which the capitalists have to solve if their industries are to move.

But the close of the war has intensified the market crisis. Apart from the peasantry, etc., other sections are also being deprived of this purchasing power. The clerical staff of the Government, the extra staff drafted for war purposes, the soldiers of the army and other branches of defence, men from Ordnance Depots, Government transports, railways, docks, etc., tens of thousands who represented some purchasing power are being thrown out of jobs, thus intensifying the crisis of the market.

It is already reported that nearly half a million soldiers are demobilised; several thousands of Government servants are being retrenched from all departments.

This, of course, means that the market will not be able to absorb the same quantity of production - goods will be surplus and remain unsold, and production will decline. This in its turn results in closing down of factories, in workers being thrown out of jobs, reduction in wages, etc - thus causing a still further decline in the purchasing power of the people, and narrowing the market.

Already industrial production was declining in the midst of the war itself. Coal rose from 27 million tons in 1939 to 29 million tons in 1942 and then dropped to 25 million tons in 1943, 26 millions in 1944 and had not yet come to the 1942 level in 1945.

Pig iron dropped from two million tons in 1941 to 1.4 million tons in 1945 - a decline of nearly 20 per cent over 1939-40. Jute manufactures dropped from 1.2 million tons in 1941 to one million tons in 1943 and 1.1 million tons in 1945. Cloth production rose from 4,012 million yards in 1939-40 to 4,871 million yards in 1943-44-a figure which is vitiated by the bogus standard - cloth production - and then declined to 4,676 million yards in 1945-46, and is said to be near the pre-war figure now.

No doubt part of the decline is due to want of replacement of old machinery; part is also due to concealment of figures for purposes of blackmarket transactions. But, nonetheless, there is a real decline, and that is seen from the fact that in these years industrial stoppages increased involving loss of millions of working days.

The increasing strike wave, specially in 1945-46 and 1946-47, was the outcome of the resistance of the capitalists to working-class demands, of the attempt to pass additional burdens on it, in their desperation to lower the costs of production at the expense of the workers, so that the market should expand and not narrow down. It was a recognition on the part of the capitalists that, with existing prices, the market would shrink continuously. But intent on keeping, the old profits, they began to apply the axe on workers, incomes and brought about stoppages of production. The decline of production was thus directly due to the capitalist way of securing a market which was rapidly contracting.

The paradox of declining production when there is shortage of goods must properly be understood.

The process of impoverishment of the masses has gone to such an extreme limit that today they are left with hardly any purchasing power to buy the goods produced at the existing high prices. With the cancellation of Government orders, large quantities of goods are now thrown on the regular market. In terms of the needs of the people, they are not enough. But in relation to the prices - legal and blackmarket - charged for them, they are beyond the means of the people.

Ordinarily this would have expressed itself as over-production, with goods remaining unsold and workers losing their jobs. But the prevailing inflation and the depreciated purchasing power in the hands of many creates an illusion that it is all a question of shortage only; that people have got enough purchasing power to buy, only the goods are not there in sufficient quantity.

In reality, the present shortage of goods is only the reverse side of the process of impoverishment through inflation. Inflation, which robbed India of goods worth millions of rupees during the war years, was also an instrument of effecting a forcible redistribution of the national dividend among India's various classes. It made the rich richer and the poor poorer. While it enriched enormously the capitalists and put large sums of money in the hands of certain other selected groups - top professionals, high Government officials, upper-middle class people - it decisively impoverished the bulk of the people, thus limiting their capacity to buy.

It is these latter people, the vast majority of Indians, who suffer from shortage because they cannot afford to buy the goods at the existing high rates. The former, the rich, create the illusion of prosperity, of infinite purchasing power, ready to buy everything, and form the main customers of the blackmarkets as well as of open markets.

Merchants and traders continue to buy large quantities for purposes of speculation and blackmarket, hoping that they would be able to dispose them of in

a short time. They want to get rid of the depreciating money and buy commodities which go on appreciating under conditions of inflation. The investments in commodity seem to be the safest, since every day they go on appreciating in value. The blackmarket prices are so lucrative that the merchant is assured of good profits even if he sells only a part of his goods. Every one knows that there are always large stocks in the blackmarket which are not disposed of and yet the blackmarket thrives.

But if the existing price levels continue, a saturating point will soon be reached in the blackmarket; merchants and traders will find that the hope of disposing of the blackmarket stocks is not to be fulfilled and the brisk sales, which go on today because everyone believes that there is shortage and infinite demand for goods, will stop. The truth will be out that there are not too little but too many goods at the existing level of prices.

Inflation and speculation, arising from it, conceal the real nature of the crisis of which a warning is already given by the decline in production.

The policy of de-control embarked upon by the Government means that the bourgeoisie has already recognised that the blackmarket has reached a saturation point; that at the level of blackmarket prices, goods cannot be sold in large quantities.

De-control, therefore, is a device to widen the market in a special way—prices will fall compared with the blackmarket rates but will rise compared with the control rates. It is an effort to reach a wider section of well-placed people, while keeping out the large mass as before. It is a device to distribute goods according to means and remove all barriers in the way of selling in the best possible market to the upper strata of the population in as large a quantity as possible.

Thus, the profit-motive of the capitalists intensifies the crisis at every step. They must keep prices high in order to make huge profits. But these prices are at variance with the purchasing power of the bulk of the people—which means that the needs of the latter will not be satisfied and the goods of the capitalists will remain unsold. The profit-greed of the capitalists has driven the workers of desperation; it is keeping goods out of the reach of the common man, and, in its search for profitable markets, causing a collapse of production.

The crisis thus arises from the imperialists' loot of the war period, from the imperialist obstruction to industrial development, from the redistribution of the national income through inflation, from the profit-hunt of the capitalists, and from the colonial character of India's agricultural relations.

How do the capitalists and the National Government seek a way out of this crisis? What are their plans of avoiding a decline in production?

Their plans lie within the framework of colonial economy, of imperialist economy.

Afraid of the masses and their initiative, afraid to interfere with property rights and thus create a precedent for interference in capitalist property, especially in the

context of the growing demand for nationalisation of industries - the Indian capitalist class and the National Government are opposed to the liquidation of the old feudal order, which alone will release the peasant masses from the yoke of feudalism and stop the process of impoverishment.

The release from feudalism will make the peasant a good customer, a good market, but the social consequences of the step, they fear, will be such that the people might march forward and take charge of the entire national economy, dethroning the bourgeoisie from its privileged position.

That is why, both politically and economically, the bourgeoisie compromised with imperialism and the feudal-landlord bloc.

The economic collaboration with landlords expresses itself in the so-called land bills which retain landlordism in one form or another and thus ruin all chances of expanding the market among the vast bulk of the peasantry. The agrarian bills of the Congress Ministries with their insistence on compensation, with no provision for land to the tiller, with at best some concessions to the richer upper strata of the peasantry, keep the old land-relations intact and impoverishment on the increase.

In these most favourable circumstances, the market is somewhat extended only among the upper section of the peasants who are granted concessions and get new opportunities of grabbing land from the poor peasants. If the rights of the landlords are somewhere touched, it is only in order to help a section below them - a wider section - but not to give relief to the mass of the peasantry.

For the rest, the National Government and the bourgeoisie hope to save Indian agriculture by means of extension of irrigation facilities, manure, hydroelectric dams, of bringing new land under cultivation - all the old familiar schemes of imperialism which seek to achieve a miracle in agrarian conditions without changing the pre-capitalist land-relations.

The hope that through these a prosperous, middle, independent peasantry will be stabilised - with feudal relations dominating land - is a fond hope doomed to failure.

The national bourgeoisie, therefore, in its compromise with imperialism and feudalism, has set its face against revolutionary changes in agrarian relations, thereby announcing its bankruptcy to raise either the standard of living of the peasant or the production on land. It is thus incapable of utilising the vast potential market that exists, and organise the rapid industrialisation of India. That is why there can hardly be any genuine industrial development of India on capitalist lines, ending her colonial character. At every step the attempts to develop on capitalist lines come in conflict with the capitalist collaboration with the imperialist-feudal combine, which destroys the market and hampers industrial growth.

In the post-war crisis, therefore, the capitalists and the National Government do not have any plan of getting out of the crisis except one of maintaining the old order on the basis of repression and force. For the vast masses of India, the rural millions, they offer nothing except feudal and landlord tyranny, sanctified now by

the bourgeoisie in its base compromise with imperialism; they offer nothing except the upholding of the old imperialist order which kept India backward on the basis of pre-capitalist relations in agriculture.

Fear of the agrarian revolution, arising out of the fear of a political revolution, forces the bourgeoisie to solve the crisis within the framework of the imperialist-colonial order and thus get into an insoluble contradiction. On this basis, therefore, not only expansion of industries is not possible but even retention of the present production level is becoming impossible.

How then do the bourgeoisie and the National Government attempt to solve the crisis on the industrial front? Having decided to keep the large masses of people in poverty, the only hope for production is to produce with sweated labour, low wage-costs, and intensification of the labour process.

The bourgeoisie and the National Government thus attempt to find a way out of the crisis by brutally lowering wage-costs, attacking the workers in all directions, demanding a restoration of the nine-hour day, stopping all further wage concessions, and attacking the wage standards of the working class, introducing rationalisation and retrenchment where possible, so that wage-costs are reduced. They attempt to bring production near to the impoverished people by impoverishing the workers as well, and thus accentuating the crisis.

The capitalist way thus means misery for the peasant, misery for the worker, misery for the middle class, and, in the bargain, a all-round decline in production.

The bourgeoisie starts by raising the cry about shortage of production and then concentrates fire on the working-class strikes. Its demand is that the working class should tamely submit to wage-cuts, etc., to guarantee capitalist profits and enable the capitalists to secure markets at the expense of the working class. To this end, the National Government and the Congress Ministries introduce anti-strike legislation and suppress the workers' resistance to facilitate the capitalist offensive.

... The capitalists and the National Government are moving towards an attack on the eight-hour day so that the employers get one hour's labour without much extra cost and are able to reduce costs and make profits.

The National Government helps the capitalists in their rationalisation of industries, no wage legislation, complete freedom for them to deal with labour, and pass on the burden of the crisis to the workers.

All this, by reducing the purchasing power of the people, intensifies the crisis instead of solving it.

But, nonetheless, for the capitalists there is no way out. They must forcibly make the workers accept low wage standards and suppress them to keep production going. They must also keep the peasantry enslaved.

Naturally, in these circumstances, the Indian capitalists look to foreign markets for absorbing their goods which the Indian market cannot absorb because of the

poverty of the people. They are looking more and more to the foreign markets not only for an outlet for present surplus goods, but also for exporting goods of the industries which they hope to build in the near future.

The collapse of the Indian market makes the capitalists more dependent on foreign markets which only America and Britain can offer.

This leads to two results :

First, it means further intensification of attacks against labour to increase the competitive capacity of the Indian industry in foreign markets.

Secondly, it leads to deals with foreign capitalists, to allow them the right of joint exploitation of the Indian market, joint investment in return for exports and supply of capital goods. This means guarantees about no nationalisation of industries, of return on capital and of putting down labour firmly. It also means acceptance of only such industrial expansion as is permitted either by Britain or America, and, for the rest, retention of the old colonial order. All talk of planning, prosperity, abolition of Indian poverty, etc., disappears with this policy, this attempt to get out of the crisis.

That is why the National Government no longer talks about planning; that is why it has given an assurance to the capitalists in the Industries Conference that at least for five years to come there will be no nationalisation; that is why it is passing anti-strike legislation and enabling the employers to pass on the burdens of the crisis to the workers and the people. That is why it has removed controls to enable the capitalists to make profits.

The conditions attaching to the export of Indian goods abroad are such that exports will not solve the crisis but intensify it at every step and Indian collaboration with Britain and America will only intensify the misery of the people, ruining both industry and agriculture.

The capitalist way, therefore, is opposed on all fronts by the people, by the workers, by the peasants, by the students and by the middle class.

As against the capitalist plan of retaining Indian misery by retaining the existing land-relations, by attacking wage standards, forcing prolongation of the working hours, demanding higher prices for goods or de-control, demanding uncontrolled profits and opposing nationalisation, attacking trade unions and strikes and suppressing workers and peasants, demanding mass retrenchment and rationalisation, the needs of the people demand planning in economic life based on the abolition of landlordism and land to the tiller, nationalisation of key and vital industries with workers' control over them, nationalisation of banks; living wage, trade union recognition, right to strike, and social security to workers; living wage for middle-class employees, security of service and pension; control of profits; confiscation of British capital, etc.

This way alone the contradiction between production and a narrowing market can be solved, a contradiction arising solely out of the capitalist character of production.

On the basis of these, the people can plan ahead, organise production for the needs of the people, increase it by common efforts for common good and distribute it on the basis of labour performed - so that a planned properous economy is possible for the people.

The two ways out of the crisis are diametrically opposed.

The capitalist way is that of safeguarding profits by intensifying the misery of the people, of guarding the old colonial order in collaboration with imperialism, and of perpetuating and intensifying Indian misery; while the workers' and the people's way is to solve the crisis by uprooting the root cause - the colonial order - with its imperialist - feudal - bourgeois exploitation. The capitalists can only attain their objective by suppressing the people, defeating the workers' and peasants' movements and establishing a naked dictatorship of force, i.e., by suppressing the political liberties of the people. The capitalist way is not only one of economic misery but of political suppression and slavery.

That is why the working class and other toiling people must defeat the capitalist policy and successfully solve the crisis in the interests of the people. This means that they must defeat the capitalist-landlord offensive and the policies which help them and see to it that their movement is not terrorised by force.

In the partial struggles, strikes, political conflict, these two ways face each other. The capitalist way drives the masses to accept the challenge every day, makes their condition unbearable and unleashes the upsurge all round.

## **V. AGAINST IMPERIALIST - BOURGEOIS CONSPIRACY FORGE A NEW CLASS ALLIANCE .... PROGRAMME OF DEMOCRATIC FRONT**

### **Masses Fight Back**

The establishment of the Congress Ministries and subsequently of the National Government, the communal offensive launched by reaction, and the disruptive role played by the Congress have not diminished the post-war upsurge. Its causes lie deeper than the mere formation of Government, for, they directly follow from the exploitation of the Indian masses which has reached unbearable proportions.

Though the Congress leaders in the beginning were successful in creating new hope among the people that things could be remedied through the National Government, the process of disillusionment has been quickened since August 15, and the upsurge is asserting itself more and more. Through their common fights and day-to-day struggles, through their cooperation for their demands, all these sections more and more come to realise that their poverty and exploitation can be ended only by a triumph of the democratic movement. Never was there so much understanding of the main slogans of the democratic movement : abolition of landlordism and land to the tiller; abolition of autocracy; nationalisation of key industries and a living wage as the cornerstone of any stable life for the people.

But today the people in their disillusionment are learning something more, and that is, that a Government manned by leaders in whom they had utmost faith cannot discharge a single responsibility and cannot give them either land, peace or bread. More and more the people are coming to the conclusion that the National Government is guided by the vested interests; more and more they are seeing the link between the Indian capitalists and the national leaders. Out of this disillusionment will come the demand for another Government, and it is the duty of the Communist Party to consciously guide the people in fighting for that demand boldly and decisively.

The programme of the democratic movement can be implemented only when the State power belongs to classes which are interested in full democracy and from which all opponents of democracy are excluded. Such a state will be based on the alliance of workers, peasants and the oppressed petty bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the working class. It will be a People's Democratic State based on the alliance of anti-imperialist classes, workers, peasants and the oppressed petty bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the working class, and from which all collaborationists and exploiting elements are excluded. It will be based upon direct rule of the toiling people in place of the present bureaucratic system.

The existing correlation of forces, in which every step forward of the popular struggle is to be taken not only in opposition to imperialism but in opposition to the bourgeoisie also, clearly shows that the old phase of the bourgeois democratic revolution is over, a phase in which the bourgeoisie was in the anti-imperialist camp. Today the entire trend of events demands a democratic State of workers, toiling peasants and the oppressed petty bourgeoisie as the only rallying slogan to surge forward to the defeat of imperialism and its bourgeois allies, and emancipation of the people. It means that People's Democratic Revolution has to be achieved for the completion of the tasks of democratic revolution and the simultaneous building up of Socialism. This can be assured by establishing firmly the leadership of the working class over the other sections of the toiling people.

### New Class Alliance

To defeat the bourgeois-imperialist conspiracy, to defeat the combine of imperialism, feudalism and the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to marshal the forces of the revolutionary people in a new way, that is, to forge a new alliance of all the classes for whom the success of the democratic revolution is vital. The democratic State cannot be realised without such an alliance and unity of the people.

The spontaneous movement of the workers, peasants and middle classes against economic exploitation and political repression itself gives the form of the new front. It is the duty of the working class and the Communist Party to combine this growing upsurge into a new Democratic Front reflecting the unity of the fighting masses. The basis of this new Democratic Front is the common struggle against exploitation and political subjection. The Front will, therefore, include the fighting masses and all those fighting organisations which help it to go forward against the treacherous policy of the national bourgeoisie and the designs of imperialism.

The Communist Party, the working class and the mass organisations led by the Communist Party will be the core of this Front. The militant following of the Left parties and all genuine Leftists in these parties will be important partners in the Front. The Front will grow by drawing inside it the entire fighting masses as well as the anti-imperialist following of the Congress and the League so that the broadest unity of the common people can be built in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

It must be clearly understood that though the Front will include several political parties, trade unions, kisan sabhas, student and youth organisations and other bodies, it will not be a mere coalition of several organisations. On the contrary, it must become the genuine fighting alliance of the masses against imperialism, feudalism and the bourgeoisie.

For building such a Front the Communists shall seek the cooperation of all Left parties and elements. They will strive to establish unity of action with Left parties. But the cardinal thing for the Communists to remember is that the struggle for building the Democratic Front is inseparable from the struggle to establish working-class hegemony, that is, to win the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie for the fighting programme and policy of the working class.

It must also be stressed that in course of its development the Democratic Front will have to be directed, through persistent struggle for a common programme and progressive realisation of working-class leadership, towards a disciplined and firmly united mass political organisation functioning democratically and based solidly on the unity of the people.

The Democratic Front, therefore, must not be looked upon as an organisation representing a top alliance between Left parties. It is a Front based on the masses. It is an alliance between the working class, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia. This Front becomes strong and capable of decisive action to the extent that it becomes unified both politically and organisationally under working-class leadership, to the extent that the working class secures the confidence of its allies and is able to win them for its programme and policy.

Unless the Communists realise all this, there is every danger of repeating the mistakes of the past, of Right opportunism masquerading as Left unity, and making the working class trail behind the vacillating class.

Under the impact of the crisis and as the result of growing disillusionment with the Government, larger and larger sections of masses will be set in motion. The process of radicalisation will be hastened even among the most backward strata. It will be the task of the Democratic Front to draw all these sections in the common movement, forge the fighting alliance of the people, coordinate and integrate the various partial struggles and develop them as part of the fight for the ending of imperialist-feudal-bourgeois domination. Only under the firm guidance of the working class and only by developing as the united mass organisation of the fighting people, the Democratic Front can carry out these tasks.

## United Front With Left Parties

The United Front of Left parties in the present situation will be a powerful lever to build the new Front, disillusioning and activising the Congress and League masses, the States' peoples and other sections, and in building a united movement for the democratic revolution.

The independent strength of the Communist Party of India and the general leftward swing of the people enhances immensely the strength of Left forces and makes them the base and spearhead of the new unity.

The Communist Party must, therefore, seek immediate agreements with Left parties for joint action, for common understanding of the problems of the democratic movement and for building a front against the compromisers and their real masters. At the same time, the Party must note that discredited and dishonest elements and groups sometimes come forward as a Left force, exploiting the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist anger of the masses. The Party must expose and fight such groups, especially groups having connection with organisations or professing policies which are internationally accepted as counter-revolutionary.

The building of the Democratic Front is a process of struggle. It advances through a series of joint campaigns and partial struggles, jointly conducted., and through local united fronts between the Party and the local Congress and League masses - even Committees wherever possible- between the Left parites and the Congress and League masses at other places, between the Party and other mass organisations in still other places. The fundamental basis, however, is the independent activity of the proletarian party and its capacity to lead struggles of the masses and draw new masses into the fighting arena. The core of the new Front would be the Communist Party together with the mass organisations led by the Party, trade unions, kisan sabhas and students' and youth organisations. Round this must be gathered the militant following of the Left parties, vast masses from the Congress, the League, the States Praja Mandals, etc., so that a broad Democratic Front takes shape to meet the new situation.

In many provinces organised Left groups do not exist. There are thousands of unattached Leftists in all provinces. Unity of the Left parties is a weapon of drawing these thousands into the common front for joint action. In the South we must devote special attention to the unorganised Left; for Left unity will mean drawing these unattached thousands into the common fight. In other provinces also, Left unity ought to be an instrument of attracting unorganised Leftists who will now find an effective platform and instrument for implementing their Left aspirations. It will aslo attract other progressive Congressmen on specific issues.

## Congress, League and the Democratic Front

The relation of the Congress and the League to the Democratic Front must be properly understood.

Both these organisations command the loyalty of lakhs of people, of vast sections of the anti-imperialist masses. Desperate attempts will be made by the leaderships of these two organisations to keep these masses away from the struggle for the democratic revolution and from the Democratic Front by exploiting old loyalties and the memories of the anti-imperialist struggles. The forces of the democratic movement will be weak and paralysed if the bourgeois leaderships succeed in keeping the masses under the influence of these organisations away from the Democratic Front.

The Communist Party must devote the utmost attention to winning these masses away from the influence of the bourgeois leaders, through propaganda, joint campaigns and joint struggles.

Great and vital importance, therefore, attaches to bringing the masses of these two organisations inside the Democratic Front, in opposition to their leaders. It is, therefore, essential that the Leftists who are associated with these organisations should carry on a persistent battle, both inside and outside these organisations, to unmask the policies of the leaderships and win over the masses for the democratic revolution and for joining the Democratic Front.

The Congress with its sixty-year-old tradition of anti-British fight, and with the memories of national battles that it rouses, sways lakhs of anti-imperialists who earnestly desire to move forward. The name of the Congress is today used by the bourgeois leaders to keep popular opinion behind them in support of their collaborationist policy. What the people are unable to accept from the Central Government and the Provincial Ministries, is pushed through the Congress and public criticism is paralysed.

To abandon the fight for the Congress masses, to ignore their important role in the Democratic Front, will be tantamount to making a present of lakhs of people to the bourgeois leaders. Every attempt must be made to win over the Congress masses, to carry the fight against the bourgeois leadership right inside the Congress organisation itself on every burning issue. The Congress leadership, however, will neither accept the programme of the Democratic Front nor come into the Front, because it represents the bourgeoisie as a class and that class has gone collaborationist. But it is vital to win the Congress masses for the democratic movement. The Communist Party, therefore, attaches great importance to the work of consistent anti-imperialists and democrats inside the Congress, the work of disillusioning the masses and pressing forward for a democratic programme.

### **The Socialist Party**

The Communist Party of India must take into consideration both the importance of the United Front of the Left and its limitations.

Under the stress of the crisis and the militancy of the masses, under the stress of the August struggle and disillusionment of large sections of Congressmen with the right-wing leadership, Left-minded elements strongly opposed to the capitalists

are drawn to the Socialist Party. In places like Bombay, the Socialist Party has also a working-class base. In places like Calcutta, it counts among its members old trade union leaders. It has got a large number of honest elements in its ranks who seek to work among the kisans, workers, students, to build mass organisations.

The right-wing Congress leadership itself is afraid of the Socialist Party and at the same time wants to woo it.

The strength of the Socialist Party comes from the ranks who are overwhelmingly drawn from the petty bourgeoisie. The ranks hate the capitalists, are dissatisfied with the Nehru Government and the compromise, and want to move forward. They consider themselves Socialists; in fact they are Left nationalists. Nonetheless, their urge for Socialism is real and though they are kept away from it by the misleading policies of their leadership, they constitute a current orientating towards the proletariat.

The building up of the United Front of the Left involves the winning over of their ranks for the common task of pushing forward the democratic revolution and establishing a democratic State.

But the aspirations and the orientations of the Left ranks must be separated from the leadership and the programme of the Socialist Party. The ranks are being poisoned by the anti-working-class theories and formulations of the Socialist leadership, are given a distorted idea about Socialism and the international situation and are continually poisoned against the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement. Sharp exposure of the "Socialism" of the Socialist leaders, their theoretical presumptions, their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist line, and their stand on Indian questions is an integral part of the struggle to build the United Front of the Left.

In exposing the Socialist leadership it must be remembered that the leadership, barring the four or five at the top, has no uniform policy. In such cases a differentiated approach should be made.

The programme and policy laid down by the top leaders of the Socialist Party, including Jaiprakash Narain, Achyut Patwardhan, Ram Manohar Lohia and Ashok Mehta, clearly reveal that behind the talk of Socialism lurks the sinister design to exploit the Left discontent of the ranks to transform the Socialist Party into a bourgeois constitutional party - His Majesty's constitutional Opposition, so to say. Both their international outlook and the national outlook reveal the same thing.

In its recent programme which is supposed to be a transitional programme to Socialism, the first stage in India's evolution towards Socialism, the party suggests a banal programme of administrative reforms, the high water-mark of its democracy not going beyond responsibility of the executive to the legislature. It requires an amazing boldness in these days to parade mere responsibility to the legislature as transitional steps to Socialism.

While the programme prattles about India being a republic, of expropriation of private property and enterprise "with or without compensation," it nowhere mentions

struggle as being necessary for it. It pins its faith in constitutional opposition and acts as if the democratic revolution is already complete, the people are in power, and all that remains to be done is to take transitional steps to Socialism.

It openly preaches the illusion that Socialism may be achieved by constitutional means. It covers its advocacy of constitutionalism by calling it "democratic means."

In their demands for constitutional rights the Socialist leaders do not include the right of self-determination of national units like Andhra, Tamilnad, Maharashtra, and reveal that they have learnt nothing from recent Indian history.

In their economic programme they suggest the possibility of compensation before nationalising private property, and they do not necessarily demand immediate nationalisation of heavy industries. On the Contrary, their demand is immediate or early nationalisation, thus seeking an excuse to postpone nationalisation.

They talk of abolition of landlordism, living wage, etc., but having given up all struggle to change the social order, not having the courage to demand nationalisation at least in their programme, everything else becomes just the words of a bourgeois leadership giving electoral promises.

On the concrete issues of day-to-day importance, the Socialist Party leaders adopt anti-popular policies, support de-control and help Big Business to exploit the people. They echo capitalist slanders about the working class not doing its duty, and help the bosses (Jaiprakash's letter to the Railway Board).

Forced by the ranks, they have to go in for strikes, but generally they oppose and even break strikes (strikes of drawers-in of Bombay textile mills and Ashok Mehta's admissions). They disrupt the unity of the Trade Union Congress and the trade union movement and help the bosses, offensive, though their ranks want unity.

They concentrate their fire on the Communist Party - the mass actions led by it - and shamelessly support repressive measures against it (Ashok Mehta's statement on the firing on Bombay students). Their members in the Legislature support black measures like the Public Safety Bill in Bengal and they oppose and break protest strikes against them.

They are strong opponents of Left unity, of any cooperation with the communist party. They thus perform a disruptive role in the interests of the collaborationists.

From time to time the Socialist leaders give it out that they are leaving the Congress. This is an attempt first of all to pacify the ranks with Left talk about secession from the Congress, for the ranks are fed up with the vacillating policies of their leadership and think that they are the inevitable consequences of remaining inside the Congress. The talk of leaving the Congress pleases the Left ranks, for, it opens before them prospects of independent and militant political activity in opposition to the compromising leadership of the Congress. The ranks hate the compromise and want to cut themselves off from the deadening grip of the policies of the Congress leadership and go in for an independent militant political line.

Nothing, however, is farther from the minds of the Socialist leaders. At present the talk about secession from the Congress only serves to keep their Left prestige with their ranks, and also it is a weapon of bargaining with the Congress leadership.

When the leadership decides to leave the Congress, it will not do it to go in for an independent revolutionary line but when it finds that it can now play the role of an independent bourgeois Opposition party, a parliamentary party for the next elections. The talk about secession from the Congress in the mouth of Socialist leaders is only an advertisement of their future plan to contest elections independently under the new Constitution and try their luck at the ballot box. It is the result of their maturing into constitutional bourgeois leaders and has not an iota of revolution in it.

Their Statement of Policy reveals that they have drawn their theoretical understanding the appraisal of international events from the extreme right-wing Social Democrats of Europe and America.

They repeat the worst slanders about the Soviet Union, calling it a totalitarian State and making it plain that they are opposed to a real Socialist revolution.

In their foreign policy they follow the hypocritical Bevin in advocating a "third" group - which is only a cover to conceal their political alignment with American imperialism.

In their Statement of Policy they deliberately omit all reference to American imperialism, which means they will follow its dictates. Instead of concretely pointing out that a conflict does exist between the two camps - the camp of democracy and the camp of imperialism - they pose the conflict as being between Russia and the rest of the nations of UNO, thus screening American imperialism and its designs against democracy and freedom of all peoples and its conspiracy against the Socialist State.

And finally, by a trick of hand, they seek to do away with the main contradiction between capitalism and the working class by saying that the main contradiction is between advanced and backward countries - thus making a crude appeal to bourgeois nationalism and hiding the fact that the struggle of backward countries is part of the struggle for world Socialism and against the capitalist order.

This outlook enables them to say that a Socialist of backward countries must be an assertive nationalist, i.e., it draws and lends justification to any cooperation with any imperialist power in the name of the nationalism.

The leadership of the Socialist Party is attempting to transform it into a collaborationist party behind the facade of Socialist phrases.

It must be ideologically unmasked and fought, and the ranks must be taught to see it in its real colours.

The ranks themselves do not accept this programme wholly. The Socialist Party is not a unified party but a heterogeneous combination. In winning over the ranks these points must be noted.

Nonetheless, a merciless ideological struggle must be carried on against the leadership. The ranks must be won over on the basis of Marxism, which a large section accepts, and on the basis of Marxism, which a large section accepts, and on the basis of concrete issues, but we should have no illusions that the top leaders will ever agree to a joint front unless the ranks do it over their heads or press them to do it.

## Programme of the Democratic Revolution

The programme of the Democratic Front and the Left parties should contain the following.

- 1) Complete severance from the British Empire and full and real independence.
- 2) A democratic Government representing the workers, toiling peasants and the oppressed petty bourgeoisie, opposed to collaboration with Anglo-American imperialism, allied to the democratic States working for peace and freedom of all nations.
- 3) A Constitution based on adult suffrage and proportional representation, guaranteeing full freedom and democracy to the common man and fundamental economic rights.
- 4) Self-determination to nationalities, including the right of secession. A voluntary Indian Union, autonomous linguistic provinces.
- 5) Just and democratic rights of minorities to be embodied in the Constitution : Equality and protection to the language and culture of minorities, all liabilities, privileges and discriminations on caste, race and community to be abolished by law, and their infringements to be punishable by law.
- 6) Abolition of Princedom and feudal rule in the Indian States and the establishment of full democracy. On the question of accession, exposure of the policies of the Governments of both India and Pakistan of parading accession to the Indian Union or Pakistan as a big triumph, and explanation to the common people that the urgent and primary task inside the States is the abolition of Princedom and feudal rule and the establishment of a people's democratic State. Accession before that is only slavery of the States' people, both to Princely autocracy and to the bourgeois rulers of the Indian Union. It is only after the people of the States become completely free that they will have real liberty to decide the question of accession. At that stage the question will be decided by the wishes of the people.
- 7) Freedom of the tribal and such other backward peoples from economic, cultural and political oppression, extension of full democratic rights to them, prompt and adequate State aid for their development, so that they may rapidly catch up with the advanced nationalities. The people of all contiguous, compact, predominantly tribal areas shall have regional autonomy. They may form autonomous areas within the provinces, enjoying full powers regarding general administration within the areas and specially regarding economic and cultural matters of regional importance. The people of such areas, in suitable cases,

may also form separate province or provinces. The people of such areas or provinces shall have the right to secede from the State by a democratic verdict.

- 8) Cooperation between the Indian Union and Pakistan for mutual economic aid in the interest of the toiling people, military and political alliance against imperialist intervention and foreign aggression, democratic foreign policy in cooperation with democratic States against Anglo-American bloc.
- 9) Abolition of landlordism without compensation and distribution of land to the tillers of the soil. Abolition of the zeminary system must mean confiscation of *khas* lands of the non-cultivating landowners, and ensure land to sub-tenants and share-croppers. Liquidation of rural indebtedness and abolition of usury. Living wage for the agricultural labourers.
- 10) Confiscation by the State of interests of foreign capital in banks, industrial and transport concerns, plantations, mines, etc., and nationalisation of these concerns.
- 11) Nationalisation of big industries, big banks and insurance companies, guarantee of workers' control, minimum living wage, eight-hour day, etc.
- 12) Economic plan to develop India's resources and removal of Big Business from strategic economic points. Control of profits in the industries in private hands.
- 13) Repeal of all repressive legislation.
- 14) Elimination of the bureaucratic administrative State apparatus and the establishment of a democratic administration with elected officials, guided by people's committees.
- 15) General arming of the people and the establishment of a people's democratic army.
- 16) The right to free education and compulsory primary education.
- 17) Equal democratic rights to women.

The Democratic Front, and the Communist Party in building it up, will fight communal reactionaries, riot-mongers and protagonists of war between the Indian Union and Pakistan as enemies of the people. They will organise *Shanti Senas*, cooperate with all who stand for communal peace, and, in order to quell riots, will make use of every anti-riot measure of the Government. At the same time, they will expose the policy of national compromise which spreads riots and will call upon the people to defeat the game of the vested interests. They will also expose all communal acts of the members of the Government which abet feudal reaction.

To start with, it is not necessary that there should be a joint front of only those who agree with the entire programme of the Democratic Front. Immediate joint actions may start on specific questions. As joint actions develop and as Left cooperation develops, the correctness of the programme will be self-evident to all democratic elements, and the Front will be progressively realised as part of the experience of the Left and the masses as a whole.

## VI. TASKS OF THE PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

THE aim of the People's Democratic Revolution is to bring about those fundamental changes in our political and social structure, without which there can be no freedom and no prosperity for our common people. The present State will be replaced by a People's Democratic Republic-a republic of workers, peasants and oppressed middle classes. The bureaucratic administration will be dissolved and will be replaced by officials elected by the people, controlled by their committees and subject to recall. Landlordism will be abolished and land given to the tillers. All big banks and factories will be taken over by the State and run in the interest of the people and not for the profits of the few. Princely autocracy will be ended and the States' people freed from feudal and capitalist shackles.

On the basis of these changes the foundation will be laid for the building up of a Socialist economy, for the ensuring of a happy and prosperous life for our people.

It will be the task of the Communist Party to work untiringly for these aims and to make this perspective the perspective of the entire democratic movement. It will be the task of the Party to conduct and lead all struggles of workers, peasants and other toilers in such a manner as to develop them as part of a single movement for the realisation of this programme.

### Tasks on the Trade Union Front

The working class under the leadership of the Party has played a glorious role in the recent struggles. Today, under the stress of the economic crisis, the working class is being attacked (Coimbatore, Kanpur, Bombay tram and port trust, etc.). Big battles are already taking place in Coimbatore and Kanpur.

The strike wave has gone on mounting and repression has failed to check it. Under the pressure of the economic crisis both the Government and the capitalists are desperately trying to reduce wage-costs, that is, to solve the crisis at the expense of the workers. Retrenchment, unemployment, cut in the dearness allowance and reduction in wages, attempts to prolong working hours - these constitute the means by which the National Government seeks to help the capitalists at the expense of the workers.

The recent "Industrial Truce" Conference was nothing but an open declaration of war against the working class. It shamelessly promised the capitalists that there would be no nationalisation for five years, it refused to accept the obligation for a living wage, it put profits and fair wages on the same level, making it quite clear that the capitalists were as much entitled to fair profits as the workers were to fair wages. It gave a promise of making provisions for industrial housing but in reality it only hastened to make provisions for illegalisation of strikes in the name of promoting industrial peace through arbitration.

This policy means that every effort will be made to launch an intensified offensive against working-class standards and the Government will use all its forces to crush

the resistance of the working class. It also means that in future the arbitration courts and the arbitration machinery will be used more and more as weapons to put the workers at disadvantage, to deny them all their demands, take away the rights previously won, and seek every excuse to illegalise strikes.

The perspective is, therefore, one of growing deterioration of the industrial situation in which every kind of repression will be used against the workers, every kind of misrepresentation will be made and the workers will be forced to mobilise all their strength to defeat the offensive.

The trade union front, therefore, will have to bear the brunt of this offensive and defeat it with the might of the working class. At such a time working-class rights and demands must be defended most decisively. Every care should be taken to see that the fight of the workers is not isolated from other sections of the workers and the people, whose sympathies or neutrality the National Government will try to exploit.

The National Government and the national leadership attempt to hoodwink the people by talking about national reconstruction, and in its name launch an economic offensive against the working class. They exploit the existing scarcity of goods, the high prices that the people have to pay, and make it appear that the workers' strike struggles are responsible for this so-called shortage of goods. They appeal to middle-class sentiments and ignorance by declaring that illegalisation of strikes and the measures that they are suggesting will lead to increased production and prosperity, and that the people must support them in their plans. In talking about national reconstruction, the National Government and the bourgeoisie exploit the people's desire and wish for a planned economic life and their anger against capitalist anarchy.

We must expose this bourgeois hoax of national reconstruction which is but another name for passing on the burden of the crisis to the workers and the people, through prolongation of the working day, reduction of wages, intensification of labour and mass unemployment.

We must expose that production is falling because of capitalist ownership and the crisis of capitalism, that the only way to improve it is to nationalise the means of production and remove the profit-motive from it. We should warn the people not to be a party to the reconstruction plan of the bourgeoisie which is only a profit-making plan.

We should not join in the hunt for preparing production plans, with the capitalist method of production intact and profits untouched. We should clearly show that the way of the capitalists and the Government will reduce production and not increase it. The capitalist plan will only lead to crisis and to steep reduction in output.

We must make it clear that there can be no national reconstruction and no reorganisation of production without nationalisation of industries, without liquidating the colonial order, without implementing the programme of the democratic revolution, without giving a living wage to the workers.

Overwhelmed by bourgeois propaganda, some people are reluctant to advocate nationalisation of industries and a living wage as the basis of national reconstruction - thinking that this is too general and abstract a basis. Such elements fail to see that these are the most practical and concrete proposals and the only ones on the basis of which social order can be changed and production reorganised. Only those who are accustomed to think even of the democratic revolution as a distant perspective and do not believe in fighting for it at present, but want to argue on the basis of bourgeois practically, will feel embarrassed before our immediate programme.

Therefore, to ask the workers to produce more for the capitalist plans made for the purpose, when the working class is engaged in a bitter struggle to prevent worsening of its standard of living, is a call to sacrifice the workers to the bourgeoisie. Those who go this way are victims of bourgeois propaganda. We must expose and unmask the bourgeois plans, resist all attacks against the workers and boldly put forward nationalisation, control of profits, a living wage, etc., as our contribution to organising production. We must wage a consistent fight against the idea that nationalisation, etc., are not concrete proposals.

The trade unions and the Party will have to put up the most decisive defence of working-class interests. This will have to be done in a way in which not only the working class emerges victorious, but inspires the other classes-the middle class and the peasantry-with confidence in the common victory against the bourgeoisie. These struggles must unify the entire working class under common mass organisations and politically under the Communist Party. They will be the strongest levers to build the new Democratic Front, the new alliance of classes which is necessary to build a democratic State based on this alliance.

Today, more than ever, when in many places the working class is drawn in different directions - some sections directed to the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), some sections to the Socialist Party, some confused by the stand of the National Government - it is necessary to build the unity of the working class in each struggle. This unity may be achieved before the struggle or in the course of the struggle. Every effort must be directed towards this end, for working-class unity can and shall be forged through the coming struggles against the effects of the growing economic crisis. This is so because the crisis hits every section of the working class and it is possible for us, if we adopt correct trade union tactics, to draw every section of the working class into a common front of resistance to the employers. Such united struggles afford the best lessons to the working class on the treacherous role of the reformist trade union leaders and on the need for revolutionary working-class unity.

It is also necessary to counteract the mischievous propaganda of the National Government and the bourgeoisie among the people and to win their sympathies, so that the struggles are not isolated and crushed. Today there is an overwhelming opinion in favour of strikes even in the middle class because they themselves have to go in for strikes for their own demands. This constitutes a big basis for winning

popular sympathy, and how effective it can be is seen from the great fraternal demonstrations of the clerical workers of Calcutta in favour of the tramway strike.

In forging working-class unity we must make it our special task to forge the unity of the Hindu and Muslim workers to fight communalism and see that our trade unions take an active part in protecting the minorities and making the working class aware of its basic duty towards itself and the minorities. The working class must be clearly warned that its trade union struggle and the struggle for economic and political emancipation will be inevitably lost if communal barriers are not overcome in the class itself and if the class as a whole does not fight for the democratic rights of the minorities and does not take an active part in routing those who persecute the minorities.

Afraid of our growing strength in the working class, afraid of the strike struggles and convinced that mere repression will not crush the working class, the national bourgeois leadership, headed by Sardar Patel, has launched the INTUC to disrupt the ranks of the working class, to confuse the minds of the middle class and to slander every working-class struggle. More and more the INTUC reveals itself as an appendage of the State, a labour front of the bourgeoisie in power which wants to disrupt the working-class struggles, to serve the needs of the ruling bourgeoisie.

Its role is anti-strike, anti-Communist, anti-working class. Its policy is dictated by the national leadership, i.e., the bourgeoisie, and it acts as the unofficial arm of the National Government in every strike and independent action of the working class. It is also becoming an agency through which strike-breakers and gangsters are recruited to terrorise the workers. It functions in cooperation with the police and the bosses and acts as their spy. It is being groomed to represent Indian labour in international conferences and replace the AITUC.

The following it has got in many places is due to the influence of the Congress, but it is getting discredited very quickly. Barring perhaps a few places, it has no mass following. The more it gets discredited in other places the more it bases itself on the supervisory staff, on paid hirelings, on factory officials, who compel the workers to pay subscriptions to its unions and ask the owners to victimise those who are opposed to it. The INTUC is not an ordinary reformist organisation, but one which is fast moving to become a Hitlerite labour front. The role that it played recently in the Calcutta strike and the role of intimidation of workers, of attacking them with the help of goondas, is the real role of the INTUC and it will be used more and more till the workers are able to beat it back.

The attacks of goondas, the physical assaults on workers and the criminal intimidation practised by the INTUC are an admission of the failure of the INTUC to win over the workers and a confession of its own bankruptcy.

The role of the INTUC unions, therefore, must be thoroughly unmasked and exposed in every working-class meeting and the workers' anger must be roused against it. Every action against strike, every attempt at intimidating the workers, every act of betrayal must be unmasked so that the INTUC unions do not get any

roots among the masses. Where the INTUC unions have mass influence, exposure should be combined with offers of united front on specific issues concerning wages, living conditions and offers of help in every action and struggle against the capitalists.

The Socialist Party leadership is another disruptive agency which together with the INTUC is making desperate efforts to isolate the AITUC, i.e., the vanguard of the organised working class gathered in the AITUC. It has seceded from the AITUC and has started rival unions in many places. It broke away from the AITUC after the INTUC was started and thus continued the work of disruption started by the INTUC. For fear of its ranks it dared not join the INTUC. At the same time, it had neither sufficient courage nor loyalty to the working class to remain in the AITUC and fight jointly with the Communists and others against the disruptive designs of the INTUC.

Though in some places like Bombay, under pressure from the working-class ranks, the Socialist leaders opposed the INTUC, still their general opposition to the INTUC has been a mild and polite opposition while their hostility to the AITUC is pronounced. They do not regard the Government-sponsored INTUC as their enemy but concentrate their attacks on the AITUC in which is centralised the independent strength of the trade union movement. While the Socialist leaders would never have a united front with the AITUC they join hands, as in Calcutta, with the INTUC leaders to break up the unions of the AITUC (Calcutta tramway workers' strike).

Its unions in some places have got a mass basis, the workers being attracted to the Socialist leadership because of its Left phraseology. The Socialist leadership has attempted to stabilise this disruption by starting a new central organisation, thus splitting the ranks of the working class. The Socialist leadership itself opposes and denounces strikes organised under our leadership, supports or condones measures of governmental repression against the working class under our leadership, and itself holds back the workers under its unions as much as possible.

If the Socialist Party leadership today leads any strikes it is because of the intense pressure of the rank and file. The unions led by the Socialist Party are generally active unions in which a lot of militant material is gathered. We must make offers of united front on every occasion to these unions and workers in their struggle; we should not identify them with the policy of the Socialist leadership; and, at the same time, we should criticise the disruptive role of the Socialist leadership in the working-class movement.

Every occasion of half-hearted support to strikes or sabotaging of strikes by the Socialist leadership must be condemned by us in a way which will unify the workers and attract them to the AITUC as the common organisation. Our offer of united front should gradually develop into a demand for one central organisation and a denunciation of the disruptive move of the leadership of the Socialist Party.

By our independent actions, decisive lead of strike struggles and increase in trade union membership, we must enhance the strength of the AITUC and put it

before the working class as the only class organisation consistently defending and fighting for its rights.

The National Government is making serious endeavours to take away the representative character of the AITUC and thus remove it from international gatherings. This must be fought by making the working class aware of the danger and by immensely increasing the strength of the AITUC. We have failed to carry the battle for the central organisation to the mass of workers belonging to the Socialist unions. Had we done that, it would not have been easy for them to break away from the AITUC.

Today the AITUC has such tremendous prestige that newly formed organisations automatically turn to it for guidance and affiliation. We must realise that the strength of the AITUC is the strength of the working class, and that the stronger the central organisation is the easier it is for the working class to fight its life-and-death battle against the economic crisis and capitalist attacks.

In the course of our strike struggles, we must, along with the immediate demands, popularise the demand for nationalisation of key industries, control of profits, a living wage, as the only way out of unemployment and wage reductions.

The tendency to look on such popularisation as abstract is reformist and must be fought, and the conduct of these partial struggles must be guided by the correct Marxian understanding that no partial gains are stable in the period of crisis unless the entire capitalist offensive is defeated all round. Therefore, while accepting whatever partial victories which may give immediate relief to the workers and are acceptable to them, we will ask the workers to be always vigilant and ready for any offensive that is likely to be launched, and for their basic demands which they must achieve.

And above all, we will have no illusions that the arbitration courts appointed by bourgeois governments are likely to do justice to us. We will never have illusions that in times of economic crisis the desperate struggles between capital and labour can be solved through arbitration courts.

In defending and advancing the interests of the workers in these day-to-day struggles, we must so conduct the strikes that the working class gets unified as a class conscious of its political responsibility to struggle against the existing order and fight for a democratic State, conscious that it must lead the struggle in the democratic alliance for the people to be victorious.

Along with the fight for the defence of its day-to-day interests, the working class will champion the cause of the people as a whole, and organise mass political actions on the widest scale against repressive acts and policies of the imperialist-bourgeois-feudal combine, against workers, peasants, students, States' people and minorities. Through solidarity actions, sympathetic strikes, protest demonstrations and other forms of political action, the working class will cement the fighting alliance of the masses and increasingly come out as the defender of democratic rights and liberties, as the leader, unifier and builder of the Democratic Front.

## Tasks on the Peasant Front

The central task on the peasant front is to rouse and lead the toiling peasants around the central slogan of *Land to the Tiller*. Landlordism of all forms must be liquidated without any compensation to the landlords, khas land of the landlords and rich peasants must be distributed amongst the toiling peasants, and all forms of feudal and semi-feudal exactions must go. The fight against eviction, against rent, against serfdom to the money-lender, for commutation of rent in kind into money, and for two-thirds share of the crop must be strengthened and developed into the fight for land to the tillers. The agricultural proletariat must be specifically organised under the All-India Kisan Sabha, either as separate organisations affiliated to it or as specially organised sections within it, for fair wages and regulation of labour conditions.

The tempo of the agrarian struggles is so sweeping and big that the Congress Ministries themselves are forced to come out with what they call anti-landlord bills. They themselves have to take up the slogan of abolition of landlordism because the bourgeoisie perceives that the peasantry can no longer be cheated except by talking about abolition of landlordism. We should not allow ourselves to be deceived by its legislations and must expose their real class character and show that the abolition of landlordism that they promise is fake and not real. In fact, today, bowing down to the opposition of the landlords, the Congress leaders and Ministries are holding the so-called anti-landlord bills in abeyance, so as to settle the question of proper compensation in the name of uniformity.

The proposed bills, in the first place, give compensation to the landlords, which we must oppose and fight. They do not take over the land monopolised by the landlords, and so do not provide for redistribution of land to the tillers. Share-croppers, tenants-at-will and other tillers, who constitute the majority of the peasant population, will not gain any right on land. The proposed bills will simply acquire with compensation only that portion of the landlords' property which has been let out on a rent-basis to tenants with occupancy rights. These measures will not abolish landlordism but retain it in a different form. Only a new load of compensation will be thrust upon the overtaxed and impoverished people for the benefit of the landlords.

For the purpose of consolidating landlordism in a new way certain Provincial Governments have produced new plans which indicate which way the wind is blowing. In these new plans (the Bengal plan, for example) it is proposed that all agricultural land in different areas will be possessed collectively by cooperatives of landlords and peasants, and the compensation money given to landlords will be invested as capital in the cooperatives. Naturally, in such so-called cooperatives, the rich landlords, owing the major share, will be in a position to control the entire land and the crops.

Before the new legislative measures are adopted, the landlords are evicting peasants from their possessions on a large scale and with the assistance of the police beating back the resistance of the evicted peasants. As a result, the private

possessions of landlords are growing, monopoly holdings of land are increasing, and the tillers of the soil are being expropriated on a very large scale. The new agrarian measures will do nothing but legalise this expropriation.

To boost these measures as advances or progressive steps is to cheat the peasants and shield the bourgeois leaders.

We must expose and unmask the proposed bills as measures to rehabilitate landlordism, measures that will further impoverish the mass of tillers of the soil and thereby further intensify the food crisis. They will strengthen the hold of monopoly in food, and thereby extend the blackmarket. We must oppose compensation being given to landlords, and demand that instead of giving compensation to landlords, the State must provide for manure, irrigation, reclamation of fallow land and supply cattle, seeds and modern implements to the peasants. Land must be given to the tillers of the soil, private land belonging to landlords being expropriated without compensation. The poorer sections of landlords are to be given a moderate allowance for a certain period, or allowed to retain private land sufficient for their maintenance.

The agrarian movement against feudal relations is not complete unless land is secured for the tiller. The peasantry, in order to secure land, must develop a coordinated movement round that slogan—a movement emerging from the partial movements for reduction of rent, debt, etc.

We should unhesitatingly lead the fight against the food famine created by the Government's policy, and demand that the stocks of the big traders and landlords be confiscated for distributing food to the people. In the backward areas, we should demand abolition of serfdom, forced labour, illegal cesses as in the case of Warlis and Halis, and take the struggle forward to the central slogan of *Land to the Tiller*. In the States also the peasant must be roused to demand complete abolition of jagirdari and landlordism, of all feudal relations, and land to the tiller.

The economic crisis, which will smite the agrarian areas most ruthlessly, will set in motion colossal forces. These agrarian movements, uniting the entire mass of the poor peasants, middle peasants and the agrarian proletarians, will serve to bring about an alliance between the workers and the peasants which is the crux of any successful democratic movement. They are a part of the movement for the Democratic Front against the imperialist-bourgeois combine.

To head these agrarian struggles and unify them into one single stream of agrarian resistance, centring round the slogan of *Land to the Tiller*, the All-India Kisan Sabha must be built up as the fighting central organisation of India's peasantry.

### **Tasks on the Student Front**

In the post-war revolutionary upsurge, the student movement has played an important and significant role. The clashes between student demonstrators and the police and military in the demonstrations for the release of the INA prisoners, which roused whole cities to action, ended the wartime political lull and heralded the post-war upsurge. Mass solidarity actions of militant students during working-

class strikes in the post-war period have been a new feature, raising the student movement in India to a higher level.

Although the illusion that freedom has been won gripped the students after August 15, 1947, there has been a quick revival of the student movement. The enhancement of fees (with the consequent restriction of education) has provoked angry demonstrations in many provinces. Brutal repression by the Ministries on student demonstrations against the fee-increase and in observance of political anti-imperialist anniversaries, has led to direct clashes between students and the Government, developing into a general struggle of the people for civil liberties.

With rapidly worsening economic conditions and growing political disillusionment with the Congress leadership, the perspective is one of developing struggles on the question of fees and other educational demands, solidarity action with working-class and kisan struggles, and political action on the issue of civil liberties, the democratic struggles in the States, etc.

Aware of the menace from the student movement to the rule of reaction, the Government is launching brutal repression to "quell student revolts," to crush the spirit of the students.

Congress leaders have also started propaganda for the liquidation of the student movement as a fighting force, for the dissolution of militant student organisations and for setting up a Government-sponsored non-political students' organisation, devoted to "constructive work."

The leadership of the Socialist Party lends support to this attack on the student movement by declaring that there is no need for a militant student movement and militant students' action. It, therefore, demands the dissolution of the militant student organisations, supports the setting-up of a common non-political organisation, and is concentrating only on recruiting students to the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party is thus ranged with those forces which seek to liquidate the student movement and disband its militant organisations.

Under such circumstances, any tendency which ignores or underestimates the importance of the student movement, its revolutionary potentialities in the struggle for real independence, democracy and Socialism, is disastrous and must be rooted out of the Party ranks. Such a tendency only plays into the hands of the liquidators of the student movement.

Similarly, any tendency which, in the name of "maintaining the unity of the student movement" and in an imaginary fear of "isolation", seeks to restrict the student movement to fighting for student demands, shirks the task of organising mass solidarity actions with working-class and kisan struggles, must also be sternly combated as a non-Marxist, anti-working-class tendency, which also would cripple the militant student movement.

The Communist students must boldly seize the initiative and, through effective leadership of the developing mass struggles and a firm ideological struggle, bring about a reorientation of the entire student movement, so that a fighting alliance of

the student movement is forged with the working class and toiling masses, and the student movement as a whole comes to accept the ideology, programme and leadership of the working class in the fight for real independence, democracy and Socialism. In this way, they must defend the militant student movement from all bourgeois attacks and rally the fighting students in a common fighting organisation.

### **Tasks Among the Youth**

The toiling youth, drawn from the working class, the peasantry and the lower-middle class, has a special role to play in the present stage of the revolutionary struggle.

The working-class and kisan youth have always played a significant role in class battles, in the trade union and kisan struggles, and in the national movement. The lower-middle-class youth have played an important role in periods of national upsurge. In the post-war revolutionary upsurge, they have been the moving spirits in the strike-struggles of the clerks and middle-class employees. The youth from these sections have played the role of the advance-guard in the militant battles of the post-war period, in which barricades were thrown up and whole cities went into action against imperialism.

With deepening economic crisis, heightened economic exploitation of the masses, the imposition of crushing burdens on the toilers of town and country—the perspective is one of ever-larger masses of young workers, kisans and young employees and unemployed middle-class youth being thrown into the arena of struggle. Political disillusionment with the Congress leadership is spreading with utmost rapidity among the exploited, disaffected, toiling youth.

Failure to marshal the forces of youth in a powerful democratic movement under proletarian leadership, failure to take Communism directly to the toiling youth, however, is misdirecting the masses of disillusioned middle-class (and even sections of working-class and kisan youth) into reactionary communal volunteer organisations or to various youth organisations which are being developed into disruptive, anti-democratic and anti-working-class organisations, tools in the hands of the exploiting classes.

The Communist Party must, therefore, make special efforts to win over the toiling youth to the ideology and programme of Communism, combating bourgeois, anti-working-class and anti-democratic trends among the youth. It must address itself to the task of developing a strong, democratic movement of youth toilers, for the fulfilment of the special aspirations of toiling youth in the field of labour and culture, fighting for the specific demands of the youth of the working class, the peasantry and the lower-middle class, and drawing the toiling youth into the struggle for real independence, democracy and Socialism as a powerful organised force.

### **Tasks on the Women's Front**

Growing evidence of a new awakening amongst women and their remarkable fighting capacity and courage even in the face of the most terrible repression has

been a new feature during the last few years. This has been shown by the Indian peasant and working class women as well as the lower-middle-class women - the wives and mothers of the workers, clerks and toiling sections of the people. Linked with them, the employed women, the teacher, the nurse, the telephonist and the clerk have come forward to participate in the battles of their class, and through these have shown the tremendous fighting qualities of women. The heroic part played by the peasant women in the great struggles of Tebhaga and Telengana, the fight of the primary school teachers, small strike battles of nurses, the participation of women telephonists in the great postal strike, the firm and glorious part played by women workers (e.g., Basanti Cotton Mills, Bata, Pottery women workers of Calcutta, the textile women workers in Coimbatore, Madura and Bombay) in the long-drawn-out and fierce strike battles of recent times, and food demonstrations of lower-middle-class women are pointers to the fact that the tremendous hardships of the war years and after, the rising cost of living, the low wages, have brought to even the most backward section of our people-the women-a new consciousness and a new fighting quality.

But the conscious efforts of the women's front during these years have remained strictly confined to the middle-class housewives, and even for this section a fighting programme for food, cloth, housing was never effectively worked out, with the result that no movement worth the name developed under the guidance and inspiration of women's organisations or the women's front.

Today, with the growing economic crisis, the threats of retrenchments and dismissals, the high prices of essential commodities, the central tasks of the women's front must be to establish close contact with, and to unify, organise and stir into action the toiling masses of women-the working class, the peasant, the employed women and the wives of workers and of the lower-middle-class employees, struggling sections of the population, whose sufferings in the coming period will continuously increase to a breaking point.

For this the entire demands of the democratic programme must be put before them and explained to them. On the one hand, the democratic rights of all workers for work, a living wage, better conditions of life, and of the peasants for land, must also be taken up by all sections of the toiling women in common with their menfolk. On the other hand, the women's fight against unjust social prejudices and oppression, their ignorance, superstition, and unequal position in society must form a powerful part of the democratic fight of mothers of all classes, to ensure a better future for their children; this will draw in women from all classes, including the middle class.

The organisational task of the women's front must be to bring increasing numbers of kisan and women workers into the kisan sabhas and trade unions, to take an increasing part in the campaigns and battles of their class. Together with that, the associations of middle-class employees like teachers, nurses, etc., where they exist, must see more active participation of women employees in the fight for their legitimate rights; and where such organisations do not exist, they should be rapidly built up.

The peasant women constitute the dominant section of oppressed womenfolk of India; that is why there must be consistent effort to draw them into struggles of their class as well as to take up their own special demands.

The Party must pay also the greatest attention towards the mobilisation and activisation of the lower-middle-class housewives, especially, the wives of the working class, the clerks, the petty artisan, the foreman, the fitter, the small shopkeeper and the teacher. It is these toiling, hard-hit women who must be brought into the various women's organisations to implement and fight for their democratic rights. In the coming months the consciousness of these sections of women will be raised to a higher level with the oncoming and increasing strike battles of their menfolk. It will be the revolutionary task of the women's front to consolidate this new consciousness and unite the fight of all sections of women for a better and a more progressive way of life. Only thus can a real powerful and democratic women's movement be built up which will bring in half the population of the country—the women—to play a powerful and decisive role in the establishment of a People's Democratic State.

### **Tasks on the States' People's Front**

The States, with their rotten autocratic and feudal structure and the long oppressed masses awakening to struggle, constitute the weakest link in the collapsing imperialist-feudal structure.

The lack of any democratic rights, of any democratic and parliamentary institutions, the retention of the most backward feudal privileges and relations, jagirdari, landlordism, with the feudal elements monopolising high governmental posts—all these, backed by the personal autocratic rule of the feudal Princes, make the Indian States extremely vulnerable to the popular movement.

The feudal Princes and their supporters never had any social mass basis. Their domains were bound to start shaking the moment the people woke up. Today these interests are attempting to seek a base for themselves by encouraging Hindu Communalists, the RSS and other counter-revolutionary organisations, and by encouraging the massacres of Muslims to divert attention from the struggle against autocracy.

Nonetheless, the States continue to be the weakest link in the imperialist chain. The suppression of the Press, of democratic and civil liberties, the oppression of the peasants, the middle-class, etc., under the autocratic rule of the Princes, and the sham reforms which do not solve a single problem unite the entire people against autocracy.

The recent agreements between the Praja Mandals and some of the Princes constitute a new attempt to stabilise old regimes with the aid of popular bourgeois leaders. But this attempt will also fail, since the new reforms cannot deceive the people for long, especially as the Praja Mandal leaders themselves have not got the same prestige as the national leaders of the Congress have in India to hold back the masses for and length of time from joining the movement to end autocracy.

The perspective on the States' people's front should not be one of winning half-way house responsible Governments based on compromise with autocracy but one of ending autocracy and carrying forward the democratic movement. The former is the reformist perspective which has led us to trail behind the present reformist Praja Mandal leaders instead of isolating them and developing decisive movements through independent initiative.

The mighty sweep of the States' people's struggles is seen in some of the biggest actions that have been launched in the recent years, like the struggle of the Kashmiri people and now of the Hyderabad people or of the Travancore people. These struggles, though conducted by reformist leaderships, develop into militant actions frightening the autocracy and making it plain that, led properly, they are invincible against the weight of autocracy which has become unbearable for the masses.

This is borne out by the struggle in Hyderabad, where, under the leadership of the Communists and the Andhra Mahasabha, the struggle of the Telengana people has reached an unprecedentedly high level. Braving the terror unleashed by the Nizam's army and police and the fascist Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen the people of Telengana have liberated over 2,000 villages and are conducting a bitter struggle for land, for freedom and for democracy. Thereby they have demonstrated how the struggle can grow and develop when the basic issue of land for the tiller is made an integral part of the democratic struggle, when the issue of abolition of autocracy and power for the people is placed in the forefront, when the masses are led by fighting organisations and are free from the paralysing influence of the bourgeoisie.

But in the majority of States the struggles were conducted by the reformist leaderships of Praja Mandals or the State Congress. Supported by leaders of the National Government, they used the people as pawns in the ignoble game of compromise. They restrained the people and made them look to the Central Government at whose bidding the movements were called off the moment the ground had been prepared for compromise.

The national leaders, intent on compromising within the framework of the Mountbatten Plan, only concentrated on getting the States to accede to the Indian Union, and paraded it as a big triumph. In fact, in some States, the Rulers put up a mock resistance to accession, so that the whole struggle could be developed on that issue and the people kept away from a successful struggle for democracy and for the end of autocracy.

In fact, accession, petty reforms, merger schemes, the formation of unions of States, all these are calculated to achieve the same basic objective of destroying the revolutionary movement in the States, of preserving autocracy and reinforcing it by means of an alliance with the bourgeoisie, of getting rid of the economic barriers that prevent the full exploitation of the markets and resources of the States by the bourgeoisie in cooperation with the Princes.

Accession is not merely a device to sidetrack the attention of the people from the struggle for abolition of autocracy and agrarian reforms. It is also, as has been proved in Tehri, a weapon to protect the Princes and buttress their collapsing regimes against the democratic struggles of the people. This must be recognised and exposed.

The much-boosted scheme of merger of the States with the neighbouring Provinces protects the petty Princes against popular revolt and enables them to retain their jagirs, their income from extensive private lands and their feudal privileges. The corrupt State bureaucracy is bodily incorporated in the Provincial Administration, giving no relief whatsoever to the common people.

Where several States are grouped together to form a union, as in Kathiawar and Central India, a counter-revolutionary alliance is established against the people, and new and extensive powers are conferred on the so-called Raj Pramukhs, so as to enable them to erect effective barriers against the mounting tide of democratic struggles, and preserve the States as backwaters of reaction.

Out of all this have emerged only some reforms in which the weak bourgeois element in the States shares power with autocracy, is not even the senior partner but a junior partner. These compromises have been of such a thinly-veiled character that as soon as the mass pressure declines, there is every danger that the most reactionary elements in the States will come on top.

In fact, in many States the feudal Princes, the landlords and the jagirdars are using the RSS, the Hindu Mahasabha and the communal elements to organise intimidation and goondism against the States' people's movements and to see that further demands for democracy are stopped.

All the Princes are organising a hunt of the Muslim minority to rouse communal passions, to give a mass basis to the Hindu Mahasabha, to expel the Muslims into Indian territory and there create problems for the Indian Union administration. Thus those whom the National Government is allying itself with are openly organising this counter-attack against it.

The extremely weak and compromising bourgeois leadership in the States is afraid of extending the struggle to the peasants and the workers by adopting an agrarian and industrial programme. Only when the struggle lasts for some time, does it get spontaneously extended to the masses, but it is withdrawn when the masses enter the arena. This weakness is fully exploited by the States authorities to drive as petty a compromise as possible and to counter-attack the reformist struggles with communal attacks.

In these circumstances, it is essential to expose fully the agreements as sell-outs organised by the Praja Mandal leaderships in collaboration with the national bourgeois leadership.

To believe that the type of responsible government which has been ushered into the States constitutes an advance, is to ignore the revolutionary strength of the people and the character of the compromise.

It is therefore wrong not to popularise the demand for the abolition of autocracy, and to accept and be content with the reformist demand for responsible government. It is wrong to start with the programme of compromise and not even raise the demand of the abolition of autocracy.

Equally, the excuse of organisational weakness of the progressive forces must never be advanced to shield a line-up behind the compromisers, to glorify the compromise and thus win "popularity."

For, organisational weakness can never be a reason to abandon a basic slogan such as the abolition of autocracy. If in advancing such basic and correct slogans the compromisers attack us and we temporarily suffer isolation, we have to face them boldly and not retreat. The Party has grown by putting forward its programme boldly, by independently acting, and by participating in the common struggle. And it would be totally wrong to give up the right of independent criticism and attack against those who betray the people, to give up, the duty of rousing the radical sections of the States' people to independent thinking, to give up the right to educate the masses about their fundamental right to abolish feudal rule.

We must, therefore, resolutely support the movement of the States' people for liberation and democracy. While participating in the struggles launched by the reformist leadership, we should not forget our basic slogans and the fact that the people themselves are demanding an end of the feudal rule. Participating in the common struggle, fighting resolutely against compromises, and working to make the struggle all embracing so that it reaches its basic objective-these are our tasks.

Our decisive participation in the States' people's struggles, our clear programme and sharp criticism of the compromising leadership, will rapidly rally round us the militant elements in the States' people's struggles, as the working class in many States has already rallied round us, and become a lever for building an alliance between the advance-guard and the States' people - an alliance for the achievement of complete democracy. The alliance will be defeated if the working class hesitates, does not show a militant way out of the situation and succumbs to the compromisers. Any weakness on the States' people's front will lead to the disruption of the Democratic Front.

## **The Untouchables**

Forming the most exploited and oppressed section of our people, the six crores of untouchables are a powerful reserves in the struggle for democratic revolution. The Congress, led mainly by bourgeois leaders belonging to upper castes, has consistently refused to champion the cause of the untouchable masses and to integrate the struggle for social and economic emancipation of the untouchables with the general struggle for national freedom. This enabled the reformist and separatist leaders like Dr. Ambedkar to keep the untouchable masses away from the general democratic movement and to foster the illusion that the lot of untouchables could be improved by reliance on imperialism.

The utter bankruptcy of this policy is proved by the fact that while the top leaders of the untouchables like Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Mandal, have become Ministers and thus have lined up with the ruling sections in Indian Union and Pakistan, the trusting untouchable masses continue to suffer social degradation and economic exploitation as before. As for the bourgeois leaderships of the Indian Union and Pakistan, they have done nothing for the untouchables except promising them formal equality of status.

The untouchables, therefore, have been betrayed by the Congress as well as by their own leaders. Their emancipation, it has been proved by events, can be achieved neither by reliance on imperialism nor on the bourgeoisie, but only through a united struggle of the entire toiling people against all exploitation.

In recent years the untouchables, both in cities and in villages, have waged big battles against social discrimination and against worsening conditions of life. Under the impact of the crisis the untouchable workers in Bombay, Nagpur and other centres are being drawn into the common struggle of workers and are joining the trade unions in increasing numbers. Political consciousness is fast growing among them.

To quicken this process, to draw the untouchable masses in the Democratic Front, to break down the caste prejudices of the upper-caste workers and peasants, to unite the common people of all castes against their common enemy - such are the tasks facing the Party. This task will have to be carried out by a relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie of the upper castes as well as against the opportunist and separatist leaders of the untouchables themselves. We have to expose these leaders, tear away the untouchable masses from their influence, and convince them that their interest lies in joining hands with the other exploited sections and that only the victory of the democratic revolution will emancipate them from social degradation and slavery. Every discrimination against the untouchables must be denounced as a bourgeois attempt to keep the masses disunited, and every just demand of theirs must be fought for as a part of the common struggle for people's rights.

## **The Minorities**

The Democratic Front will be repeatedly disrupted if the working class and its Party are not able to defeat the minority-baiters and solve the problem of protecting the minorities. In Indian Union Muslim minority is being hunted and attacked by Hindu communalism.

The problem of minorities is of vital importance in the class battles of the working class and the battle for a democratic State. The hunt of the Muslims is not a religious or communal hunt but an attack of the counter-revolutionary forces to disrupt the forces of the democratic revolution by involving them in an internecine war. The counter-revolutionaries realise that the common movement of the working class and the peasantry has assumed such threatening proportions that unless it is directed into fratricidal channels it cannot be defeated.

Knowing this, the working class and the Communist Party must take a firm stand against the communalists from both sides, the Hindu and Muslim Communalists, fight riots and make the struggle for the rights of the minorities a part of its own struggle for political and economic emancipation. Unless the working class and its Party are able to inspire other classes with a powerful urge to protect the rights of the minorities, their right to exist, of culture, language, no discrimination in Government services, etc., and the right of religious worship as part of the democratic struggle of the entire people, the compromisers cannot be defeated and the democratic struggle cannot triumph.

The working class must, therefore, actively work for the protection of minority rights and fight against communal agencies like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League and the RSS, and also communal policies of the Congress leaders and National Government Ministers like Sardar Patel.

### **The War Danger**

It is the design of imperialism that India and Pakistan remain in a state of permanent hostility, so that at the least sign of a revolutionary upheaval in either, both can be sidetracked into a war to drown the revolution and in the end both can be kept under complete control. Some leaders of the Central as well as Provincial Governments also indulge in warmongering in order to sidetrack the attention of the people from the struggle against their own oppressors and to divert the rising discontent of the masses into channels of hatred against Pakistan.

We must fight against this war propaganda and assert the integrity and unity of the struggles of the oppressed in both States, and pledge to help each other by maintaining friendly relations and carrying on the fight against our oppressors and exploiters, and by fighting the common enemy, British imperialism.

Unless great vigilance is exercised by the working class and its Party, they may find themselves dragged behind the bourgeoisie in the imperialist game of war between the two States. Today, threats of war, etc., are no doubt part of pressure politics and are meant to key up popular support behind the Governments. But, at the same time, real issues of conflict, like that of Kashmir, are arising. These issues, manipulated by imperialism may any day lead to what may virtually amount to war.

The working class must take a clear attitude on this question. The fight over the States bordering on the two Dominions has become a question of pure grabbing of territory without any progressive content on either side. The working class on either side cannot support this lust for territory of both Dominions-neither of whom genuinely accepts either the right of self-determination or the freedom of the peasants and the people from feudal rule.

In the event of a conflict arising on this or any other issue, the working class and the people must assert the unity of the democratic movements on both sides and declare that the interests of the working class and the common man lie in

fighting imperialism and their common oppressors, the landlords and the capitalists, and not in fighting each other at their dictates. The latter course would only perpetuate imperialist-fuedal-bourgeois bondage. In fact, the conflict will be engineered precisely to defeat the common democratic movement in both territories.

The Conspiracy of the communalists from both sides will lead to more and more riots, since they are required by the counter-revolutionaries to stop the march of the people. In every province, in every town, riots will have to be fought ruthlessly by forging the common bond and exposing the common enemies. The common bond forged in the class struggles, in the working-class and kisan struggles, in the trade unions and kisan sabhas, will become stronger and stronger the more the Party succeeds in leading the partial battles and showing the solidarity of the oppressed.

### **Fight for Self-Determination**

The Congress leadership by its compromising policy and its hostility to the right of self-determination has brought about a disastrous partition of the country. Today, in the Indian Union, it is again committing the same crime, in the interests of the dominating bourgeoisie, by refusing self-determination to national units like Maharashtra, Kerala, Tamilnad, etc.

Such a refusal is bound to lead to hostile sentiments among the different nationalities of the Indian Union and create the danger of exploitation of their discontent by reactionary elements. In the interests of advancing the democratic movement, the Party must support the right of all nationalities to self-determination and demand that it be made a part of the Constitution. Unless the Party takes a lead in this, the communal reactionaries are likely to run away with it.

### **Foreign Policy**

The Indian bourgeoisie, allied to imperialism for crushing the Indian revolution, eager to secure economic and military assistance from U.S. and British imperialism, anxious to enter the markets of the Indian Ocean region by the grace of Anglo-American imperialists, is emerging increasingly as a party to imperialist plans for crushing the revolution in these countries.

In view of the strong sympathies of the Indian masses with the camp of democracy and Socialism, with the cause of Indonesia and Viet Nam, the Congress leadership hides its subservience to the Anglo-American bloc in world politics under the cover of 'neutrality' between opposing camps, of frank opportunism to realise Indian bourgeois interests.

The Communist Party must boldly declare that there can be no neutrality in the world struggle between the forces of imperialism and the forces of democracy, independence and Socialism-any more than there can be such neutrality in the struggle of the exploiters and the exploited inside India.

Recognising the strong popular feelings against imperialism, the Party must ruthlessly unmask every betrayal by the Indian Government in the field of foreign policy. It must seek every opportunity to mobilise popular masses in support of the democratic cause in every country.

It must combat the poisonous anti-Soviet propaganda that is disseminated by bourgeois politicians and also by the Socialist leaders, and popularise the role of the Soviet Union as the leader of humanity in the struggle for independence, democracy, Socialism and a lasting peace.

It must popularise the glorious achievements of the Chinese Revolution, underlining its international significance-particularly its significance for the peoples of Asia.

It must make special efforts to frustrate the political and military measures of imperialism to crush the revolutions in Indonesia and Viet Nam, by means of ceaseless propaganda and mass solidarity actions.

It must conduct a merciless campaign of exposure against the plans being hatched for a South-East-Asia "Defence Bloc" under the leadership of the British, French and Dutch imperialists, with India playing a principal role, which is designed to be the finishing touch to imperialist plans for the reconquest of this region.

### **Lead the Masses**

Disillusionment against the policies of the national leadership is rapidly growing among the people. These policies will not solve a single problem of the people. There is no scope for industrial development of India on capitalist lines - beyond the colonial order and status. These policies will add to the misery and impoverishment of the Indian masses.

Struggles - partial, economic and political-against this impoverishment have a profound revolutionary meaning in the context of the maturing of the democratic movement in our country. The Party must work its utmost to win the maximum possible public support for every one of these struggles, with the knowledge that with the worsening crisis affecting every section of the common people, it will be possible to nail down the vested interests as the chief enemy of our economic life.

The imperialists and their agents seek to build a line-up from the British and American imperialists to the bourgeoisie, in order to stop the tide of the revolution. They hope that the bourgeoisie will succeed in splitting the popular forces, paralysing large sections of the masses and repressing the rest. Their own agents have already started this process through riots.

At this stage the fate of the democratic movement depends on the correct policy of the Communist Party and of the working class-a policy which must see the great strength of the forces of democracy and also their weakness in the illusions that the masses have about the bourgeoisie. To gather that strength through the Democratic Front, to dispel the illusions by unmasking the collaborators, and to

carry forward the fight on the basis of the programme of the democratic movement-these are the speical tasks of the Party of the working class.

The Communist Party, by exposing the national bourgeois leadership will accelerate the process of dis-illusionment of thousands, enabling the Democratic Front to grow and develop sufficient strength to defeat the bourgeois policies and create the pre-conditions for the establishment of a democratic State, which will really be an instrument for implementing the full programme of the democratic movement and for simultaneously passing on to Socialist construction, without an intermediary stage of capitalism.

In the present period of world crisis the task of pushing the democratic movement ahead is the responsiblility of the working class and its party, the Communist Party. The independent role and activity of the working class, as the champion of the anti-imperialist masses against the imperialist-feudal combine and against the collaborationist bourgeoisie, constitute the guarantee for the success of the democratic movement.

The working class cannot play this role unless it itself is growingly united under its vanguard, the Communist Party, and unless the Party is able to unite the people in the Democratic Front, and activise broad mases in the cause of achieving real People's Democracy.

It is, therefore, more than ever necessary to broaden the mass base of the Party among workers, peasants, middle class, students, youths of all sections, women, and the oppressed minorities, so that the Party of the working class becomes a real mass party capable of discharging the great responsibilities resting on its shoulders.

It is necessary to attract fighters from all fronts and all sections, militants from partial struggles and all honest revolutionaries to the ranks of the Party, to educate them in Marxism-Leninism, so that they in their turn become the real educators of the masses, guiding and leading them towards complete freedom, democracy and Socialism.

Particular emphasis must be placed on recruiting militants from the working class into the Party and on educating and promoting to responsible positions of leadership the rising worker cadres in the Party, thus strengthening the proletarian element in our Party, in our leadership; it must be clearly understood that only a conscious effort in this direction, particularly in educating such cadres in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and in their application to the problems of the Indian revolution can ensure the development of a strong disciplined mass Communist Party. Towards a mass Communist Party with a conscious membership, fully trained in Marxism-Leninism-such must be our watchword.



# PRESENT STAGE AND STRATEGY OF INDIAN REVOLUTION

*(A Draft Resolution of the Andhra PC dated 9 July, 1948 circulated by the Polit Bureau on April 29, 1950 to all Party Members.)*

Herewith sending a draft, concretising the general line given in the Thesis adopted by Calcutta Congress, whose main things have been accepted by the P.C. secretariat, excepting Comrade P.S. Hc has submitted a separate draft which is also being sent to you along with this draft.

The PC secretariat has decided to circulate these drafts to the members of our PC and seek permission of the PB for its circulation to the Party ranks, so as to sharpen our line. It has also been decided to request the PB to circulate these drafts to the other Provinces, as this is a general matter, concerning the whole of India.

This draft is mainly based on the experience of our Province; and so the comrades of other Provinces have to be careful in not getting confused about the details; but take a general conclusion and see whether they apply to their provinces or not. This way helps to sharpen our understanding of our Party policy.

These drafts became necessary because, though all comrades have unanimously accepted our present policy, when it came to the application of our policy to concrete issues, there arose serious differences. The result is confusion and impediments in the way of advancing forward. So, the secretariat thought it necessary to clear this confusion, if we have to march forward to our goal.

To give a few instances, differences arose over our attitude towards rich and middle peasants in Telengana, our attitude towards rich in the matter of procurament of paddy in circars districts; i.e. whether it is possible to mobilise him also against the forceful procurement of the Government; whether the fixation of the wages and formulation of the other demands - hours of work and leave etc. - to be done on the same basis as an industrial worker. When the secretariat sat for discussion on the above practical issues, it found that these differences on practical issues have deep roots in fundamentals of our Party policy. So, the secretariat has decided to submit drafts on the concretisation of our policy.

The secretariat, except comrade P.S. is of the view that

1. Because the present stage of the revolution is New Democratic stage, not socialist stage, the middle peasant is a firm ally in the revolution who participates in the revolution. The rich peasant who has no feudal tails, can be neutralised as a class, but in areas like Telengana and Royalseema, where feudalism is very strong, it is even possible to get sections of rich peasantry in the struggle (though vacillating).

Come P.S. is of the view, because it is essentially a socialist stage, it is not possible to even neutralise the rich peasantry. Rich peasantry is our enemy and middle peasants can be neutralised.

2. In the matter of procurement of paddy, the secretariat believes that it is possible to neutralise the rich peasantry as the Government plan goes against the rich peasantry also. Though the rich peasantry as a class is not standing firmly in the fight, it is parting with paddy with dissatisfaction. When we are able to mobilise, they are with the general mass of the peasantry.

Com. P.S. says because it is our enemy, it will not even remain neutral and somehow wriggles out of the forceful procurement by bribes, etc.

3. Regarding the demands of agricultural labour, the Secretariat is of the opinion that it is wrong to import mechanically relations between a capitalist and an industrial worker into the village life where small peasant economy is dominant. It not only disrupts the New Democratic Front, but also does not get the demands of the agricultural labourers satisfied, because this mechanical outlook will drive the poor and the middle peasant also into the fold of the rich peasant. So, the demands of the agricultural labourers are so formulated that they will not disrupt the New Democratic Front, but gets the poor and middle peasants to the side of the agricultural labourers.

Com. P.S. is of the opinion that as the rich peasant is our enemy, the poor and the middle peasant engage small number of agricultural labour. We can formulate the demands of the agricultural labourer on the same lines as an industrial worker.

I have given above the differences on practical issues in brief, to give you an idea of the background of these drafts. It will greatly help us if you and comrade Doc. express your opinions on these drafts immediately.

With Greetings,

Secretary,  
ANDHRA P.C.

## THE PRESENT STAGE AND STRATEGY OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

### IS IT SOCIALIST OR NEW DEMOCRATIC ?

(Draft submitted by Andhra P.C. Secretariat for discussion amongst party ranks)

The political Thesis adopted at the Calcutta Congress has, in the main, succeeded in restoring the general revolutionary perspective which was almost lost in the horrible mass of reformism practised during a lengthy period of 6 years - '42 to '48. But the stage and strategy of the revolution discussed in this resolution has not been sharp and precise enough as to give a common united and concrete understanding in the party ranks. In concretising the strategy, i.e., to define exactly who the main enemy is, which are the exact classes and sections that remain in the

Democratic Front, which are the classes and sections to be neutralised, etc. the resolution remains ambiguous and vague. Consequently, varied interpretations and meanings began to emerge from our comrades for all the slogans advanced in the political resolution, which of ten lead to erroneous and disruptive practices.

The basic cause of this confusion lies in the wrong understanding of the present stage and strategy of the revolution. Hence, the present draft we are submitting is, in the main, an attempt to elaborate, expand and specify the stage and strategy broadly chalked out in the Political Thesis which was adopted by the Calcutta Congress. That alone gives unified understanding of the entire Party and then alone effective implementation of the policy becomes possible. Sooner we clarify and correct our understanding as to the present stage and strategy of the revolution, the greater our ideological weapon gets sharpened and they can effectively be put forth. As such it needs no further emphasis as to the political importance and urgency of this draft to be put immediately to discussion amongst Party ranks.

### *Issues confused*

Some comrades, including leading section in our Party, are not only confusing this in the Party ranks by often citing a parallel between the present stage and strategy of our revolution to the second stage of the Russian Revolution i.e. February 1915 to October 1917. They also mechanically attempt to and try to borrow the entire strategy and straight apply to our present conditions. They compare the present Nehru Government with that of Kerensky Government. For example, besides a number of leading comrades, Dr. Adhikari himself, in his speech at the Andhra Party Conference made such a reference and compared the present national Government with that of Kerensky Government. Subsequently, a comrade from the session has sent a question whether it is correct to bring in such a parallel and whether similar objective conditions exist in the present-day India. Comrade Adhikari, without going into the deep implications of it, explained it away by saying that a dual power came into existence in the shape of the soviets of soldiers and workers' deputies whereas in India, the revolutionary forces are far from such a stage of organisational strength and advancement. As a matter of fact, the broad fact that of existence of a dual power had little to do in deciding the then stage and strategy of the period. Even supposing such a dual power was absent, could the CPSU(B) then have advanced any other slogan except the "Socialistic dictatorship of the proletariat and poor peasantry?" Our answer is and must be "No" and "absolutely not". There the fundamental question was the question of political power which was in the hands of the bourgeoisie and it was the task of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and take power into the hands of the proletariat in alliance with the poor peasant. Here, in India, a totally different picture presents before us both as regards the composition of state power and the classes that are bidding for the seizure of political power. Existence of dual power had only helped to shorten the period of that stage but had little or nothing to do in deciding that specific stage and strategy. Our conclusion, therefore, definitely is that both the drawing of the parallel and clarification given are basically wrong, confusing and misleading.

Another such deviation which is of course, an off-shot of the above said one is also present in the Party today. There are comrades who indiscriminately roll the slogans of People's Democracy and the Socialistic dictatorships of proletariat into one lump and fail to understand the significance of these two different slogans. These two slogans are in fact, two different theoretical concepts adopted in two different stages and different objective conditions. The confusion can best be seen in the discussion of the Second Party Congress on this issue. There arose controversy in the congress on this issue when the preamble for the constitution was being discussed. It was summed up thus: "On behalf of the C.C., it was made clear that the people's Democratic state meant the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Review of Second Congress, Page 28). Though the subsequent sentence in the same review try to explain it in different and more clear terms, the confusion yet remains to be clarified.

All these formulations cited above as examples for our confusion cannot be explained away in simple terms as 'a slip'. They are the outcome of a theoretical confusion, drifting and likely to drift into serious deviations. This is best demonstrated when the Andhra PC secretariat met to discuss and concretise the slogan of Democratic Revolution. One school of thought began to argue that the middle peasant at this stage is only to be neutralised, whereas the other school of thought argue that middle peasant in this stage can be our ally. Similarly, on number of such vital issues, different interpretations began emerging from the slogans evolved in the Party resolution. Until and unless we put an end to all these, no real progress can be made in this period.

Is the present stage and strategy of our Revolution similar to the  
Second stage of the Russian Revolution (Mar. 1917 to Oct. 1917) ?

Before we go to exhaustively discuss and critically examine the question. Let us briefly narrate about the stage and strategy in general defined by comrade stalin. This helps our further discussion on the subject. Stalin in his "Leninism" describes thus :

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (the main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given strategy of the revolution.

"Our revolution already passed through two stages, and after the oct., Revolution, it has entered a third stage. Our strategy changed accordingly.

"First Stage : 1903 to February 1917. Objective : to overthrow tsarism and complete wipe out the survivals of medievalism. The main force of the revolution : the proletariat. Immediate reserves : the peasantry. Direction of the main blow : the isolation of the liberal - monarchist bourgeoisie, which was striving to win over the peasantry and liquidate the revolution by COMPROMISING with tsarism plan for the disposition of forces; alliance of the working class with the peasantry. 'The

proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie. "(Lenin : Selected works, Vol. III, p.110)

**Second Stage** : March, 1917 to October, 1917. Objective : to overthrow imperialism in Russia and to withdraw from the imperialist war. The main force of the Revolution : the proletariat. Immediate reserves : the poor peasantry. The proletariat of neighbouring countries as probable reserves. The protracted war and the crisis of imperialism as the favourable factor. Direction of the main blow : insolation of the petty - bourgeois democrats (Mensheviks and Social - Revolutionaries), who were striving to win over the toiling masses of the peasantry to terminate the revolution by COMPROMISE with imperialism. Plan for the disposition of the forces : alliance of the proletariat with the poor peasantry. "The proletariat must accomplish the Socialist Revolution by allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletariat elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the instability of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie." (ibid, III)

**Third Stage** : Commenced after the Oct. Revolution. Objective : to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries. The revolution is spreading beyond the confines of one country : the epoch of world revolution has commenced. The main forces of the Revolution: the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries. Main reserves : the semi-proletarian and small-peasant masses in the developed countries, the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries. Direction of the main blow : isolation of the petty - bourgeois democrats, isolation of the parties of the Second International, which constitute the main support of the policy of COMPROMISE with imperialism. Plan for the disposition of forces : alliance of the proletarian revolution with the liberation movement in the colonies and the dependent countries.

"Strategy deals with the main forces of the Revolution and their reserves. It changes with the passing of the revolution from one stage to another but remains essentially unchanged through a given stage".

Further, a more concretised discussion on the topic is also found in comrade stalin's reply to comrade yansky, which immensely helps our discussion on the issue.

"There is only one way to avoid all these 'contradictions', namely to recognise that there is a fundamental difference between the strategic slogan of the first stage of the revolution (the bourgeois - democratic revolution) and the strategic slogan of the second stage of the revolution -(the proletarian revolution), to recognise that in the period of the first stage of the revolution, we marched together with the WHOLE of the peasantry for the bourgeois democratic revolution and that in the period of the second stage of the revolution, we march together with the POOR

peasantry against the power of capital and for the proletarian revolution. And this must be recognised because an analysis of the class forces in the first and second stages of revolution obliges us to do so. Otherwise, it would be impossible to explain the fact that until Feb., 1917, we carried on our work under the slogan of revolutionary - democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. While after Feb., 1917, this slogan was superseded by the slogan of the SOCIALIST dictatorship of the proletariat and the POOR peasantry. You will agree, com. Yansky, that the substitution of the slogan for another in March and April 1917 could not be explained if your scheme were to be accepted. This fundamental difference between the two strategic slogans of the Party was pointed out by Lenin as far back as in his pamphlet Two Tactics. He formulated that Party's slogan during the period of preparation for the bourgeois - democratic revolution as follows .

‘The proletariat must carry to completion, the democratic revolution by allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie.’ (Lenin : Selected Works, Vol. II, p.110-111)

“ In other words : together with the whole peasantry, against the autocracy, with the bourgeoisie neutralised, for a democratic revolution.

“The Party’s slogan in the period of preparation for the Socialist Revolution, he formulated as follows: ‘the proletariat must accomplish the Socialist Revolution by allying to itself the mass of semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie.’ (ibid, p.11)

“In other words : together with the poor peasantry and the semi-proletarian sections of the population in general, against the bourgeoisie-with the petty bourgeoisie in town and country being neutralised - for the Socialist revolution.

“That was in 1905.

“ In April 1917, Lenin describing the political situation at that time as the interweaving of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry with the actual power of bourgeoisie, said : ‘ the specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that it represents a Transition from the First Stage of the revolution which, owing to the insufficient class consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, placed the power in the hands of the bourgeoisie- to the Second stage, which must place the power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest strata of the peasantry.’ (Lenin : Selected Works, Vol. VI, p.22)

“At the end of August, 1917, when the preparations for the Oct. Revolution were in full swing, Lenin, in a special article entitled Peasants and Workers, wrote as follows :

‘Only the proletariat and the peasantry can overthrow the monarch that, in those days (i.e., 1905), was the fundamental definition of our class policy. And that definition was a correct one. Feb. and March., 1917 proved it once again. Only the

proletariat leading the Poor Peasantry (the semi-proletarians, as our programme calls them) can end the war by a democratic peace, heal the wounds it has caused, and begin to take steps towards Socialism which have become absolutely essential and urgent - such is the definition of our class policy now.'

"That must not be understood to mean that we NOW have a dictatorship of the proletariat AND the poor peasantry. That, of course, is not so. We marched towards Oct. under the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, and in Oct. we put it into effect formally in as much as we had a bloc with the Left Socialist Revolutionaries and shared the leadership with them, although actually the dictatorship of the proletariat already existed, since we Bolsheviks constituted the majority. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry ceased to exist formally, however, after the Left Socialist Revolutionaries' PUTSCH, when after the rupture of the bloc with the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, when the leadership passed WHOLLY and ENTIRELY to the hands of one Party, into the hands of our Party, which does not share and cannot share the guidance of the state with any other party. This is what we call the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the three stages defined by Comrade Stalin, the first two stages alone form the important subject matter for our discussion. Here, Stalin enunciates clearly the first stage as the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the second stage as the stage of the proletarian revolution.

He also says the slogan advanced in the first stage was "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" which slogan was changed in the second stage as the "Socialistic dictatorship of the proletariat and poor peasantry". With the completion of the second stage, political power has decisively been transferred into the hands of the proletariat, since the Party of the proletariat, that is, the Communist Party, had been the majority in the coalition that came into existence along with the Left Socialist Revolutionaries. But, after a short period, i.e., later part of 1918, the left socialist Revolutionaries attempted disruption and finally got expelled from the share in the Government. Then "the leadership passed wholly and entirely into the hands of one Party, which does not share and cannot share guidance of the State with any other Party. This is what we call dictatorship of proletariat." (Leninism, p.184). Thus, the slogan of the Socialist dictatorship of proletariat and poor peasantry advanced in this stage ceased formal and the entire power was taken into the hands of the proletariat. The crucial point here is, which most of our comrades either forget or confuse, is the hegemon of the proletariat, with the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian hegemony, that is, the ideological and programmatic leadership was consistent throughout these three stages in the Russian Revolution. But actually, the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat was only at the end of the second stage, though it was complete in its entirety after the exclusion of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries from the Government. Hence, it has to be borne in mind that hegemony of the proletariat is distinctly different from that of the proletarian dictatorship. If hegemony is confused

with the dictatorship, we drift into sectarian and disrupt deviations. This must be borne in mind by all our comrades all through the discussion of this draft. Here, it is not necessary to go into a detailed examination of this point. Hence, we leave it at that.

We have, in brief, discussed above all that explained by Lenin and Stalin about the different stages and strategies adopted in the Russian Revolution. Now, let us compare and contrast to find out what similarities or differences exist between the second stage of the Russian Revolution and the present stage of our Revolution. The alone we can find ourselves how far we are right or wrong by bringing in this parallel or trying to verbatim barrow the strategy to apply to our present stage.

Here the basic objective conditions that prevail during the period of October Revolution and the present stage of our Revolution are entirely different.

Firstly, the international background that was present on the eve of October when compared to the present which forms the background of our Revolution is totally different one. Lenin analysed thus : "Monopoly capitalism and imperialism is capitalism in permanent crisis. Imperialism is the dying form of capitalism. "This is the feature present in the beginning of the 20th century which forms the background of Russian Revolution. But today, imperialism from that stage of "beginning its end" has reached a stage which can be characterised as "imperialism on death bed." World imperialism today has been stuck up in a crisis more deep and intense than in the early period of 20th century. It can either today exist in the shape of semi fascism or fascism or smashed under the advancing tide of the world revolution. Imperialism after the two world wars has been so weakened as we find it today that the feature of its warring camps has been ended. Today, there is only the mighty colossal American imperialism dominant of the world imperialisms. All other capitalist states in one way or other while they are struggling for existence, had gone under the wings of the mighty American imperialism. The crisis of world imperialism can be best seen when we observe the present Truman's American expansionism: American imperialism, faced with the unheard of crisis, has bent upon not only keeping colonies and semi-colonies under its domination but steadily advancing step by step to reduce other independent capitalist states as its colonies. This parasitic feature of rapidly devouring the weaker sections of its own species has got tremendous bearing on the course of the present-day world. Monopoly capitalism today has been so naked an enemy not only of Socialistic democracy but also of 'bourgeois democracy', it is not only to destroy the toiling and working masses but also to devour a section of its own class, the small bourgeoisie. Thus, in the present-day international background, we find imperialism in its last stages, caught in the grip of a crisis so deep, so extensively and unheard of.

The second aspect of the special feature of the international situation which forms the background of our present Revolution to-day is coming into existence of Soviet Union, October Revolution and its achievements during the last 30 years, has changed the very course of world developments and influenced the wide strata of people. Before october revolution, the doctrines of Marx and Engels which

were considered by many intellectuals as utopian, have not only been demonstrated into practice the practicability of Marxist - Leninist doctrines; but consolidated Socialism on one-sixth of the surface of the earth. In contrast to decaying capitalism in all its sphere the Soviet world has emerged as the real champion of democracy and an all-round progress. This effective growth and consolidation of the October Revolution has profound influence on sections of the peasantry, urban petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals who were previously considered as the reserves of the bourgeoisie. Socialist world not only become the hope of the toiling masses of the world but of the entire progressive mankind who crave for peace, who strive for national independence. Socialist world has not only become the hope of the toiling masses of the world but of the entire progressive mankind who crave for peace, who strive for national independence and aspire for progress. All genuine scientists, artists, educationalists look towards Soviet Union for real advance. Peasantry in the world as a whole, which once got land from the feudal landlords with the help of bourgeoisie has been steadily realising that in the present context of the world today, it is the proletariat that can give them land but not the bourgeoisie which is already played out and joined hands with feudalism. The existence of the Socialist world forms an effective background for our revolution which makes the vital contribution in deciding different aspects of the Revolution.

Secondly, Russia was an independent feudal military State with the peculiar features of industrial growth. In describing many peculiarities of Russia at that time, comrade stalin gives the unprecedented concentration of Russian industry on the eve of the Revolution. It is known, for instance, that in Russia 54 percent of workers were employed in enterprises employing over 500 workers whereas in so highly developed a country as USA no more than 33 percent of workers were employed in such enterprises. It need hardly be proved that this circumstance alone could make the revolutionary party as the Party of the Bolsheviks transform the working class of Russia into an immense force in the political life of the country.

Compared with what is described above, the present-day India presents a different picture. India, in its real sense, is not independent and essentially remains a colony, though after August 15, with the bourgeois collaboration, it can be defined as a semi-colony. In a word, Russia is more near to advanced capitalist countries whereas present-day India is a rotten colonial base.

Thirdly, the February Revolution in Russia "has smashed and set aside the old Czarist power representing a handful of feudal landlords who control the entire machinery of the State (army, police and bureaucracy); but not utterly destroyed," (Lenin)

Whereas in the present-day India, by the Mountbatten Award and subsequent so-called national government, nothing has been smashed of the imperialist-feudal state machinery; but simply got political power shared by the dominant bourgeoisie. It is not the entire capitalist class that gets benefitted by this compromise but only the Big Business houses that have entered into economic deals with British capitalists. Not to speak of the toiling masses, the middle bourgeoisie will also be devoured as the economic crisis unfolds.

Lastly, “the state power in Russia has passed into the hands of the influential class - the bourgeoisie and landlords who had become the bourgeoisie. To that extent, bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia has been completed. (Lenin). Whereas in India, the State power in essence has not passed into the hands of the new class - the class of dominant bourgeoisie. This new class, afraid of the Revolution, betrayed it and gone under the wings of imperialism to share power which till now, has been refused. Thus a very minor phase of the bourgeois-democratic revolution is completed with the sharing of this political power with imperialism.

Thus, we see a completely different national and international set-up is present today when compared with the October Revolution, warranting us a completely re-oriented approach in defining the present stage and strategy of our Revolution. It is a wonder how comrades can gloss over the difference between independent bourgeois state and a semi-colonial State. Is it not surprising not to find any difference between a ‘new class’ taking hold of state power after the Feb. Revolution which has smashed and set aside the Tsarist power and a new class sharing power with imperialism smashing nothing but got everything of the old state machine intact ? Is it not fantastic to argue that the slogan of Democratic Revolution advanced in our political thesis is nothing different from the slogan of “Socialistic dictatorship of proletariat and poor peasantry” on the eve of october revolution ? So, this comparison of the present stage of our Revolution with stage of October Revolution is not only wrong but misleading in many respects. This deviation must be at once corrected else we fail to effectively advance towards Democratic Revolution.

#### New Democracy Confused with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat :

Marxism is not a dogma. It is a science which provides us with guiding lines of action. Since the October Revolution, in this long period of more than 30 years, mighty revolutionary struggles in different countries, colonies and semi-colonies have been taking place. They present us varied experience and rich lessons. There are most valuable theoretical lessons deduced and added to the armoury of Marxism Leninism in this period. Mao, the leader of the historic Chinese liberation struggle, from his unique rich experience and study, has formulated a theory of New Democracy. This is a new form of revolutionary struggle to advance towards Socialism in colonies and semi-colonies. Mao advanced New Democracy as distinct from the dictatorship of proletariat. Let us quote from Mao, some significant passages which go to clarify New Democracy. In his pamphlet ‘New Democracy’ he analyses thus :

#### Two stages of Revolution

“If the nature of the present Chinese society is semi-colonial and semi-feudal, then the progress of the Chinese Revolution is determined by it as a two-step one. The first step, to turn the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society into an independent democratic society; the second step will be to develop the revolution for the building up of the socialist society. The present phase of the Chinese Revolution falls obviously within the first step.”

“The circumstances of the Chinese bourgeois-democratic Revolution have been changed since the last world war and the establishment of a Socialist State on one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, i.e., after October Revolution.

“Before that time, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic Revolution was in the orbit of the world bourgeois - democratic Revolution. It was a part of it.

“From then, the old Chinese bourgeois-democratic Revolution comes with in the orbit of and in its character, forms a part of the world proletarian socialist revolution.

“The first stage of this revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries though according to its social nature - it is fundamentally still a bourgeois - democratic one of which the objective requirements still basically call for a clearance of the way of capitalist development - yet despite this, the Revolution is no longer the old wholesale bourgeois revolution for the building up of a capitalist society and a State of bourgeois dictatorship type; but a new type of revolution wholly or partly led by the proletariat, the first stage of which aims at setting up of a New Democratic Society a new stage of the combined dictatorship of all revolutionary classes. The fundamental character of this revolution will never vary until the arrival of the stage of socialist revolution though during its progress, it may pass through several minor stages in accordance with the possible changes in the attitude of enemies and alliances.

It is clear to us now that there are two different categories of Revolution. “One is the world revolution of the bourgeois and capitalist category which ceased to prevail after the outbreak of the first imperialist war, or more precisely, after Russian Revolution. Since then, the world revolution of another category was born.”

“Chinese revolution, although it is no proletarian socialist revolution of the new type, certainly, it has already formed part and import part of it and has been a great ally of it. The first step, that is, the first stage of the revolution does not and cannot at all built up a capitalist state under the dictatorship of Chinese bourgeoisie; its aim in the very course of the first stage is the setting up a new democratic society of the united dictatorship of revolutionary classes. The first stage thus accomplished, the development of the Chinese Revolution will be carried forward into the second stage, that is, the building up of Chinese Socialist society.”

“The New Democratic Republic differs on the one hand from the old Western bourgeois - democratic Republic which belongs to the old category of democracy, is out of date; it differs on the other hand from the newest society democratic Republic which has already been consolidated in USSR and it will be established in the capitalist countries and will unquestionably be a state and governmental form of all advanced countries; but which is not practicable during a certain historical period for the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Therefore, the state form of all revolutionary colonial or semi-colonial countries for a certain historical period can be nothing but the form of New Democratic Republic.”

### New Democratic Republic :

What is a New Democratic Republic ? "The form of state in the world can be classified according to their social nature into the following :

- 1) Republic of the bourgeois dictatorship;
- 2) Republic of the proletarian dictatorship;
- 3) Republic of the united dictatorship of several classes.

The first prevails in the old democratic countries; the second this is the present form of the State of the Soviet Union and has to be adopted in the course of time by advanced capitalist countries. The third, this is the transitional form of state of colonies and semi-colonies.

"There may be some different features among different colonies and semi-colonies; but, the state and governmental forms are basically like this new Democratic Republic of the united dictatorship of all anti-imperialist classes."

The thesis that state form is the dictatorship of all revolutionary classes and the governmental form is the system of Democratic Centralism is the political foundation of the New Democracy. That is what we call the Republic of New Democracy. This same and in fact, the Republic of China which is our responsibility to build.

"In such a Republic, all big banks, big industries and big commercial establishments must be state-owned. In order to ensure the freedom of people's livelihood from the influence of private profit, all the native owned or foreign-owned enterprises, either monopolist domination of too large for a private effort-for instance, banks, rail-roads, etc. - will be managed by and controlled by state alone. This is the essence and theory of control of capital.

However, in the meantime, the state will not confiscate other forms of private property and will not forbid the development of capitalist production, so long as it is taken for granted that it "does not hit people's livelihood, the reason for this procedure is that Chinese economy is still in a very backward state.

"The New Democratic Republic will adopt certain necessary measures in taking over land previously owned by big landlords and distribute among the peasants without or with very little land. The idea of land to the tiller is to be promoted and feudal relations in the villages to be smashed. But, the ownership of the land is to be readjusted not with a view of building socialist agriculture; but only in order to turn the land into peasants' own property. The economy of the wealthy peasant will also be allowed."

The Chinese national economy "should not be built on the lines of those western capitalist societies nor should it keep intact same old feudal society.

"Imperialism is the dying form of capitalism as Lenin once stated, but because of its approaching and it is feeding more and more upon colonies and semi-colonies and is nowhere likely to permit the existence of any other capitalist society with a bourgeois dictatorship state".

"Therefore it is imperialism that will not allow in China to develop its own capitalism."

### Not yet Time for Socialism

"The question may be asked. Is it possible for China to follow at this stage the road to socialism of proletarian dictatorship, if she is not to take to capitalism of that of bourgeois dictatorship ? It is not possible ?

Though it goes without saying that the first step of the Revolution which we are contemplating today will, one day, inevitably develop into second step, i.e. socialism and only in the realm of socialism can China become prosperous; yet the present is no time to practise it. Socialism is out of the question before the task of the present revolution, the task of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, are fulfilled. The Chinese Revolution can only be achieved in two stages; (a) New Democracy, (b) Socialism. And we should point out that the period over which the first step will expand will be considerably long one. We are not idealists. We cannot place our ideals over and above our present-day life.

It is correct then to say that this stage of which the first should form the ground-work of the second, must not be interrupted by a stage of bourgeois dictatorship. This alone is the proper Marxist method of understanding the course of development of our Revolution. It is to suffer from worst illusions to assent to the suggestion that the Democratic stage of the Revolution has not its own specific task and time-table and it is possible to accomplish in one stage the task which belongs to an entirely different stage - the later stage. For instance, to try to accomplish the task of socialist stage simultaneously with that of the democratic. Such is the face of the thesis 'all in one stroke which is pure idealism. It is not the proper way in which any revolutionary could think. It is known to everybody that both in the field of ultimate forms of social organisation and in the matter of practical working programme, the communist party has developed its outlook. That is, it has got the maximum and minimum programme. The New Democracy of the present and socialism of the future are its two component parts to be carried out under the guidance of the whole ideology of Communism.

In contradistinction to the future or ultimate programme of our Socialist system, this is our minimum programme. The New Democracy carried forward semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of China to a national and social character of a new bourgeois democracy.

The carrying out of this programme cannot advance China to Socialism. This is not the question of willingness or unwillingness of certain individuals. But it is due to the fact that objective political and social conditions in China do not permit the advance."

At another place, Mao says : "Without a thorough democratic revolution of new bourgeois nature, to establish Socialism over the ruins of semi-colonial and semi-feudal China of today would be an utopian dream.

"Some people cannot understand why the Communist Party of China, far from being unsympathetic to capitalism, actually promotes its development. What China does not want is foreign imperialism and native feudalism and not native capitalism which is too weak.

"New Democratic State of Union of Democratic classes is different in principle from a socialist State with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"China, throughout the period of our New Democratic system, cannot and should not have a system of government of the character of one class of dictatorship of one party autocracy."

All that quoted above is the essence and the theory of the content and concept of New Democracy.

Keeping in this background, let us analyse the stage and strategy and perspective of our Revolution.

#### What is the Present Stage, Perspective & Strategy of our Revolution ?

The present-day India is not an independent capitalist State, but only correctly be classified as a semi-colonial state. The resolution of the second congress of the CPI characterises Mountbatten Award as "British domination has not ended; but the form of domination has changed. The bourgeoisie, so long kept out of power and in opposition to it, is granted a share of State power in order to disrupt and drown the national democratic revolution in blood.

"The Mountbatten Award does not really signify the retreat of imperialism but is on a cunning counter-offensive against the rising forces of Indian people.

"Establishment of Central Government headed by Nehru has not solved a single problem of Democratic Revolution.

"At the same time the State it has won is dependent on imperialism and is a satellite state. Economically, it is dependent for its future on imperialist help. Its compromise with feudal elements will place it in the same position and the fear of Pakistan getting imperialist favour also ties to imperialism.

Corroborating the same idea, Comrade Zhukov in his article on India says :

"British plan in India, in the opinion of many objective observer a clear proof of the fact that the new British plan of 'quitting India' essentially makes it possible for Britain to preserve her decisive political, economic and military position in India"

The above quotations go to clearly show the nature of the state of our country is a semi-colonial one. Here, a word on the nature and character of the bourgeoisie can be quoted from the resolution of the 6th World Congress of the Communist International which helps us to understand the tasks of our revolution more clearly.

"The bourgeoisie of China, India and Egypt is by its immediate interests, so clearly bound up with exploitation of peasant masses that it takes its stand not only against agrarian revolution, but also against every decisive agrarian reform."

This is the picture present before us which says that India is essentially a colonial country in all its social, political and economic aspects. Hence the stage of

our revolution is also essentially a bourgeois-democratic; but it is not a bourgeois-democratic revolution of the old type; but a new type led by proletariat and correctly called New Democratic Revolution. This is also expressed in the terms of people's democratic revolution. The present stage of our revolution essentially, though not exactly, is similar to that of the present stage of Chinese Revolution, the stage that is opened since 1927 bourgeois offensive against communists and the working class. Though Chinese comrades have fought for more than 20 years and grown in quality and quantity, the stage yet remains the same to be fulfilled further. We in India have almost like that of Chinese Democratic forces in the post-1927 have entered into a definite stage. Of course, the present radically changed international background will greatly help us and ease our task when compared to Chinese brethren who had a prolonged period of 20 years and more of tortuous civil war and yet have to complete it victoriously.

India like China is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal in character. Like that of Chinese feudal warlords, our states and feudal princes remain to be liquidated as sores on the face of the country. Like that of Chinese bourgeoisie of 1927, Indian bourgeoisie has at the present time almost started a civil war by its cruel attack on all democratic forces of the country headed by the working class and Communist Party. The Indian bourgeoisie, afraid of the growing revolutionary forces, went under the wings of foreign imperialism to obey its dictates. There in China the fruits of Revolution are harvested by national bourgeoisie whereas in India, the fruits of 60 years of national movement have been harvested by the Indian-bourgeoisie by sharing political power with imperialism. Here, like that of China the bourgeoisie has kept intact the feudal allies which it wants to utilise in the course of its counter-revolution.

The offensive launched by Nehru Government against CPI is a part of the international offensive started by world imperialism. It is an offensive of which it ranges itself against all progressive and democratic forces of the world. To put it bluntly, this offensive is practically nothing but a crude civil war, let loose by the imperialist-bourgeois-feudal combine against working class, peasants and other toiling masses. The stage has come wherein even day-to-day partial struggles have to be fought armed or semi-armed. Armed resistance has been forced on the agenda of Revolution by this offensive of bourgeoisie. Either we resist inch by inch the civil war and offensive let loose against us by all means at the disposal of the people or allow the bourgeoisie a free hand to crush the forces of revolution and end in the victory of counter-revolution.

Keeping all this in view, in areas where we are a good proportion in the masses like certain parts of Andhra, Kerala, Bengal etc., the time has come to think in terms of guerrilla warfare (Chinese way) against military onslaughts of Nehru Government which is bent upon mercilessly liquidating us. Unless with a clear perspective we plan out methods of resistance, and if we leave it to spontaneity, the future history will charge us with the gross betrayal of the Revolution.

The liberation struggle in the form of Telengana is almost a pointer in the possible direction of forming two governments, which in process, must lead to general uprising and capture of power by the people. There are many more territories such as Telengana with a similar socio-political, economic and terrain and must be utilised as guerrilla districts to begin with; which afford ample scope to develop them as resistance bases. For example, in Andhra alone, areas like Rayalseema, Telengana border areas like Munagala, Nuzvid, Chintalapudi agency belt, where agriculture is primitive, and undeveloped, where landlordism is dominant with poor peasant and wage labour forming overwhelming majority of population, where already there is sufficient stir in the direction of agrarian revolt, present before us huge reserves of revolutionary potentialities. Backward communication system, topographic and terrain conditions are exceptionally suited for prolonged guerrilla battles (Chinese way) which led to establishment of resistance bases. It is with such a perspective we have to successfully plan out the future course of our revolution. Not to have such clear perspective and allowing ourselves to drift into spontaneity is a crime against revolution. "The era of contempt for perspective must end along with the era of reformism" and a clear-cut perspective and well-defined strategy must open along with the revolutionary reorientation. The Chinese strategy offers us a living example from which we have to adopt many invaluable lessons.

Our Strategy : Since the stage of the revolution is the New Democratic stage, the strategy must also correspond to it; but some comrades wonderfully argue that the New Democratic stage is nothing different from the dictatorship of the proletariat; i.e., Socialist stage. Such formulations and strategies, which are disruptive and so not helpful to build a Democratic Front for the Democratic Revolution. The lumping of the rich peasantry into a single category without any discrimination between the section which is "able to shake off their tails of feudalism" and those who are "not able to" do so - proceeding on this basis, these comrades characterise the entire rich peasantry as counter-revolutionaries; they even do not concede the idea that a section of them can be neutralised in this Democratic Revolution. They do not at least concede that in feudal areas like Telengana, the rich peasant can be taken along with liberation struggle in this stage. Today, the reality that is demonstrated on this front is a concrete proof against this formulation and a good section of it is coming with us in the liberation struggle. They also argue that the entire middle peasant class cannot be our ally in this revolution but only must be neutralised. In a word, the strategy they suggest is not for the New Democratic stage but only to a Socialist stage. But they do not have the courage to define this as socialist stage, but go on suggesting by backdoor methods the Socialist strategy. Hence, we need an unambiguous clear-cut definition and specification of our strategy.

Objective : To over throw the imperialist-big-business-feudal combine and completely wipe out all the features of feudalism medievalism and colonial impress.  
Main force of the Revolution : Workers both rural and industrial. Immediate Reserves

: peasantry in general with exception of those rich farmers who are unable to shake off their tails of feudalism and poor and middle peasants in particular remains immediate reserves throughout this stage of New Democratic Revolution. Direction of the main blow : against the collaborationist bourgeoisie and its henchmen, who have been duping the peasantry and still trying to keep their grip on them, to betray the revolution. The proletariat must carry to completion the New Democratic Revolution by allying itself with the mass of peasants in general and poor and middle peasant in particular in order to crush by force, the power of resistance of the imperialist-bourgeois-feudal combine and paralyse the instability of the middle bourgeoisie, upper middle class and a section of the rich peasantry.

To put it more concretely, let us quote comrade Mao's analysis where he discusses about the classes in the Democratic Front.

"Who form the revolutionary groups ?

"The workers are of course, the most thorough revolutionary democrats. Besides the workers, the peasants form the largest revolutionary democratic group.

"All peasants with the exception of those rich farmers unable to shake off their tails of feudalism, are taken by the slogan of 'land to the tiller'.

"The lower middle classes in cities and towns is another revolutionary democratic group because the development of agricultural productivity made possible by the policy of land to the tiller, benefits them.

"The upper middle class forms a vacillating group. It favours land to the tiller, because it too wants a market. But, at the same time, they fear the policy because they own land.

"Who are the sworn enemies of the Revolution ?

"Those who are resolutely opposed to the policy are the only groups within Kuomintang who represent the class of big landlords and Big Business and compradores."

Comrade Mao further elaborating on this issue in his latest report to the CC of the CCP has formulated clearly in describing the enemies of the Chinese Revolution, says :

This monopoly capital merged with state capital becomes State-monopoly capitalism. This monopoly capitalism intimately merged with foreign imperialism and domestic landlord class and old type rich peasant becomes compradore feudal state monopoly capitalism. This is the economic foundation of Chiang's reactionary regime. This State monopoly capitalism not only oppresses the workers and peasants but also oppresses the petty-bourgeoisie and injures the middle bourgeoisie.

"The petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie oppressed and injured by this class and its state power although they too are bourgeoisie, may, however participate in the New Democratic Revolution or maintain neutrality. They have no connections

or comparatively fewer connections with imperialism. They are real national bourgeoisie. Wherever the state power of New Democracy exists, these classes must firmly and unhesitatingly be protected.

"Petty-bourgeoisie mentioned here refers to the small-scale industrial and commercial capitalists who hire workers and shop employees.

"The existence and development of middle capitalist elements are, under these conditions, not at all dangerous. The same applies to the new rich peasant economy which will necessarily come into being in rural area after the agrarian revolution.

"The New Democratic Revolution is to eliminate only feudalism and monopoly capitalism, only the landlord class and bureaucratic bourgeoisie (big bourgeoisie) not capitalism in general and not middle bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie."

Again comrade Mao in the same report positively asserts the strategy of New Democratic Revolution in more definite and more concrete terms.

"Our line is to rely on poor peasants and solidly unite with the middle peasants (not as some of our comrades say 'neutralise' them) to destroy the feudal and semi-feudal exploitation system of the landlord class and the old type rich peasants.

"In the demarcation of class composition, care must be taken not to commit the mistake of assigning those who are really middle peasants to the rich peasants category.

"All these are concrete policies that must be adopted by our party in carrying out the strategic task of solidly uniting middle peasants."

In other passage, the same is further elaborated thus :

"The basic principles must be noted here. Firstly, it is necessary to satisfy the demands of poor peasants and farm labourers. This is the important task of our agrarian reform. Secondly, it is necessary to resolutely unite middle peasants and not injure the basic principles and the task of our agrarian reform will surely triumphantly be completed. In accordance with the principle of equal distribution, the surplus land and the portion of the properties of the old type rich peasants should be taken over for distribution, because, Chinese rich peasants in general are of heavy feudal and semi-feudal exploiting nature-rich peasants at the same time collect rents and engage in usury and their conditions of hiring labour are semi-feudal.

"....There should in general, be differentiation between the rich peasants and the landlords."

The passages quoted from Mao are self-explanatory and need no further comment. (See Appendix 4).

#### Concretisation of the Strategy

Here, before we proceed to discuss the question of concretisation of the first stage of the Revolution, a word on the very nature of New Democratic Revolution (NDR) and the role of the Peasantry in it, as stated by Mao, is of utmost significance.

He says : "Stalin once said the problem of colonies and semi-colonies is in essence the peasant problem." That is to say that the problem of the Chinese Revolution is in essence a problem of the peasantry; that the peasant resistance against Japan is in its essence a peasant war against Japan. The politics of New Democracy is in essence a peasant war against Japan. The politics of New Democracy is in essence the political transfer of power to the peasantry. The three principles are in essence the peasant revolution. The idea of popular culture is in essence the question of rising culture of peasantry to higher level. The anti-Japanese war is in essence the peasant revolution.

"Therefore, the peasant problem becomes the fundamental problem of the Chinese Revolution and the peasantry becomes the main force of the revolution. Besides the peasantry, a section which was a section of the Chinese population consists of workers among whom several millions are industrial workers, handicraft workers and agricultural labourers number tens of millions."

".... Here, the phrase 'in essence' means as explained by Stalin himself 'fundamental'." It certainly does not overlook the other problems and other forces.

Some comrades have erroneous conceptions of characterising the role of respective classes and sections of the people in the Democratic Revolution. The basic confusion underlying all these is undoubtedly theoretical confusion. The errors in concretisation mainly consist of the following :

a) They began to judge the role of classes and different sections of people from the standpoint of their present-day political loyalties. Sections of different revolutionary classes who today are unfortunately under the illusion and influence of the national bourgeoisie are taken for granted as reserves of bourgeoisie.

b) Secondly some comrades have a peculiar notion of judging the role of the classes or sections basing on the apparent and outwardly existing things of the day. They fail to study them in the background of daily deepening crisis of the world imperialism and its possible devastating effects on different sections of society. As such, this outlook becomes static instead of dynamic.

c) Lastly, still some other comrades who are really diehard sectarians at heart conceal their sectarianism by overtly agreeing to all the strategy and general slogans of the party. But they distort and misquote from the classics of Lenin and Stalin and attempt at classifying the peasantry with their sectarian and vanguardistic barometer.

As has been previously stated, we are passing through a period of untold world imperialist crisis which has brought world capitalism almost on the verge of its final collapse. As a result of the second war, the general crisis of capitalism has sharpened. Whatever the attempts of the world imperialism to escape from the clutches of this impending crisis, it is sure to land itself in a crisis unprecedented in its nature.

Effects will be devastating not only to the entire rural folk depending upon economy, including the rich peasants without feudal tails, but also different sections

of lower and middle bourgeoisie get badly effected. The Indian finance capitalists do not hesitate in lining up with world imperialism and devour its own weaker species at home and try to keep their margin of profits intact.

The policies of the national Government are already indicating a line they choose in future. They have mortgaged the future of Indian life to Anglo-American imperialism. They risk industrialising India by relying on imperialism for it. They are least bothered about the growth of national income and expansion of internal home market for India; they are running with the slogan of Asiatic leadership only as a smokescreen to plunder the other ill-developed Asiatic countries in league with imperialism. They resist any radical agrarian reform, leave aside carrying forward of the revolution. If this is further pursued, it is common knowledge for us what is in store for India's future. The present policies pursued are only in the interests of monopoly bourgeoisie and its imperialist-feudal combine. The pro-imperialist, anti-national, anti-soviet, semi-fascist, counter-revolutionary policy and programme of the collaborationist bourgeoisie have nothing in common with the betterment of advancement of the nation. (Appendix 1, 2 & 3)

Keeping this present background in view, we have to evaluate and understand the role of different sections and classes in the objective set up. We have elsewhere laid down in general the principles, the stage and strategy of our revolution. Here it needs further concretisation and application to the classes and sections in the rural side. A tendency is expressed by certain comrades while even agreeing with general strategy given here, try to interpret events in the subjective manner they like by giving false definitions and classifications of the rural life. For example, an attempt at classifying the peasantry mainly basing on the extent of land one possesses and not on the income one gets, is an example of this type described above. Some others argue that the number of labourers and farm servants that a peasant engages forms the main basis on which the class character of the peasantry in question has to be defined. Still some others loosely define the rich peasant whereby they throw the land monopolist in the category of rich peasant. For example, a landholder in the deltaic areas who possesses some 100 acres of wet land is also considered as a rich peasant. What they have not understood is that here the above described one is a landlord but not a rich peasant. The important thing is his income. Second thing is the volume of exploitation of labour. The third thing is the extent of land he possesses in the particular area concerned, i.e. where the land pressure is greater and agricultural productivity is considerably higher. Though the one in discussion is not of the type of feudal exploiter in the sense of usurer or rack-renter, he is to be considered as a land-monopolist or landlord, but no more a rich peasant.

To clear all such confusions and leave no loophole for erroneous definitions and interpretations, let us take from Lenin, the classical definitions of all these classes and apply it to our own specific conditions here. In his draft thesis on the agrarian question for the 2nd congress of the communist international Lenin defines as follows :

1) The first class is the agricultural proletariat, wage labourers (by the year; season or day) who obtain their livelihood by working for hire in capitalist agricultural enterprises.

2) Second semi-proletarians or dwarf-peasants, that is, those who obtain their livelihood partly as wage labourers in agriculture and industrial enterprises and partly by working their own or rented plots of land which provide only a part of the means and subsistence for their families.

3) Third, the small peasantry, i.e., small tillers who hold either as owners or tenants, small plots of land which enable them to meet the requirements of their families and farms, without hiring outside labour.

4) Middle peasants in the economic sense are mainly small tillers holding either as owners or tenants small plots of land but such as under capitalism provides them, as a general rule, not only with a meagre subsistence for their families and their farms but also with the possibility of certain surplus which at least in good years, may be converted into capital. Secondly, fairly frequently resort to the hire of outside labour.

5) Big peasants or capitalist entrepreneurs in agriculture who, as a rule, employ several hired labourers and are kept with the peasantry only by their low cultural level, habits of life, manual labour they themselves perform on their farms.

6) The revolutionary proletariat must immediately and unreservedly confiscate all the land of the landlords, the big landowners, i.e. those who in capitalist countries directly or through their tenant farmers, systematically exploit wage labour and the surrounding small (and, not infrequently, part of the middle) peasantry, perform no manual labour themselves, and are largely the dependents of the feudal lords (the nobles in Russia, Germany and Hungary, the restored Seigneurs in France, the Lords in England, the ex-slave categories of exploiters and parasites).

Here, we find from Lenin that in his definition and classification of the peasantry, the main running thread throughout is seen as the basis of income one gets or in other words its sufficiency or insufficiency to his family and farm. But Lenin was undoubtedly attaching sufficient importance to other significant factors such as method of production (whether one engages hired labour or not) the history of the farm, the links of the peasant with the respective sections of peasantry also determine the class nature of the individual peasant. If we have to concede the argument of comrades who insist that the number of labourers and farm servants one engages on his fields is the criteria in deciding and classifying him whether he is a rich, middle or poor peasant, we are sure to land in a typical and mysterious conclusions. Let us concretely take some examples here. In some areas like Rayalseema and Telengana where rice cultivation is done under wells a middle peasant engages more number of farm servants than a rich peasant in deltaic area. Even the poor peasants there under these circumstances have to engage one or two farm servants. Without the assistance of whom the maintenance of his farm becomes impossible. It is reported that in Rayalseema, one requires two farms

servants to cultivate a two acre piece of land under cultivation of well water, besides a number of coolies. Another such report from Bhuvanagiri taluk (Telengana) enlightens us on the issue in discussion. It is reported that a peasant farm with 6 acres of wet land (under well cultivation) and 30 acres of dry land the farmer has to maintain minimum three pairs of bullocks and engage 3 to 4 farm servants besides himself and a number of day labourers. It should be taken note of that he too is a participant of manual labour on the farm. On enquiry into details, we came to know that little surplus remains to him and he more than often depends upon the local money-lender for initial investments on the farm in the begining of every year. If the criteria taken here is to classify him according to the number of farm servants, etc., the above-described peasant comes in rich category which is practically foolish and absurd. From our own experience, even from the deltaic areas, we can show a number of instances where farm servants are engaged even by middle and poor peasantry. It will be wrong to resort to define classes primarily basing on the farm servants or wage-labour he engaged rather than the income one gets and the surplus that remains to him. It is equally wrong to define the class character of the peasant according to the extent of the land that one possesses. In some areas where the productive forces have not developed, even a 100 acres peasants get nothing as surplus and he will thank god if he be able to meet both ends. Leave aside some exceptional and individual cases we can broadly classify the peasantry on the basis of income each type of peasant gets besides other considerations such as method of production, history of the farm and his links with other, rural classes in rural life. From our own experience in Andhra rural life, the following method can be adopted and classification be made to avoid most part of confusion.

Agricultural labourer is one who has nothing of his own to depend upon except to sell his labour power on the farm of others to eke out his livelihood.

Small or poor peasant is one whether as a tenant or owner of his own piece of land (besides himself performing manual labour in certain cases also hires labour), who gets an annual gross income of his farm between 300 to 500 rupees. This will be hardly sufficient to meet the requirements of his family and he often gets into debts.

Middle peasant is one, as described by Lenin, but for our clear understanding and characterisation of him, he can be one who gets a gross income of Rs. 500 to 1,000. This will be not only sufficient in normal years but also gives him a small surplus in good years to maintain his family and farm.

Rich peasants are those who gross annual income will be somewhere between Rs. 1000 and 2000 besides possessing the characteristic features, as described by Lenin. This rich peasant class is not a homogenous one and can be divided into two sections with their special characteristic features :

a) A section of the rich peasantry will be mainly dependent on their income on the land. These people have no feudal tails. They have comparatively little or no political social links with the financial bourgeoisie or feudal landlords.

b) Second section is such though their income may be somewhere near above fixed amount, is by its habits feudal, engages in money-lending and rackrenting etc. Besides, it has got more social, political and economic links with the landlords, bourgeoisie going into power.

Rest of those whose annual income exceeds Rs. 2000 generally under the category of landlords, with varying degrees of difference, no matter whether they are feudal exploiters or modern entrepreneurs on capitalist lines.

And to this above clarification, a word further on different categories of land tenure that is prevailing in Andhra is of immense help to guide us in concretising our strategy and correctly applying it. We can divide the rural Andhra into three categories with distinct socio-economic features each having its own predominant common peculiar features.

1) Areas like Telengana where more or less feudalism in its complete naked form is in existence. Serfdom and slavery in the form of vetti etc. remain even today. Landlordism here in the form of zamindari and deshmukh is predominant. Poor peasant and landless labour forms overwhelming majority. The middle peasant is too weak numerically. Rich peasant section is still more weaker both numerically and in its social economic status.

2) Areas, no matter whether zamindari or ryotwari tenure, where agriculture is not developed (where projects, modern irrigation, etc., are not introduced and productivity of land is comparatively on a very lower level) forms another category. Here too, land concentration is now existing and increasing at a rapid speed. Here too, rich peasant is both numerically and socially too weak to count with. Middle peasant almost as in the completely feudal areas is negligent. Poor and agricultural labour population forms overwhelming majority of the rural population. This area is somewhat similar, except in practice of vetti and certain other feudal business, to that of the first area where feudalism is intact.

3) Deltaic areas or agriculturally developed areas. In these areas, middle peasant economy is dominant in the life of the village. Agricultural labour forms 40 to 50 percent of the local population. Kulak or rich peasant, though numerically weak, that is 4 to 5 percent politically sufficiently strong in the life of the village. Hence, the landlordism of the old feudal type is either completely absent or very feeble.

Comrades in implementing our policy, that is, applying our strategy, you must bear in mind all the facts and peculiarities enumerated above to successfully advance to Democratic Revolution. In the first two areas described above, as areas of feudalism, the task of the agrarian revolution becomes primarily in liquidating feudalism in all its forms, social, economic and political. In the third area, where feudalism as such, as in its undiluted form does not exist where land distribution is more even, there, our job will be mainly to fight isolating the kulak element and its political influence. Here, the fact that political isolation is entirely different from economic extermination has to be borne in mind in order to guard ourselves from

the sectarian and disruptive tactics. In these areas, it can be said that a part of the agrarian revolution in form of agrarian reform has already taken place. These are certain general guiding lines, rather than specific dictums, Any such deviation on the part of our comrades by which they take to the slogan of indiscriminate extermination of rich peasantry or clubbing of the middle peasantry with the rich peasantry and the rich peasantry with the landlords or belittle the positive role of the middle peasantry in the NDR is fraught with sectarian danger. It is disruptive and harms the cause of the NDR rather than helps advancing it. Certain of these erroneous tendencies which were almost attempted to be put into practice in Telengana area, where the liberation struggle in its intense form is proceeding has already been threatening with the disruption of the toilers' front. This is a very serious mistake in a New Democratic stage. The secretariat has discussed these reports from Telengana and instructed the comrades in-charge to rectify them urgently or else, the front is in danger of disruption.

## Conclusion

The purpose of the draft can be understood as achieved if the following fundamental slogans are deduced from it.

1) The national and international background for October revolution is totally and radically different from that of our present revolution. Hence, the drawing of parallel on attempts to borrowing the strategy verbatim, is wrong and misleading and disruptive.

2) The present stage of our revolution is not socialistic but only New Democratic. Here, it is not a question of liquidating capitalism as such, but only monopoly capitalism with its imperial-feudal collaboration. It is not a question of establishment of dictatorship of proletariat immediately; it is to strive for the establishment of the democratic dictatorship of several classes under the hegemony of the proletariat. Ideological and programmatic hegemony should not be confused with the dictatorship of proletariat. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is, in the main, yet to be completed. Our country is not an independent capitalist state but only a semi-colony. Hence, our revolution is, in the main, an agrarian revolution, not the agrarian revolution of the old type under the bourgeois leadership; but agrarian revolution of a new type under the proletarian leadership. Hence correctly classified as New Democratic Revolution.

3) The middle peasant in this NDR is to-be our ally. And it is our task to solidly unite with the middle peasant. It is wrong to think of neutralising him as in the case of Socialist Revolution.

4) Our revolution in many respects differ from the classical Russian Revolution; but to a great extent similar to the Chinese Revolution. The perspective is likely not that of general strike and armed uprising, leading to the liberation of the rural side, but the dogged resistance and prolonged civil war in the form of agrarian revolution, culminating in the capture of political power by Democratic Front, established in the process of a bitter struggle for the New Democracy.

5) The stage has come wherein even day-to-day partial struggles of the toilers have to be contemplated and planned in the form of armed or partially armed Chinese way of resistance.

This is the perspective open before us. Either we understand the perspective clearly and plan out our work in future or we drift into spontaneity and all sorts of deviation and disruption. The revolutionary history and its richest lesson demonstrate before us the path we have to choose. The path is that of Chinese liberation struggle under the leadership of Comrade Mao, the practical, political and theoretical leader of the mighty colonial, semi-colonial revolution.

## APPENDIX

1. By the compromise with imperialism, it is not the entire capitalist class which gets benefitted but only the few Big Business which have got into economic deals with British financiers. Let alone the toiling masses, the middle bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry who have no feudal tails will also be ground down by the imperialist-feudal-big-business combine.

2. This is the basis for the widest possible front against the above antinational and anti-people combine. The front must be based firmly on the workers, poor peasants and agricultural labourers with middle peasants and town petty bourgeoisie as allies. The middle bourgeoisie and rich peasants (without feudal ties) who vacillate between the people and the anti-national combine, have to be neutralised as a class. However, certain sections of the rich peasantry may participate in the revolution, though vacillating, in the areas where feudal landlords are all-powerful, dominating over rich peasants also for example, Telengana and Rayalseema.

3. Whatever they may think of the compromise, as the vicious effects of the compromise and the economic crisis unfolds, their illusions will get burst.

4. Now, let us proceed to the question of the State form of New Democratic Government. Some comrades confuse the Soviet form of Government with the Socialist stage of the revolution and say that a variation of bourgeois parliamentary form of Government is suited to New Democratic state. This conception is entirely wrong. Let any change be made, a bourgeois-parliamentary form of Government is fundamentally a bourgeois Government which does not help the toiling masses to consolidate its power. But, only helps the bourgeoisie to restore its power. So any Government of the toilers under the hegemony of the proletariat must fundamentally adopt the Soviet form.

The essential difference between two forms is that in the bourgeois-parliamentary form the executive functions are divorced from Legislative functions. The people's representative assemblies have no direct control over the executive. Hence the assemblies act as a veil to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, in the Soviet form, the executive and legislative functions are combined, and at every stage, the executive, i.e., the Government officials are directly controlled by the respective elected peoples' bodies. The soviet form is necessary for another

reason too. No Chinese wall can be erected between the New Democratic and the Socialist stages of the revolution. The toilers having once achieved power under the leadership of the proletariat, will proceed to socialism peacefully and without the necessity of another insurrection. The only change is in the class alignment, but not in the form of Government. The form of Government basically has to be the same soviet form. This soviet form helps this peaceful transition to the second stage.

In the second stage, i.e., the socialist stage, the middle bourgeoisie and rich peasants will have to be eliminated, while building socialism. Then, the political power will vest in the proletariat and poor peasants, with the middle peasants as an ally. This can be called dictatorship of the proletariat in its aspect of building socialism. It is not necessary just as in the Soviet Union to stress on the destructive aspect of annihilating the capitalist opposition here in our country because most of it is finished in the first stage itself and what remains is the squeezing of the remaining capitalist elements. This is amply proved by the New Democracies of Europe.

**P.B. Document for all P.M.s No. 20**

**P.B. Draft for C.C. and**

**For Discussion by all P. Units**



# ON ARMED STRUGGLE IN TELENGANA

**CRITICISMS OF THE ANDHRA PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE ON  
DEVIATIONS RE: ARMED RESISTANCE IN TELANGANA**

**SEPTEMBER, 1949.**

**TELANGANA DOCUMENT PART TWO**

## **INTRODUCTION**

With the entry of Union armies into Hyderabad State an important question was posed- should the guerilla struggle now being conducted against the Nizam so far be continued against the Indian Bourgeoisie also? And what would be its future? With the intensified military raids and fascist repressive measures, this problem had assumed still greater importance. The Andhra P.C. had recognised this and having discussed this problem thoroughly and the two deviations that arose out of it, had detailed a programme of action for our cadre there through the "Andhra Committee Letter".

The following are the two deviations discussed in the afore-mentioned Letter.

Firstly, **Desperationism** (life or death)- "Organise strike struggles and armed fights outside the State in order to isolate and divide the military might of the enemy and to foil his efforts at concentration of his forces over Telangana; other wise it is impossible to maintain our armed resistance in Telangana. But whether or not we could bring about strikes and armed fights outside the State, nothing else can be done except to carry on our resistance after having taken up arms. Therefore, let us continue our armed resistance! Even if it is smashed, we can, at least, have revolutionary traditions!!" Such is the essence of the first deviation.

Secondly, **Defeatism**, - "We cannot conduct strikes and armed struggles outside the State so as to isolate and divide enemy's strength and to foil his efforts at concentration on Telangana. No use to continue the armed resistance; hence stop this struggle temporarily and organise a careful retreat so that we could work on day-to-day problems of the people and thus merge with the people's movement outside the State." Such is the essence of the second deviation.

It was already clarified in the "Andhra Committee Letter" that these two deviations arose out of the failure to rely on the people's consciousness and the movement there and other favourable political conditions to carry on our armed resistance. Moreover, the Andhra Secretariat has thus explained our correct attitude towards guerilla struggle to-day:-

"By mobilising the people and broadening our base amongst them and through furtherance of the people's resistance, can we overcome our short comings in our revolutionary movement and armed struggle. We should organise our Party, Dalams and mass organisations on illegal lines so as to consolidate our revolutionary achievements. Thus, not only can we defend our revolutionary movement from the enemy, but also can extend to places outside the State, to border areas, especially to Andhra districts adjacent to Telangana. If we really wanted to organise the people in other parts of the State as well as those in the rest of India in support of our glorious revolutionary battles here, the method is not to lay down our arms and to look forward with craned necks till they come into action with strikes and armed struggles.

"On the other hand, at a time when the toiling masses in the four corners of the land are surging forward with strike actions and struggles, our own brightest light of revolution, shedding a lustrous glow of hope, lit by deathless heroism of our martyrs, fed by dauntless spirit of our fighters and the continuation of our own glowing resistance movement can alone fire them with revolutionary enthusiasm and bring their struggles to still greater heights.

"One thing we should always remember is that we must mainly base our movement of armed resistance on the exploited toilers of Telangana. The armed resistance we conduct, relying on the strength of our guerilla areas, would also enthuse and bring forward into action the rest of the people all over India. We should not forget that every people's demonstration, every strike action, every other struggle, however small it might be, would strengthen our own movement of armed resistance and weaken the enemy morally and physically.".

Accordingly, the Andhra Secretariat detailed the following programme for the Party:

1. Defend Party leaders, organisers and guerilla dalams from the enemy; reorganise the Party and guerilla dalams on illegal lines, train them up on new tactics and conduct armed resistance.

2. Shatter the illusions about the farce of constituent assembly and deceptive land reforms created by the enemy. On the other hand, organise agricultural workers and poor peasants to fight for land and rightful wages against the raids of the Union armies, landlords and rich peasants, to conduct the people's resistance movement and thus gradually bring the middle peasant into the revolutionary struggle.

3. Strengthen the Telangana armed struggle by bringing about strikes and demonstrations in support of Telangana in the rest of the State, in Andhra and in

other parts of India and also through struggles for their own demands and by propagandising the achievements of Telangana revolutionary movement; bridge the Telangana revolutionary movement with the Indian people's movement outside the State.

Thus, during the last six months, the struggles that developed in India, in the struggle areas and other parts of the State and also the experiences he gained from the people's resistance movement and the political events have conclusively proved the correctness of these prime formulations of the "Andhra Committee Letter". Although the enemy forces are continuously carrying out murderous fascist atrocities in the fighting areas of Telangana, they are unable to stabilise their position there. We on the basis of our Party programme and defending our revolutionary movement and achievements, are able to extend the struggle to new areas. People are ready for waging the battles in all parts of the State. In India, struggles are developing on a wider scale and on higher levels than before. Bourgeoisie, more than ever, is being isolated from the people. Now it is again clear that all that is required is correct Party leadership.

Certain comrades who have not realised these events have sent in their criticism on these prime formulations in the "Andhra Committee Letter". The gist of such criticism is given below:-

**I. An organiser in Tirvur:** "There is no Party organisation which is very strong, very broad-based, well-rooted among the people. No political possibilities to conduct an armed struggle-and there is no necessary Party organisation for that. So, how to conduct an armed struggle? Therefore, the decision seems to be wrong," and also, "even now plan for retreat....and organise to build a strong illegal Party". Continuing his programme of withdrawal from armed struggles, he goes on to state, "Since India is an administrative unit, a majority of Indian people should get disgusted. Then (struggle) can be begun either from the centre or from some of the corner of the country. At present there is no such political atmosphere." Thus, he formulates that Telangana guerilla struggle should be stopped still such time as there would arise a general uprising in all India.

**2. Palvancha organiser's criticism:** "Once we take up armed struggle we should always be on the offensive; for that matter resistance should continue to envelop uninterrupted everywhere. To retreat or to advance according to circumstances, to strike at the enemy in any place, the resistance areas should be sufficiently vast....If these areas are not wide enough, the enemy would concentrate his forces and would drown (the area) in blood..... At a time when our organisation is so weak as having the support from even the middle-class people, I think it is suicidal to continue armed resistance in a small area."

This Palvancha comrade argues that, since we are conducting our guerilla war in only two districts of Telangana, the enemy would be able to greatly concentrate his forces here. Likewise, even if we reckon that resistance area covers say, four or even eight districts, it would still be small when we view it in the background of

largeness of India and the strength of enemy forces. If we want to be always on the offensive, without ever allowing the enemy to be on the offensive, it would only be possible when "majority of people" in India would resort to armed resistance in a "vast area". Now we see that there is no difference between the argument that unless "majority of people" participate in armed resistance the Telangana struggle should be stopped and the Palvancha Comrade's view that unless there is a "vast area" the resistance movement in Telangana should not be continued.

**3. Munagala organiser argues thus:** "To day it is not correct to simultaneously build the Party and organise armed struggle. Why? Because this armed struggle cannot sustain without a strong organised revolutionary Party growing out of the people steeled in small, local struggles. We start and continue armed resistance only at a higher level. That is why we should organise armed resistance only after bringing the Party to a certain level in Telangana."

At a time when we should build and strengthen the Party through revolutionary battles, this comrade counterposes Party organisation with armed resistance and asks for withdrawal of present guerilla warfare. Therefore, in practice, there is no difference between Tirvur and Palvancha comrades and this comrade and all three argue for stopping guerilla war in Telangana.

#### **4. And now comrades from Hazurnagar:**

They do not consider the revolutionary successes achieved by the people in the anti-Nizam armed resistance and their influence on our movement, but concentrate on our "weaknesses" in the movement and having based themselves on such "weaknesses" go onto formulate about anti-Nizam armed resistance, the position of our movement and tactics to be adopted and conclude that resistance should be stopped. In this connection, they have sent us a "Review" in which they have reviewed the armed resistance against Nizam in general and the struggle in their own area in particular. As they have nowhere in their "Review" state their approach to the problem pointedly and precisely, we are giving below a summary of their ideas taken from important parts of their "Review".

These comrades characterise the present anti-Nizam armed resistance movement as an unorganised "spontaneous movement". Firstly, they argue that in Telangana, or in the fighting areas even, there is no class consciousness but only "anti-Nizam" sentiments and hence all our movement here is an anti-Nizam "sentimental movement" without any revolutionary class basis. But, having once taken up arms, they argue, "there is no question of laying them down. The stage of conducting the struggle in any other way but the armed resistance had passed away long ago. Therefore, there are no possibilities in Telangana, either at the present moment or in the future, to conduct the struggle without arms." "So don't lay down arms since there is no way out" they say! They estimate the present as "a stage of retreat", they demand that "guerilla dalams should be disbanded and village people's Committee be abolished"; they advance a programme that "we will propagate people should resist all attempts at seizing back lands by feudal lords

and zamindars that were distributed amongst the people" and thus leave the problem to the people themselves and save the cadre; they ask us "to give importance to our ability to escape from the hands of the enemy"; and finally they end with an interpretation that we should consider "secret methods of work to be adopted by the Party to conduct this programme" as guerilla warfare.

In short, these Huzurnagar comrades talk a lot about guerilla war but, in effect, are one with the comrades of other areas who fail to realise that we should extend the struggle while consolidating the successes of Telangana fight and hence maintain the whole armed resistance should be withdrawn. They satisfy themselves with the ideal of calling illegal work of the Party a guerilla struggle.

There are also others who express the same ideas more precisely:-

"Dalams need not be disbanded, armed resistance need not be discontinued. Dalams should be shifted to more secure areas for sometime. You can re-conduct armed resistance when our organisation is further strengthened and the people shed their fears of the enemy and move on a greater scale."

Guerilla dalams can exist and develop only when they continue the armed struggle to defend the revolutionary successes so far achieved and extend the movement. If we follow the formulations of these comrades we can defend neither our revolutionary achievements nor the very existence of our guerilla dalams. That's why these too agree, in practice, with the ideas of above-mentioned comrades. the withdrawal of armed resistance.

Some clearly demand the withdrawal of armed resistance; others while talking of the continuation of guerilla war, give in practice a programme of withdrawal. All of them, however, agree on the following important points:

1. There are, at the present juncture, no revolutionary possibilities to carry out armed resistance against indian bourgeoisie either in the State or in the rest of India. Also, we don't have necessary strength of Party and mass organisations.

2. This is a stage of retreat. People should be gradually made ready for a final struggle by strengthening the party organisation through local struggles.

It is quite clear that the ideas of these comrades are in conformity with the deviation of "Desperationism" as was discussed in "Andhra Committee Letter". But these comrades quote out of context from Lenin, Stalin and Mao in support of their wrong arguments. They base their ideas only on the weaknesses of the Telangana revolutionary movement.

The Tirvur comrade began his criticism after paying a false tribute to Telangana's armed revolution in the words: "Telangana struggle has given to the very history of our Party, a new radiance, new inspiration and a new experience. It is a clarion call to this era of new struggles in the very history of our Indian Communist Party." The Huzurnagar comrades started by saying; "We have concentrated on our weaknesses alone without prominently bringing out the successes we have achieved. These successes will remain. But our weaknesses

will, in future, endanger our own existance." Thus, they make a show of our successes, but leave them as they were and mainly concentrate on our weaknesses alone. Hence, they totally forget the important factor that our guerilla struggle must and should be based on the Telangana revolutionary successes and their results. They fail to see the importance of these in deciding our tactics too. They come forward with the funny idea that those successes and results have become outmoded with the "military action" and that now one should see only our weaknesses and nothing else.

True, the weaknesses in the people's movement become very clear at a time when military raids become frequent and intensified and repression is severe. If we, the revolutionaries, forget our weaknesses and proclaim "Behold! Here is our movement!!" and if we, consequently, indulge in self-satisfaction, that doesn't give us any credit. On the other hand, these comrades have got to realise that we could fulfil our revolutionary tasks only when we can understand and point out to others the revolutionary character of our movement which was temporarily lost sight of due to severe repressive policy of the enemy.

Telangana's revolutionary successes and their results form a firm foundation to our guerilla war which we have to conduct even against the Indian bourgeoisie today. These have a tremendous significance in adopting tactics for today. We can overcome and set right our weakness-however dangerous they might be-only when we base ourselves on these and mobilise our strength and continue the guerilla warfare. In contrast to this path, if we remember revolutionary successes only for paying tributes and for the rest depend on the weaknesses of our movement alone for deciding our tactics, it would be nothing but anti-Marxist.

These comrades have, thus, in the very beginning, left the path of Revolution and begun to traverse a path of retreat. This is the deviation that makes itself apparent at every step in their formulations and ideas.

In India, revolution is ripening every day. On the one hand, people have started revolutionary struggle to liberate themselves from the capitalist and feudalist systems, on the other hand, these exploiting classes have begun to desperately fight for their very existence. In such a critical situation, it is doubtless correct to say that the politics of retreat advocated by these comrades can only act as a mill-stone round the neck of revolution. These comrades give us a programme of retreat, ask us to begin our movement a new and thus, in practice, advise us to drown in the Ganges the whole revolutionary battle of Telangana and the anti-Nizam armed resistance. Not only the Telangana struggle, but the very Indian People's revolution is made to beat an about-turn, thus giving even a temporary spite to the enemy forces that were made breathless by people battles. Since this programme is unsuitable to the level of our movement, it would make the Party lose its vanguard role and isolate it from the people and make it reel before the enemy onslaught and finally get smashed.

The main purpose of this document is to critically examine and lay bare the

deviations of these comrades and their programme of retreat, in estimating the present day ripening revolutionary situation, in realising the vanguard role of the Party, in understanding the revolutionary character, influence and results of Telangana's guerilla war and to explain in detail how the main formulations in the "Andhra Committee Letter" are correct.

We think, that, before we offer our criticism, it would be better to briefly explain the importance of our inner-Party discussions. It goes without saying that such discussions would greatly help remove deviations and dispel doubts regarding our Party policy. Such discussions are also necessary to secure political unity inside the Party.

Viewed accordingly, we should not forget that, the ideas of the organisers of Tirvur, Palvancha and Munagala and the review sent by Huzurnagar comrades as their "opinion" on "Andhra Committee Letter" would greatly help us to clearly understand the main deviations and the confusion re. our Party policy. Comrades should understand that we offer this criticism only with a view to correct such deviations and remove the confusion. And, this is the only right path to correct their deviations and march ahead with self confidence.

## STRATEGY AND TACTICS

### Maximum and Minimum Programme

Those comrades who want us to withdraw the Telangana guerilla war and beat a retreat try to strengthen their arguments by irrelevantly quoting certain passages from the works of our leaders and teachers- Lenin and Stalin and wrongly interpreting the same. Proof for this is provided by the wrong interpretations of Huzurnagar comrades on Strategy and Tactics and on maximum and minimum programme. To understand the main problems, it is absolutely necessary to examine these deviations.

The following is piece from the Huzurnagar comrades' 32-line criticism on "Andhra Committee Letter" stating that the Andhra Committee had wrongly estimated in analysing the strategy and tactics:

"In analysing the strategy and tactics in the present stage, (these letters) have started from the angle that "we should continue the armed struggle only because the people want it to be continued". These letters have recognised the situation of necessarily continuing the armed struggle; but have started from a wrong angle, in discussing this issue. Hence, the confusion is worse confounded when neither maximum nor minimum programme is given."

Here, one point is to be clearly stated. We have nowhere discussed the strategy in our "Andhra Committee Letter", but what we have mainly discussed were only the tactics to be adopted in the present circumstances. We have comprehensively elaborated on the issue of Strategy in our "Political Resolution on the State". Having once wrongly understood the strategy and tactics and maximum and minimum programme these comrades arrive at a wrong understanding of the "Andhra

Committee Letter", also. Therefore, let us see what wrong interpretations these comrades advance.

### **(I) Strategy and Tactics**

Huzurnagar comrades define strategy and tactics in the following words:

"In the present stage, our strategy is armed rebellion. We don't lay down our arms till we smash the Congress Government and establish People's Democratic Government. But there is ebb and tide in a struggle. On the basis of this ebb and tide, tactics do change and strategy concerns a stage, Tactics are applied in a particular situation to achieve a particular aim regarding particular events. Our tactics should be appropriate to the present condition of our struggle." -A.C.Review.

Here, they define armed rebellion as our strategy. Likewise, they don't care to define the term "tactics" but coolly evade such an important issue by saying that they change according to ebb and tide. Having bogged themselves in a mire of confusion they bring forth a programme of retreat.

Stalin, in his work "Leninism" says the following about strategy:

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding phase for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (the main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution".

And at another place he further says this about strategy:

"Strategy deals with the main forces of the revolution and their reserves. It changes with the passing of the revolution from one stage to another, but remains essentially unchanged throughout a given stage."

We can elucidate this in the following way: to decide on the basis of the role of the various classes in a given stage of revolution, which progressive classes can be brought into a front against which reactionary classes; to decide the role of various classes in such a front and to determine the direction of the main blow on the enemy. Strategy is what determines the course of struggle in a given stage, etc. Whatever may be the ups and downs of a movement in a given stage, the strategy remains unchanged for that stage.

When we apply this definition of strategy to India, the strategy appropriate to the present stage of our revolution will be thus:

**Objective:** to overthrow the bourgeoisie- the leader of imperialist-bourgeoisie feudal combine and completely wipe out the survival of feudalism.

(To adopt a transitional economic policy through the programme of nationalisation, etc.)

**The main force of the revolution:** working class.

**Immediate reserves:** agricultural workers, poor peasants and middle peasants (also oppressed middle class people in towns).

**Direction of the blow:** to isolate and single out the bourgeoisie in power and other bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties and groups from the people.

**Plan for the disposition of forces:** alliance of the working class mainly with the agricultural labourers and poor peasants and thus achieve unity with all toiling peasantry.

### **Tactics-**

Tactics are the slogans and the methods of organisation for struggle adopted in accordance with the tempo and pulse of the people and the ebb and flow of the movement, in order to carry out the strategy. These tactics do change according to the tempo and pulse of the people. When the people are ready and the movement reaches higher levels of struggle, offensive tactics would be adopted. Or, when the movement receives a set back and retreats the necessary defensive tactics would be adopted and the movement would be safeguarded.

Stalin says this on tactics:

“Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct of the proletariat in the comparatively short period of the flow or ebb of the movement, of the rise or decline of the revolution the fight to carry out this line by means of replacing old forms of struggle and organisation by new ones, old slogans by new ones, by combining these forms, etc. While the object of strategy is to win the war against tsarism, let us say, or against the bourgeoisie, to carry the struggle against tsarism or the bourgeoisie to its end, tactics concern themselves with less important objects, for they aim not at winning the war as a whole, but at winning a particular engagement, or a particular battle, at carrying through successfully a particular campaign or a particular action corresponding to the concrete circumstances in the given period of rise or decline of the revolution. Tactics are a part of strategy, subordinate to it and serving it.

“Tactics change according to flow and ebb. While the strategic plan remained unchanged during the first stage of the revolution (1903 to February 1917), tactics changed several times during that period. In the period from 1903 to 1905 the Party pursued offensive tactics for the tide of the revolution was rising, the movement was on the upgrade, and tactics had to proceed from this fact. Accordingly, the forms of struggle were revolutionary, corresponding to the requirements of the rising tide of the revolution. Local political strikes, political demonstrations, the general political strike, boycott of the Duma, insurrection, revolutionary fighting slogans-such were the successive forms of the struggle during that period. These changes in the forms of struggle were accompanied by corresponding changes in the forms of organisation. Factory committees, revolutionary peasant committees, strike committees, Soviets of workers, deputies, a workers' Party working more or less openly -such were the forms of organisation during that period.

“In the period from 1907 to 1912 the Party was compelled to resort to tactics of retreat; for we then experienced a decline in the revolutionary movement, the ebb of the revolution, and tactics necessarily had to take this fact into consideration.

The forms of struggle, as well as the forms of organisation, changed accordingly; instead of the boycott of the Duma there was participation in the Duma; instead of open, direct revolutionary action outside the Duma, there were parliamentary speeches and work in the Duma; instead of general political strikes, there were partial economic strikes, or simply a lull in activities. Of course, the Party had to go underground during that period, while the revolutionary mass organisations were superseded by cultural, educational, cooperative, insurance and other legal organisations.

"The same must be said of the second and third stages of the revolution, during which tactics changed dozens of times, whereas the strategical plans remained unchanged."

The above definition by Stalin is very clear and definite.

According to Stalin (see the underlined portion above), it is the tactics that change in a given state of the revolution, but not the strategy, as these comrades assert. Moreover, armed rebellion is only a tactic but not a strategy. That is why, the tactic of armed rebellion is used by the Party in order to take over power by force in any stage of the revolution.

But these comrades, instead of defining the term "tactics" wrongly interpret Stalin by saying that armed rebellion, which is a tactic to be adopted in a given stage of the revolution, is the strategy. Having failed to see the difference between the tactics and strategy, they coolly accuse that the Andhra Committee has landed in utter confusion re. strategy and tactics on its 'Letter'.

We can now undoubtedly say that the tactics of retreat advanced by these comrades, arise out of the confusion they got themselves landed in.

Is not "armed rebellion our strategy" according to these comrades? Hence, what follows? "Enemy is on the offensive, dizzy with successes and "either the Party or the people ought to safeguard their very existence" and "we are in a stage of defence—that too an elementary phase", hence we have to determine our tactics, according to them, by the factor of "strengthening Party organisation among the people by safe-guarding the movement and the cadre from being caught by the enemy!" They give us a programme of political retreat arguing that, since distribution of land and establishment of village panchayats can be achieved only at a stage when people gain final victory through offensive actions of both guerilla squads and regular forces of army culminating in an armed rebellion we should demobilise our present guerilla squads and dissolve the village panchayats and leave the problem of already distributed land to the people themselves. Such are the confusions originating from calling armed rebellion our strategy and the wrong interpretations conclude by drowning our Telangana revolutionary achievements in the Ganges and asking us to retreat from our present days struggle.

## (2) Maximum and Minimum Programmes

These Huzurnagar comrades do not stop at giving anti-Marxist interpretations for strategy and tactics and confusing both! They also divide the programme for

Democratic People's Front into two parts, viz., "immediate and final programmes"; and opine that the "Andhra Committee Letter" has confused the issue by not deciding on either programme.

It is theoretically wrong to divide a programme during a given stage of revolution into such parts.

The history of the CPSU (B) clarifies thus, the programme adopted by the Second Congress of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, held under the leadership of Lenin in 1903:-

"This programme consisted of two parts: a maximum programme and a minimum programme. The maximum programme dealt with the principal aim of the working class party, namely, the Socialist revolution, the overthrow of the power of the capitalists, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The minimum programme dealt with the immediate aims of the Party, aims to be achieved before the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, namely, the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy, the establishment of a democratic republic, the introduction of an 8 hour working day, the abolition of all survivals of serfdom in the countryside, and the restoration to the peasants of the cut-off lands (otrezki) of which they had been deprived by the landlords.

"Subsequently, the Bolsheviks replaced the demand for the return of the 'otrezki' by the demand for the confiscation of all the landed estates.

"The programme adopted by the Second Congress was a revolutionary programme of the Party of the working class.

"It remained in force until the Eighth Party Congress, held after the victory of the proletarian revolution, when our Party adopted a new programme". (Short Course in the History of the CPSU (B), English edition, P.41)

According to the above, it is clear that maximum and minimum programme was adopted for different stages of the revolution and were not meant to be two parts for any one stage of the revolution. The Second Congress had decided only on the programme dealing with the principal and immediate tasks of the working class. On the basis of this, we should consider, in our Indian revolution, the establishment of People's Democratic Government as our immediate task and the programme of People's Democratic Front as our minimum programme (or immediate programme). Likewise, it should be considered that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat forms our principal task and that the programme of Socialist revolution forms our maximum programme.

Therefore, it would be correct, on the basis of these principles, to formulate maximum and minimum programme (or final and immediate programme), but, it is theoretically wrong to divide, as these comrades have done, into two parts during any one stage of the revolution.

If they think that the immediate programme is for the ripened revolutionary period, such an understanding is also wrong. Why? Because we have to adopt

tactics of offensive and retreat according to ebb and flow of revolution in a given stage; but we don't divide the programme itself into two parts. Wherever people are ready to fight with whatever forms of struggle on whatever issue it might be, we conduct them with such forms of struggle on those issues. If people in an area, are ready to fight for the distribution of land, (this generally happens in a revolutionary situation only), we conduct the fight on that issue, and consistent with that issue we adopt such organised methods of resistance as establishment and organisation of village panchayats and people's armies and conduct a regular guerilla war. That's how we develop our people's revolution and also that is the purpose of tactics.

The guerilla war we are waging to defend and extend the revolutionary gains of Telangana is only a tactic we are adopting in accordance with the level of Telangana's revolutionary movement and the revolutionary situation in the rest of India. To characterise this, as our Huzurnagar comrades, as a confusion for not having decided neither the maximum nor minimum programme, is nothing but confusing strategy and tactics with the maximum and minimum programme.

As a result of such a confusion, these comrades think that their programme of retreat is our immediate programme and such revolutionary programme of land distribution is our final programme. They utterly fail to see the necessity of conducting the guerilla warfare to defend and safeguard our revolutionary achievements.

As a result of such a confusion, they fail to understand strategy and tactics from Marxist point of view and hence give wrong interpretations and arrive at wrong conclusions.

Now, we shall discuss the general tactics we must adopt in the present day circumstances.

## II

### MATURING REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION AND OUR TACTICS

All these comrades argue in one voice that, to continue to conduct a guerilla war against the Indian bourgeoisie, there is no revolutionary situation in the country today; that the enemy is strong in every way and the people are weak and therefore we should retreat against such odds. Some of these comrades compare this with the post 1905 period, of revolution in Russia and call this a "period of retreat". In this connection, we shall see what Tirvur and Huzurnagar comrades say.

"We are mistaken in the very estimate of the influence of the bourgeoisie.....It has a goodwill and prestige of the past and an immense experience."

"When we don't possess enough strength, the best thing is to retreat,"-Tirvur organiser.

"As long as the Congress, like the Nizam (or the Kuomintang) is not isolated from the people, our guerilla life gets little support from the people....Our people are not yet ready to enter the arena and make a brave stand against the enemy.

“Dizzy with successes, the enemy is on the offensive....we are in a stage of self-defence—that too, in an elementary stage.” Review of Huzurnagar A.C.

Indian bourgeoisie has still got a strong hold over the people. The strength of the bourgeoisie was further increased by the ‘police action’ in the State of the Nizam. People are not yet prepared to support a guerilla war. Such a situation obtains not only in Telengana but all over India and hence call this a stage of retreat. Consequently, we should adopt only the tactics of retreat. Such is, in essence, their idea of the present day conditions.

But what is the reality?

## I. Indian Bourgeoisie and the Economic Crisis

The Indian Bourgeoisie, being a part of the world capitalist class, is entangled in a permanent crisis today. This crisis is further intensified as a result of colonial economy working in India. That all the efforts of the Indian bourgeoisie to get out of such a predicament are foiled and it is itself weakened is conclusively proved by the course of the events taking place before our own eyes.

Having utterly failed to solve anyone of the people’s problems, the bourgeoisie is coming out in all its naked, fascist form. The military budgets of the Central and provincial Governments, the ever growing fascist machinery of repression, the fascist constitution, severe food problem, over-taxation, soaring cost of living and the fascist repression let loose on the people—all these only go to show how the bourgeoisie, unable to get out of the permanent economic crisis, is wriggling hard like a fly caught in a net.

That the influence of the bourgeoisie among the people is shaken to the roots is distinctly plain from the unprecedented defeats it got in the bye-elections (Bombay, Calcutta, Cochin) in the elections to the Municipal and District Boards, local bodies and the fear of the Congress leadership to conduct general elections on the basis of adult franchise.

Cliques in the Congress quarrelling for power, bribery and favouritism have grown to serious proportions. The machinery of Government has grown so unwieldy that it finds itself in utter disorder.

All these show how much the bourgeoisie is being weakened. If it took 20 years for the Kuomintang to be overthrown, the present intensified economic crisis hastens the fall of the Indian bourgeoisie and shortens the time to—may be, even two years.

All this is more distinctly seen after the “military action” in the Hyderabad State.

Although the people of the State had illusions that, with the “military action”, they would be freed from the cruel rule of the Nizam-Rázakar gang, the failure of the military rule of the bourgeoisie to solve any of the people’s problems and the reinstallation of the machinery of the Nizam’s regime, continuing the anti-people rule have burst the illusions of the people and made them take to path of struggle.

With the starting of military raids over the villages of Telangana, the people began to see the real face of the bourgeoisie. In this way, the Indian bourgeoisie, instead of being strengthened after the "military action" in the State, is now more isolated from the people than before.

Splits and cliques inside the State Congress struggling for power and the fight between the Central and the State Congress leadership, etc., show how the bourgeoisie is being weakened in the State also. (For details on this issue see our Political Resolution on the State).

It must be said here that these comrades who argue that the bourgeoisie is still strong, have failed to understand all these events.

These comrades are judging the strength of the bourgeoisie on the basis of the number of bullets it has got but fail to see the period of crisis and fall it has entered into. Hence having completely confused its military might with its political strength, they begin to overestimate its over-all strength.

## 2. Revolutionary Upsurge and the Tactics of Offensive

Comrades of Huzurnagar assert that our heroic people of Telangana who have successfully resisted the Nizam's marauders for over a year, distributed the landlord lands and established village panchayat raj are "not yet ready to enter the arena and make a brave stand against the enemy"! The Tirvur comrade argues that the people are prepared only for "local struggles" but not for a guerilla war. Therefore, we should retreat, they say. They seriously suggest that there is no revolutionary situation in India to conduct a guerilla war; that this is a stage of retreat and hence we should adopt tactics of retreat.

This cannot be a correct formulation. Having failed to understand the realities and having refused to correctly judge the events that happen before our very eyes, these comrades are indulging in such extraordinary theorising.

Our Polit Bureau has reviewed and elucidated the special characteristics of the struggles that took place during the period between the Party Congress and September 1948, in the following way:

"The basic causes of the capitalist crisis, the impossibility to solve it remain and bring fresh collisions. The basic cause of the revolutionary upsurge thus gets accentuated at every step. The last eight months have conclusively proved it.

"Out of this have arisen the great struggles of the last eight months-the struggles of workers and peasants, students-struggles against which most barbarous methods of repression were used (Kerala, Andhra, Tamilnadu, West Bengal) struggles which saw fascist terror against the toilers.

"These struggles bear one special character. Not only are they born out of economic desperation, but they come in the wake of growing disillusionment with the Congress Governments and are undertaken by toilers in direct defiance of the Congress Governments. In them are being trained and steeled the new forces which are destined to end the bourgeois rule. They reveal not only the process of rapid disillusionment, the rapid decline of the influence of the Congress, but also the

growing desperate determination and militancy of the masses. They often develop into armed clashes in the face of terror. The terror- one-tenth of which would have formerly demoralised the fighters-now evokes only indignation and greater determination. How often the leaders of the Party, in recent struggles, underestimated the power of resistance of the masses under terror (Coimbatore, Kerala), and thinking that all resistance is broken have been surprised by the masses who have refused to yield to terror and decided to continue resistance? All old standards of measuring the resistance power of the masses have gone to the winds. The masses are no longer the old masses, afraid of terror, always dragged back by the illusion of a secure life. They are the new masses on the eve of revolutionary battles- those who more and more realise that retreat is impossible and those who are developing a great confidence in the victory of their cause, because they have begun to see their real strength.

“The partial struggles of the present period, therefore, become wide mass battles, miniature civil wars, which, when they are organised on a sufficiently big scale, easily develop into political battles and throw up embryonic State forms (Telangana)-such is the logic of the situation. No Chinese Wall divides the two as it did divide during the period of stabilisation. The terroristic repression teaches the masses to march forward and to challenge the State with all their power. It convinced them that without such a fight no struggle is possible, thus raising struggle to a political place- its stage being determined by the form and successful character of the resistance offered”. (Communist No.4, from “Struggle for People’s Democracy and Socialism”. pp.25, 26.)

This is the experience of the period of eight months since the Party Congress, and this requires no further elaboration. And the experiences of the last one year also have conclusively proved the correctness of every letter of the above analysis.

The people of Andhra have not only withstood the fascist repressive onslaught, but also have begun to resist with arms. Militant worker and peasant struggles are developing in every province and the strike battles of the proletariat are being waged for whole months (Bombay Municipal Workers).

The experience of Telangana also proves the same. The military raids of the Union forces for over a year and the fascist repression have utterly failed to bend the revolutionary will of the people and the people of other parts of the States are also coming forward more and more into the same struggles.

When the situation is like this, is there any sense in the assertion that the people “are not yet prepared to enter the arena and make a brave stand against the enemy”? Is it not ignorance of the realities when they claim that except the “local struggles”, the guerilla war is “suicidal”?

For these very same reasons, it is wrong to say that, either in India or in Telangana, a stage of retreat has set in. Stalin describes the phase of retreat after 1905 Revolution in the following words:

“....the revolutionary movement was on the decline the working class was in a stage of extreme fatigue, and the position of the reactionary classes had been strengthened considerably.” (English edition, p.133).

Such a situation does not exist either in India or in Telangana; on the other hand the revolution is maturing day by day.

What should be our tactics during this period of fast maturing revolution?

Only the tactics of retreat are given either when the Tirvur comrade suggests withdrawal of guerilla struggle or when the Huzurnagar comrades describe the present as a phase of “self-defence” or when the Munagala Organiser asserts there is no party organisation at all. Among the main reasons they give, prominence is given to the events in India. But these events today as explained above make it plain that our Party should adopt only tactics of offensive.

The Polit Bureau gives the following answer to the question- what should be our tactics in the present day conditions?

“The forms of struggle are determined both by our strategic objective and the revolutionary period. The objective of overthrowing the bourgeoisie combined with the existence of the revolutionary period and the rapidly moving revolutionary developments compels resort to militant and revolutionary forms of struggle and organisation. Hence strikes, political strikes, rising to higher forms of struggle and to a general rising- such are the forms of struggle that flow from the situation. Corresponding to that are also the forms of organisation which are revolutionary peasant committees (Telangana) or strike committees, factory committees, or peasant committees- to conduct the struggle, or squads, volunteer squads to defend the workers and peasants, which develop into instruments of struggle of a higher form also”. (Communist, No.4, p.49).

The gist of the above quotation is that during this period when our revolution is fast maturing, we should adopt only the tactics for an offensive and corresponding forms of struggle and forms of organisation.

The Huzurnagar comrades who theorise that the people are “not yet prepared to enter the arena and make a brave stand against the enemy”, are only underestimating the fighting determination of the people; and they over estimate the strength of the enemy by confusedly understanding the military and armed police raids on the people by the bourgeoisie- which is entirely dependent on its armed might both for its own existence and the defence of the interests of the Zamindars, etc., as the political-strength of the bourgeoisie.

Moreover, all these comrades who clamour for “local struggles but no guerilla war” are only lightly treating the revolutionary character of such local struggles, they fail to grasp the present situation in which exist many possibilities of these local struggles developing into higher levels (in the villages especially), taking the form of guerilla war and consequently, fail to see the fighting qualities of the people.

As a result of such a wrong point of view, these comrades come to the wrong conclusion that, since the Indian bourgeoisie is very strong and there is no revolutionary situation in the country and the forces of revolution are very week,

this period of our revolution should be characterised as a stage of retreat and hence the necessity of adopting tactics of retreat.

The Second Congress of our Party has warned us against such a deviation, thus:

“Therefore the chief danger before the working class today is to underestimate its own strength, the strength of the anti-imperialist camp of democracy and Socialism, and to overestimate the strength of the enemy camp, the camp of imperialism and reaction and its puppets and collaborators in each country”.

(Political Thesis adopted by the Second Congress, p.13).

It is, now, absolutely necessary for all these comrades who argue that the camp of the enemy in India is very strong and the revolutionary forces are very weak to understand this warning very clearly.

The “Andhra Committee Letter” has, thus, clarified the weakness of the Indian bourgeoisie:

“When examined deeply, it is distinctly clear that all this terroristic offensive of the Indian bourgeoisie on the revolutionary movement of Telangana, is only due to its weakness and does not show its strength.

“The basis of the Indian bourgeoisie is so weak that, if we strike at it in all possible directions, it will not be difficult to overthrow its power”.

That this formulation is correct, is clearly demonstrated by every struggle we are conducting today. Once again, it is made clear that because of these very same reasons, we should adopt tactics of offensive.

But how are the conditions in Telangana? Has the Indian military offensive created a situation demanding the withdrawal of our guerilla struggle?

### III

## ARE THE PEOPLE OF HYDERABAD READY FOR STRUGGLE?

These comrades who ask “for the withdrawal of armed struggle in Telangana and retreat”, also argue that there are no favourable conditions for an armed struggle not only in the rest of India but also in the Hyderabad State-especially even in the fighting areas.

On the basis of this, they bring forth certain formulations after examining not only the conditions in the fighting areas but also the character of the anti-Nizam armed struggle.

The gist of it is:

1. The anti-Nizam armed struggle is a “sentimental movement” which has no revolutionary foundations. The growth of the guerilla struggle till the time of ‘military action, was due not to the people’s revolutionary consciousness and the independent rule of our Party but because, mainly, the Nizam was isolated from all sections and classes of people.

2. The anti-Nizam movement collapsed like a "house of cards" at the touch of the first breath of 'military action'. Today, people are against the struggle.

3. In other parts of the State the influence of the bourgeoisie is stronger. At a time when even the people in the fighting areas are against the struggle there is no question of people of other parts joining the struggle.

(We shall quote appropriate passages re.these arguments when we deal with each of them)

These arguments of our comrades do not correspond with the realities. They advance such funny arguments because they fail to see the real foundations of the guerilla struggle in Telangana and becasuse they underestimated the fighting consciousness of our people. But then, let us examine the same.

What are the foundations of the guerilla fight in Telangana.

What are the results of 'military action'?

If we discuss this, it would be clear for us how far the arguments of these comrades are correct or incorrect.

1. The Huzurnagar comrades formulate in the following way, on the character of the guerilla war of Telangana.

"The atrocities of the Nizam have reached the climax. The hatred of the people, as a whole, has also reached its climax. The people have learnt in practice that the bourgeois methods of struggle are useless. Like an animal at bay, the people, with matchless abandon, were prepared for a revolt. But such a hatred was directed only against the cruelty of the regime of the Nizam and has not yet reached the level of revolutionary consciousness demanning the rooting out of the very exploiting classes.

"The hatred of the Nizam has only assumed the shape of tradition, a minimum moral responsibility.

"From time to time, the movement moved in a spontaneous form. The most elementary consciousness of the people that 'Nizam should go!', stopped at that. Whether lands are distributed or class problems are taken up, the life vein of the movement remains to be only the anti-Nizam hatred.

"People, in this struggle, have almost played the part of an outooker".-A.C. Review

Telangana's guerilla war has no class character; it has no revolutionary consciousness, the whole movement is a house of cards, a bubble- such is the gist of what they say.

The Munagala comrade also agrees with this-although a different language is used, "How has the movement grown to such higher levels? Because the State Government is despised by and isolated from one and all!....But this is not the strength of our organisation."

First, let us see the contradictions in the above, before we proceed with the main issues involved.

These Huzurnagar comrades had to admit (and others also, we hope, agree with this) that the people have intense hatred of the Nizam, that they were ready to revolt only when the “atrocities of the Nizam reached a climax” and the confidence in the bourgeois methods of struggle was rudely shaken. This single instance is enough to show that they, themselves, are indirectly contradicting their own arguments. How?

- To hate the Nizam who is nothing but the direct reflection and leader of the feudal order in Hyderabad, is to hate the feudal order itself; the demand that the Nizam should be overthrown is a demand for the abolition of the feudal order; this state of affairs distinctly expresses nothing but the anti-feudal consciousness of the people.

- The fact that the people were prepared for a general revolt only after the illusions and confidence in the bourgeois methods of struggle were gone, proves clearly the revolutionary character of the revolt and the influence of our organisation.

Now, leaving aside such contradictions in their arguments, let us turn to their main formulations:

(1) What do they mean when they characterise the anti-Nizam hatred as “sentimental”?

Is it because the Nizam is a Muslim? Or is it because people take him for a demon and a devil-a super-natural being? Or why hatred at all? Is it not because of the economic, political and social conditions of the State? (Unbearable feudal exploitation, absence of even a nominal form of bourgeois democracy, suppression of national culture and forcibly injecting a foreign culture, etc.)

We, Marxists, should define this anti-Nizam hatred from the point of view of classwar and not basing on some petty-bourgeois sentiments. The correct Marxist interpretation of this hatred is to say that it is a product of social and economic conditions in the State.

As against the feudal rule of the Nizam, there had always been expression of people's discontent in some form or the other.....With the intensification of exploitation and the struggles of liberation being suppressed, this discontent changed into hatred and began to express itself in form of struggles of higher level.

With the intensification of feudal exploitation and the concentration of almost all land in the hands of the landlords, the peasants, hunger for land also increased. This land problem is the main cause for all agrarian struggles today. Those who fail to understand this, cannot understand the struggles of Telangana (for details of the effects of economic crisis, see our Political Resolution on the State).

The development of the agrarian struggles in Telangana against the feudal order has been proceeding in this way:

For over 30 years there had been struggles against the Jagirdars, Deshmukhs and Landlords. All these struggles were directed against unpaid labour, illegal taxation, etc., and to defend their lands from being forcibly appropriated (struggles of tenants

and peasants of fallow and jagir lands). They originated spontaneously and were fought out in courts of law for long years. As instances, we can give anti-jagirdar struggles in our fighting areas of Bhuvangiri, Bethavolu, Garla etc., and the struggles for fallow lands in the taluqs of Janagaon, Suryapet, and Manukota. Even the murders of high and mighty landlords also belong to this category.

These have gradually developed further into struggles against forced labour of the officials, bribery and other inhuman indignities perpetrated on the people. The clear proof is provided by the struggles conducted with people's initiative, in various parts of the State against forced labour and the revolts that occurred against the atrocities of wartime collections of levy. As examples, we can mention the incidents of Akunur and Machireddypalli. These too were spontaneous and were soon suppressed cruelly.

There were also people's struggles against heavy taxes, levies and other governmental exploitation. Peasants of Karimnagar district, caught in the grip of an acute famine, moved in their thousands and organised mass demonstrations for reduction and complete remission of taxes and levies and succeeded though partially in getting their demands conceded by the authorities. This struggle was led by the Andhra Mahasabha and shows a high level of people's consciousness.

And again, there were agrarian struggles in the areas of Suryapet, Jangaon and Nalgonda led by the Party and the Andhra Mahasabha. These were conducted against forced labour, illegal levies and other feudal oppressive actions and for "Khajja" of tenant lands; for reoccupation of lands forcibly appropriated by Zamindars etc. These, having once started against feudal oppression, gradually began to take the form of militant opposition to "Police Zoolum" and developed to such an extent as to immobilise the Government machinery (as in Nalgonda). These took place between 1942 and 1947.

Thus, the influence of these struggles is one of the main causes for the people to participate in a greater measure in the anti-Nizam struggle till the 'military action'. These same struggles have now developed into an anti-Nizam organised armed struggle. These heroic people have resisted the Nizam-Razakar gangs; have driven away the feudal oppressors from the villages, have organised administration; have organised guerilla squads and strengthened and participated in the movement of armed resistance (the latter is later discussed in detail). What do all these signify? Only "spontaneity" in the movement and the "elementary consciousness" of the people? No. They mean only one thing: that is, the political maturity and high revolutionary consciousness of the people of Telangana.

Considering the order of development, we can conclude thus: the anti-Nizam consciousness of the people is the higher political form of the consciousness against the feudal system represented by the Nizam. Therefore, the armed struggle against the rule of the Nizam is a political struggle conducted to overthrow the feudal oppressive rule of the Nizam.

Which is why, the anti-Nizam hatred is not a "sentimental" hatred transformed into a "tradition". It is the reflection of the revolutionary consciousness developed for the overthrow of the feudal order of society.

If we think that all this movement lacks class consciousness, and is only a product of anti-Nizam "sentiments", why should there be such prolonged struggles, for years together, against both Hindu and Muslim Jagirdars? Is it not a class war? Or only products of some "sentiments"?

What about the anti-Zamindar struggle led by the Party against the feudal landlords who were supporters of the reformist leadership of Andhra Mahasabha (as in Nalgonda and Warangal districts)? What anti-Nizam "sentiments" started these struggles?

In the period of armed struggle against the Nizam, did the people take back the lands from the landlords and distribute them, only out of "sentiments" - the lands of those zamindars who joined the Congress?

What is "elementary consciousness"? If the people's consciousness remains at stage of elementary standard even after lands are redistributed, does it not mean that there is no difference between the struggle for reduction in rent and "Khajja" rights and the struggles for possession and distribution of lands? If the establishment of village panchayats and the conduct of guerilla war etc., are only reflections of people's "elementary consciousness", does it not mean that there should be no difference between the local struggles that occur within the bounds of the system of exploitation and guerilla war? Where will these comrades end up, with such arguments?

These comrades fail to see the difference between the level of a local struggle and of guerilla war; they fail to realise that the present guerilla struggle is nothing but the higher form of all those class struggles that have been taking place in Telangana. As a result, they brush it aside, calling it a "sentimental" movement by maintaining that the movement has not yet passed the elementary stage, they deny the class battles that have been raging for long years.

(ii) Our comrades who formulate that the people "have almost played the role of an onlooker" deny not only the class basis of the guerilla struggle, but also the revolutionary foundations of this upsurge. This too is against the realities.

One can find revolutionary action on the part of the people, not only in the guerilla war led by the Party but also in the struggles of Suryapet, Jangaon and Nalgonda.

In 1942, the tenants of Suryapet of nearly 20 villages could successfully resist the aggression of the Zamindars in defence of their lands by defying the then existing lands and tenancy acts.

In the Jangaon struggle, the peasants in thousands demonstrated continuously for four months against the zamindari aggression and unitedly resisted the forcible seizure of their lands (in Mundrayi). Their resistance took a militant form against gangsterism as in Palakurti.

Resistance on a mass scale (in 250 villages) with sticks and slings in hand was successfully carried out in the Nalgonda struggle against the zamindars' gangsters, the police and even the military of the Nizam (Kadivendi, Balemula, Old Suryapet, Devaruppala, Mallareddygudem, Purigila, etc., struggles). The feudal lords were driven out of the villages. And got nearly 5,000 acres of zamindars' land were distributed amongst themselves.

Now, what of the period of guerilla struggle? In this period, the revolutionary actions of the people reached their zenith. The mass resistance of the people, armed with only sticks and slings, against the Razakar marauders; the land distribution; the establishment of the village Panchayat Raj; mass co-operation in destroying the roads and other sabotage activities in support of the guerilla struggle; people's participation in the large-scale destruction of Razakars during the "military action" and helping the guerillas with arms and ammunition thus secured; the wholesale demolitions of the forts of the Zamindars—all these activities shows the high level of revolutionary consciousness on the part of the people and the creation of glorious revolutionary traditions and a revolutionary path of heroism for others to follow. Was there any parallel to this in our national movement?

Hundreds and thousands of people have sacrificed their lives both as squad members and as ordinary people. What revolutionary tenacity was it to exhibit such death-defying abandon? Let these comrades answer.

Even before the first chapter of Indian People's Revolution is completed, even when both the forces of revolution and counter-revolution are intensively mobilising for still more bloody struggles, how could these comrades forget our heroic Telangana revolutionary struggle so soon?

The revolutionary initiative, the revolutionary activities of the people exhibited in Telangana's revolution have already written a new chapter in the history of Indian Revolution for National liberation, a prologue for a new drama is already written.

Because of certain weaknesses of the movement also, people's participation in the struggle may not be of the same level everywhere. It is also true that our movement could not be extended on a large-scale due to the same weaknesses in the movement. But then, it is unbecoming to any revolutionary worth his salt to forget and ignore the revolutionary character of the movement behind such weaknesses. Even the enemy who boasts of "suppression of anarchy" after jailing a few people's leaders here and killing a few there, could not deny that it is a people's movement. Then, in such circumstances, is it not indirectly helping the enemy slander when these comrades say that the people "have only played the role of an onlooker" and deny the revolutionary character of the movement?

However, dangerous may be the weaknesses in a movement, they only need to be rectified. We should only go forward by correcting them. But to go mad at such weaknesses, to deny the revolutionary character and thus degenerate into passivity, to throw up our hands and beat a retreat, can only be a product of petty

bourgeois degeneration and defeatism before enemy onslaughts. It need not be further elaborated how much this state of affairs endangers the revolutionary movement.

(iii) These comrades bring another strange argument that in the Telangana guerilla struggle is absent not only class basis and revolutionary character, but even organisational basis; that it is only a spontaneous movement; but the reason for our being able to score successes so long and even for our existing, is that Nizam is "hated by one and all". This is nothing but a trend to decry the part played by the Party and the mass organisations in developing the class struggle to the pitch of guerilla struggle. This is that trend of spontaneity that says that the people on their own become ready to destroy the Nizam rule. This is theoretically wrong and contrary to the facts.

1. It is because of the Suryapet struggles led by the Party and the Andhra Mahasabha and because of the all out political exposure and fight against the Rightist of Andhra Mahasabha, that the influence and organisational strength of the Party and Andhra Mahasabha got consolidated. It was under the leadership of the Party and Andhra Mahasabha that the Janagam struggle was conducted. It was because of this struggle that Andhra Mahasabha had developed as the people's fighting organ and became the most powerful instrument to rally the masses in Telangana against the Nizam.

2. In the Nalgonda struggle of 1946-47, the organisation of Andhra Mahasabha spread to wider areas, volunteer corps were organised from village to village and the mass organisations developed. It was through these organisations that struggle developed to the high stage of land distribution and resistance to the police atrocities.

3. During the period of armed struggle against Nizam, the organisation of mass organisations reached its highest level. The organisation of village raj, the organisation of guerilla squads and village volunteer squads all these were the new organisational problems that appeared in this period. These organisations mobilised the people against the Nizam's rule and forced the Nizam and his gangs to be on the defensive.

4. The Party had worked hard in directing land in developing these struggles to a higher stage and in carrying out in practice the revolutionary programme.

5. It is baseless to say that there was no Party organisation. There are area committees and organisations. The whole of local Party cadre is in the squads. In the villages even today there are militants escaping the wholesale mass round-ups. What is all this except Party organisation?

THE PROBLEM THAT IS FACING US HERE IS NOT THAT THERE IS NO ORGANISATION WHATSOEVER IN TELANGANA MOVEMENT. BUT THE MAIN PROBLEM FACING US IS HOW TO REMOVE THE ORGANISATIONAL WEAKNESS THAT ARE THERE IN THE MOVEMENT.

Before the armed struggle against Nizam was started, the struggles that were being conducted, because of deviations and because of organisational weaknesses

could not be developed on a wider scale and to a higher pitch except with hauls and breaks at every step. Because we had wrong conceptions of Party organisation, we could not develop strong independent Party organisation. The same thing happened during the period of armed struggle too. It was because of this wrong attitude towards Party organisation and also because of wrong tactics adopted in conducting guerilla struggle that undoubtedly our Party organisation had received irreparable damage. But because of this to generalise that there is no organisational foundation for Telangana guerilla struggle and hence there is no movement practically, after the intervention of Indian army, is refusal to distinguish between organisational weaknesses and total lack of organisation.

Not only this. According to the arguments of these comrades, village and people's raj (Gramarajyalu), guerilla squads, and other revolutionary forms of organisation have to be considered as nothing but victories somehow achieved spontaneously or heaven -sent surprises-and not as revolutionary forms of organisation consciously created. It is true the organisational weaknesses that persisted during the growth of revolutionary struggles-the weaknesses that persisted while conducting Gramarajyalu and in the organisation of guerilla squads- have to be removed in course of further developing the struggle. But it is wrong on the basis of these mistakes to make suicidal generalisation that there is no organisation whatsoever.

Similrly, to say that we have achieved so many successes only because Nizam is "hated by one and all", is to belittle the revolutionary consciousness of the people, the revolutionary significance of the programme of land distribution and of the establishment of Gramarajyalu (village people's administrative councils), all carried out directly under the party leadership.

This will lead to denying the sacrifices and efforts made by the people and the Party if developing the struggle to this high pitch. If this argument is true, then how was it that the movement led by our Party in Karimnagar and Adilabad and Maratwada districts were suppressed by Nizam gangs? Nizam was hated equally in these districts. The reason that the movement in Nalgonda, Warangal districts was able to withstand the Nizam's gangs and developed into higher pitch, and spread to neighbouring districts of Atrafbalda, etc., was the existence of organisational form for the movement in these districts. The reason for the blow up of the movement in other districts was the absence of this organisation and hence the failure to distribute the land and establish village people's councils. It is because comrades fail to see this organisational background of the Telangana movement that they spin such wrong theories.

## **(2) "Military Intervention" did not shatter the revolutionary foundations of Telangana**

The theory that Telangana guerilla struggle is a spontaneous movement, when applied to the post-intervention period, gave rise to some more wrong formulations. One of them is as follows:

“When the movement faced, after the Indian Army’s intervention, a critical situation, and the sharpened class struggle, it collapsed as a house of cards. This is the position of our movement in all the areas where we led the movement.”

### **Huzurnagar Area’s Review.**

This is how these comrades generalise about the effects of military intervention on our movement. But the news that come from the fighting areas and other districts of the States, do not go to confirm this generalisation. On the other hand, even the very reports which the Huzurnagar comrades send contradict their generalisation. We are describing the position of the movement in different areas briefly here. (For details see Vishal-Andhra Vol.II, No.1, Telangana Supplement).

**Manukota area:** In the intensified raids that began from December 1948, it became impossible for the squads to remain in the field and function with the old wrong tactics. Some squads got blown up in Suryapet and Khammamet Talukas. But the area committee leadership was able to organise the retreat of other squads from other places, to forest protected zones and reorganised them on the basis of experience so far got. They gave political and military training to the cadre. They have kept apart certain squads and cadre specifically to spread the movement in the protection area (forest belt). The rest of the squads and cadre are sent to the old struggle areas and are carrying on the resistance.

In this area, the people are co-operating with these regular guerilla squads. They inform the squads about the movement and location of the military and help them in destroying the agents and spies of the Government. The people participate directly in creating obstacles in the forest paths and slow down the enemy movement. The youth is coming forward to join the squads. After the military intervention, the poor peasant and agricultural labour cadre, which got confused and discouraged temporarily, have again contacted the Party and are carrying on the work and the landlord, are unable to stay in the villages except where the police and military camps are located. They could get their cultivation carried on only in these villages where the camps are located.

In the areas where the movement is being newly extended, there is great upsurge among the people. In all the villages, they are ready to divide the land among themselves.

The people are boldly facing the repression let loose by the military after every guerilla action, in any village. As a result of our guerilla raids, the enemy’s plans are getting dislocated and they give breathing space to strengthen our organisation.

In spite of the cruel fascist terror, for all these months, the people are still looking towards the Party for proper programme and lead. There is no question about our comrades not getting shelters and food, etc.

The weaknesses shown by the organisers and squad members in observing the secret tech methods, the loss of major portion of local cadre and other organisational weaknesses are a hindrance to take the struggle forward. Yet the Party leadership is making serious efforts to overcome these.

The movement in this area has spread to Pakhal and Mulugu talukas (these are full of thick forests). The comrades while spreading the movement in these forest areas, are linking up with struggle areas and carrying on the resistance.

**Palvancha area:** All the important squads in this area have retreated to the protection forest belt after the military action. They have contact with the Party and are carrying on the struggle as per Party programme.

Because the Party leadership of Khammam and Madira zones got funky and some betrayed and because the major portion of the local leadership got lost, it got delayed to link up with these areas. But new efforts are being made to spread to all zones (The chief organiser in this area did not go to his area for six months, on the grounds that he has got doubts about the correctness of continuing the guerilla struggle and without getting these doubts cleared, he would not go to his area. Yet, in spite of this delay, the movement is advancing in this manner).

The influence of Telangana guerilla struggle has a great effect on the border taluka of Tiruvur in Krishna district. In spite of the major portion of the taluka leadership being rounded up the mass upsurge continued. In about 25 villages, agricultural labourers went on strike struggles and they are spreading to other centers.

**Bhuvanagiri area:** The leadership of whole of this area got arrested. In West Bhuvanagiri majority of the organisers betrayed. Many of the zonal organisers were arrested or were shot dead. Yet, the leadership that remained, tried to reorganise the movement on the lines and programme given by the P.C. They have reorganised the squads and have educated the cadre and are carrying on the guerilla struggle.

In these villages, the people did not give up the lands they had got (in the land distribution) but are still cultivating them. Agricultural labourers are carrying on strike struggle. Our squads raided the village Indrala and killed the most hated enemy of the people inspite of strong military and police being located in that village. The people were so glad at their hated enemy being killed that they illuminated their houses and celebrated the occasion as a festival day. Militants from the poor peasants and agricultural labourers are coming forward to join the squads. The squads, the Party leadership and the Party membership, began to observe very strictly the principles of illegality and secrecy. The confidence has increased both among the people and the cadre, and the people are coming forward to help our squads more enthusiastically and the cadre is also functioning with greater enthusiasm.

When the raids are taking place extensively, the squads of this area retreated to the forest protection belt in Bagatu taluka and spread the movement there. They have again linked up with the old areas and are carrying on the struggle. Even in the West Bhuvanagiri, where the movement practically collapsed, they are able to establish connection and organise squads. When the police and military intensify their raids, the squads retreat to the protection area, afterwards they go back to the old areas and villages and carry on the struggle.

Addagudur and Kapparayipalli zones, in these areas could not yet be contacted. If we adopt correct methods, then we can protect the gains of Telangana struggle and at the same time spread the movement of newer areas this is proved by the example of this areas. The conditions are so ripe.

**Janagam-Warangal area:** After the military intervention, the leadership of this whole area, got caught or shot by the enemy. Only a few centre organisers, squad members remained and they too scattered with no links with each other or with the Party. Yet, these comrades did not lose heart. They took actions against the landlords and jagirdars here and there and prevented them from coming back and stabilising in the villages. The leadership has again contacted some of them, given them political and military training, reorganised squads and Party units. It has completed plans to establish links with the rest of the area. In portions where reorganisation was completed news has appeared denoting that guerilla actions have started.

**Huzurnagar area:** The leadership of this area committee, have based their line of action on the wrong principles and theories, which we here are combating. They have liquidated guerilla squads and village people's councils. They did not try to safeguard the land from being snatched by the enemy. They are functioning on the slogans of "Atmarakshane". Inspite of all this, their reports go to show that the agricultural labourers' strikes are going on, and that peoples are demanding that we form the guerilla squads and take up guerilla struggle. It is an example, to understand at what high level the people's consciousness is today.

**Mahbubnagar District:** During the period of armed struggle against Nizam, we had only a few contacts in this village. Some work was done in 10 or 12 villages. With the arrest of one or two comrades who were working in this district, we lost all contacts with the district. After the military intervention, efforts were made to reestablish the links. When the party organisers went to the old areas, with a programme of local partial struggles, THE PEOPLE WERE READY TO TAKE POSSESSION OF THE LANDS WHICH THE LANDLORDS HAD SEIZED FROM THEM EARLIER AND WERE READY TO FIGHT IT OUT. THE ORGANISERS WHO WENT THERE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THE LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE WAS NOT SUCH AS TO WARRANT AN IMMEDIATE LAND DISTRIBUTION PROGRAMME, SEEING THE MOOD OF THE PEOPLE CHANGED THEIR PROGRAMME TO ONE OF LAND DISTRIBUTION. Agricultural labourer's strikes are taking place. The militants in the villages are coming forward with great enthusiasm. Repression has already started but yet the mass upsurge continues.

**Adilabad District:** The people in Adilabad District too are ready to fight for land. The District Committee decided to take up the lead to start these struggles. The influence of guerilla struggle of Telangana is very much felt in this district too, and

the people are looking eagerly to the Party for coming forward and leading them into land actions.

These details given above go to prove clearly that as a result of military intervention, the people's fighting strength has not been destroyed. Wherever our Party has started functioning on the lines given in the earlier Party document, its good results are already patent. A year has passed since the military intervention took place. Yet the enemy has not been able to smash our struggle. The mere fact that guerilla struggle continues even now is enough evidence to disprove the above theory.

But this does not mean that we must underestimate the organisational weaknesses that are obstructing the building of our movement and in spreading it to other areas, and the difficulties we are faced with there. Only by adopting correct organisational methods to overcome these can the movement be taken forward.

It is but natural that there are ups and down in the revolutionary struggle. Only when the Party faces these and is able to take the movement forward it can be said that the Party has fulfilled its vanguard role. Instead of this, to merely see the losses inflicted by the enemy's terror, to spin theories such as a "house of cards", and to suggest a programme of retreat is nothing but denying the vanguard role of the Party. It is refusal to see the responsibility that lies on revolutionaries.

If our marxist understanding, if our experience gained in the struggles, and the objective conditions do not open our eyes to the tasks facing us, in certain conditions, the words and estimations of the enemy at least may open our eyes. It is better that these comrades open their eyes atleast after reading the statement given by State Congress leader, Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy describing the situation in the fighting areas of Telangana, after a tour there. Here are certain portions of his statement:

".....In the villages there are no postal facilities. Schools are not open. Patels and Patwaris have left the villages.

"Even the weekly reports to the police are not being sent. It is true that the number of murders have decreased. But from this, it cannot be concluded that Communist atrocities have decrease.

"The Panch Committees (village People's councils) that have been established by the Communists are still functioning. These are intervening in every affair concerned with the villages. They are taking the lands from the Pattadars (Land-lord-translator) and are distributing them. Because of Communist activity, Patels and Patwaris dare not return to the villages.

"It is wrong to judge the intensity of the Communist movement only on the basis of murders. If we want to gauge the Communist activity, it is to be done on the basis of peace established in the villages. It is to be gauged on the basis of how Patels and Patwaris are carrying on their duties in the villages...."

(Andhra Prabha, July 17, 1949).

### 3. THE FASCIST TERROR: PEOPLE'S FEAR AND HATRED

These comrades after theorising that Telangana movement is nothing but a "house of cards" and that it collapsed after the military intervention, bring forward arguments- in justification of their programme of retreat that the people are not ready for struggle. These are some of their main arguments:

1. We cannot face up to the military attack. But ultimate victory will be ours. So let us give up the struggle temporarily. "You take shelter somewhere and come after this terror subsides. This is what the people say. This means that the people think that under the present conditions the struggle cannot be carried on. -Huzurnagar Area Committee's review.

2. The people's opinion is that we cannot win against the strong enemy now. The Congress have got their Union armies to help them. For us, when do the Chinese and Russian armies come to our aid and destroy them?- this is the question which even the Koya people of Palvancha are asking us.- Tiruvur organiser. These comrades quote this to prove that people are not struggle conscious.

If we recall the very reports of Huzurnagar comrades which describe the conditions of the people, it is patent how much they contradict the generalisation which these comrades make!

"But during the raids, seeing the terror which made the terror of the Razakar regime pale into insignificance, the people began to think. The people themselves tell us that Congress had outbeaten Razakars in its terror. Even though we failed to expose the Congress terror, stories of atrocities spread like wild fire, from mouth to mouth. They were broadcast in no time. Intense hatred against the Congress regime and at the same time anxiety over the Party being completely swept off-both these feelings are dominant among the people. They expressed these feelings before us.

".....People hate the very idea of betraying their Sangham. Even though rich peasants are hunting the cadre and handing them over to the police, and even some of the active workers of Sangham have been betraying the people throughout the area, the people never let out any secret. They are facing every kind of torture but are not ready to hand over a single comrade. The goods etc. which we hid with the people are not surrendered to the police, but when they feel that they cannot safely conceal anymore, they ask the Sangham to take possession of them and hide them somewhere else. When we lose it, they are very sorry and chide us for our carelessness in not properly hiding it from the enemy.

".....We are not living in squads as of old but in groups of two or three. The people are hiding and feeding us, in all localities wherever there is the least possibility of safeguarding us from search of the enemy. People love us and have confidence in final victory. They firmly believe that Sangham will win ultimately.

".....The people express great joy and confidence hearing the news of Chinese victories. They long in all their simplicity for the combined onslaught of China and Russia against their enemies..."-Huzurnagar report.

“The people seeing the intensity and terror of the raids, have started thinking that except resistance, there is no other go. Such consciousness we have not seen in them during the last two years of armed struggle. They ask our cell members- ‘Why are you delaying? Take out your arms, unless we fight, there is no hope’.....”

“.....The moment the camps are removed, our cells have started functioning forging links with the people. The people welcomed us with great enthusiasm. People though they express fear at the same time show great bravery and daring. In spite of all these raids, the people of Ragadapa village took possession of the grain which they grew on the lands of Tummedum Deshmukh. The village folk with great daring are re-occupying their illegally seized lands, and cultivating them....” Huzurnagar Area Committee’s Secretary’s report.

These comrades’ report on the one hand says that the people want “that the struggle be stopped for the time being” but at the same time also says that the people are not revealing to the enemy any secrets of the Party and of the Sangham, that they are giving shelter to the cadres, that they have confidence in the Party leadership and in the final victory and that they are getting enthused with Chinese victories. All this happens, at a time when there is fascist terror on the one hand, and on the other, when there is no fighting programme or guidance before the people and hence as a result they are confused! If we remember this, it becomes evident that the people have not become demoralised or tired of struggle. In spite of the terror, the people have not given up the land they got in land distribution (these comrades themselves agree with this in their latter reports), it is quite clear that the fighting tempo of the people had not been crushed by the military. It was the duty of the Party, in these conditions, to have assumed leadership of the people and to have given them clear cut guidance in how to carry on the guerilla struggle, with the existing forces, for protecting the gains of revolutionary struggle. If the Party was in no position to carry out the above task, even then it was completely misreading the people to deduce that the people were not in favour of struggle, from the words “go away to some place temporarily to take shelter from the enemy’s raids”. These words, in fact, reveal the anxiety of the people that we should not fall into the hands of the enemy so that we could come back and resume the struggle.

These comrades who start their review of the past struggle with a platitude that “Victories we achieved will not go away anywhere” did not think it worthwhile to find out the attitude of the peasants to the lands they got in the distribution but after two months of terrific fascist atrocities, when the people refuse to give up their lands and demand of our cadres: “Why are you delaying? Take out your weapons. There is no other go except by fighting”, and thus show the way to us, even then these comrades (who have dispersed guerilla squads and village people’s councils and have adopted a programme of Atma-Rakshana), did not open their eyes. They comment that the people are just becoming conscious that without struggle nothing could be achieved! We ask these comrades: “When have the people given up their lands? If the people stick to their lands and protect them, is

that not carrying on people's resistance to the enemy's onslaught? Is it not because the people want to take their resistance to a higher level that they are demanding us to take up arms again and organise squads?" In fact, this is not the first time that the people express this fighting consciousness, but it is only for the first time that our comrades are recognising this. Even this recognition is very formal and elementary. If our comrades really examine the revolutionary gains and activities they can find many instances of people's high level of struggle consciousness and resources in their own area.

Our comrades not only failed to realise and discharge the vanguard role of the Party, basing themselves on the people's fighting consciousness, in not removing the confusion about the fighting programme and in not mobilising them for the struggle. But our comrades even refused to see the lead which the masses themselves, from their bitter experience, evolved in refusing to give up the lands and in demanding that the guerilla squads be reformed and armed struggle be carried on by us. Instead our comrades make this strange comment on the revolutionary initiative of the people.

"1. The Union Government is very strong. It has got in unlimited numbers of weapons and military. Can we fight against it? This is the fear which the people possess.

"2. The people are not yet ready to come forward to fight, but want the squads to take up arms and fight as of old and feel that they themselves cannot fight. They do not yet have the consciousness that they must take up whatever weapon comes handy and fight their exploiters. These two trends are quite wide spread among the people. But the poor people among these always are thinking: "How is this army to be destroyed? How can we destroy them? We are just in two districts, and that is why the enemy could concentrate on us so much and his task is becoming easy".

This strange comment by these comrades is similar to that of Tiruvur comrades generalisation that "people are looking towards Russia and China for their liberation". They all come to the conclusion that the people are not conscious of the necessity of themselves participating in the struggle.

Let us examine this argument. Our comrades generalised that people have lost heart because of repression, and that they are not yet ready to stand up in the field and challenge the enemy. Barely two months after this generalisation if the people refuse to give up their lands and demand that we reorganise the guerilla squads, and take up armed struggle, the people have proved these generalisations were utterly wrong. They have shown us the way that the only correct programme is to protect the gains of revolutionary struggle and carry on the guerilla struggle. The programme given in the Andhra Committee Letter to Telangana fighters has been proved to be correct to the very letter. But, in our comrades' view, even now this consciousness of the people is only in the very elementary stage. They are prepared to admit people having become conscious

only when, on their own, without the Party, they evolve correct and full programme and get ready to implement it on their own! In fact, it is for the Party to give the lead: "Take up whatever you can get hold of and fight". The Party must organise the people on this programme. Then the people will certainly fight, will resist the police onslaught. In Warangal district, in Koya belt when the Party explained to the men and women how to resist the police and military, they not only put up resistance to the police atrocities, but also participated in sabotaging the communication lines of police and military. Koya youth is coming forward to participate in the squads. To theorise that the "people must be ready to fight on their own" is the theory of spontaneity. This is nothing but belittling the vanguard role of the Party. This wrong trend of these comrades would in the end lead to the slogans "that the people on their own must kill the C.I.D.s, that the agricultural labourers must on their own carry on their propaganda, etc". This is nothing but denying the leading role of the Party in every sphere.

Today there is enough fighting consciousness among the people. Among the people none thinks that they would attain their goal without undergoing suffering. But the only problem that is facing the people is this: "How does this enemy get destroyed?" If we have to interpret this in political terms, this feeling of the people only means: "What is the programme by which the enemy can be destroyed?" It is the job of the Party to place that programme before the people and thus play its leading role.

If the people think that squads must come and continue the struggle, there is nothing wrong in it. The people realise the truth that it is only their dear children that are joining the squads. Also it is not enough to protect the lands they got in the land distributions and to defend their: "Gramarajyalu, for the people to take up anything that comes to hand to fight, but it is necessary that regular guerillas trained for that job take up regular guerilla fight. The people have realised this very well during the course of 2 years of their guerilla struggle. It is only comrades who fail to see this.

Similarly, if the people look, as Tiruvur comrade says, towards Russian and Chinese armies, it is not due to the lack of fighting consciousness in them. Nor is it from a feeling of helplessness. If to-day the people recognise the liberation role which the Russian and Chinese armies are playing, then it only shows their high level of political consciousness and feeling of international solidarity and nothing else. This consciousness is the result of national and international revolutionary situation, and is a result of Telangana guerilla struggle under the leadership of the Party. It is our job to explain to the people how the Russian and Chinese people achieved their liberation, explain the story of the liberation struggles in People's Democracies and also of guerilla struggles that are still being conducted in Malaya, Burma, Indo-China, Greece, etc. We must explain that by carrying on our guerilla struggle in the same manner we will be victorious.

Then, what about the fear and hatred that is to be seen among the people? It is a characteristic feature of the people to day "to hate the Congress intensively and at the same time to fear about the safety of us". This is what the Huzurnagar comrades write. This they bring forward as a reason to prove that the people are not ready for struggle. This is meaningless. As long as the people hate the enemy, and show intense desire to continue the struggle, and revolutionary determination, then the fear that exists among them will not become a hindrance in the way of our conducting the guerilla struggle. By giving correct programme, the Party can remove this obstacle.

People are realists. They are participating in these struggles, staking at every step their lives, the lives of their children, their meagre means of subsistence. If we are to characterise that the people are ready for struggle only if they are ready to be on the battlefield for 24 hours day after day, without any fear whatsoever, then our conception of people is not that they are human beings but made up of some imaginary dolls of clay. Those who argue like this are not realists but petty bourgeois idealists. They never look into the realities on the earth but on the basis of some imaginary ideals they try to work for them on this mundane world.

If we analyse the experience of our struggles, we shall find that people are always afraid, in one way or another, of repression, of military terror. But at the same time this has never made them hesitate to participate in the struggles; they have enthusiastically taken up the calls of the Party. The struggles have also developed to a very high pitch.

In the beginning of Janagana struggle, people were afraid of Deshmukhs or of their goondas. They used to hesitate to join Andhra Mahasabha either individually or in groups. But when the Party organisers gathered all the village folk together and explained the necessity of fighting unitedly, villages after villages flocked under the banner of Andhra Mahasabha

When the Deshmukhs mobilised their goondas and began to terrorise the people, Andhra Mahasabha and the Party gave calls for big militant demonstrations. With this, the people demonstrated in thousands, and struck terror in goondas, and were ready for militant struggles. In Munroy struggle 5000 peasants and labourers were mobilised against deshmukhs goondas. Even then, could we say that people had no fear whatsoever of these goondas? They did fear them. But they did not hesitate to participate in these struggles. The people took up the call of the Party for mass resistance.

In Kodavadi struggle, when the armed deshmukh goondas shot dead comrade Komarayya within 12 hours the people came out with lathis and slings and attacked the goondas squads and made them run for their lives. Can you say that even then the people were not afraid of goonda's guns? They did fear the death-dealing fire of the guns but because the Party gave the call for the militant resistance, they mobilised behind it and they faced the enemy forces and achieved victory.

From then onwards till the military opened fire in Nalgonda struggle, many militant demonstrations took place before the very camps of police in Suryapet, Janagana, Huzurnagar and Bhuvanigiri talukas. To say that people who participated in these demonstrations were devoid of any fear would be wrong. But they participated in them with the confidence in the struggle of their Sangham and struck terror in the enemy camp.

Pote-Suryapet, Balemula, Mallareddigudem and Devaruppala and Puligalla-in all these villages, along with the spirit of defiance and bravery and daring which the people exhibited during the police and military firings, had they also not shown their fear of the enemy's deadly weapons? But because of this, did they hesitate to participate in the struggle? How many times did we not come across people who expressed that if only we too had weapons we could have fought the military bastards? In these very same talukas when on the one side the police and military terror was going on, how could land distribution and many agricultural labourers' strikes take place-without peoples courage and peoples' bravery?

What about the Razakar atrocities? Were not people afraid of these? Yet how could they carry on their resistance? How could they carry out revolutionary programme of land distribution, etc.? How did they help the guerilla struggle?

The people who participated in the early Janagana struggle could they ever imagine then that they would be participating in more militant struggles later on the Nalgonda fighting struggle? Could they have imagined about the armed struggle against the Nizam?

What is it that led the people into these struggles in spite of fear haunting them? It is their hatred against the ruling class, which daily grows in leaps and bounds, with the increasingly deteriorating economic conditions, that drives the people to these struggles with such daring and persistence. When the ruling class tries to suppress with brute force their militant struggles against growing economic misery, then the hatred of the people gets intensified and they get ready to fight and destroy the ruling class in a bitter and prolonged struggle.

People began to hate the zamindars and the landlords a hundred times more after Janagana struggle than before; their hatred against the Nizam because of taxes, levies and other illegal exactions got intensified after the military shootings and terror in Nalgonda struggle. It is because of this hatred that people have participated with such revolutionary determination in the armed struggle against the Nizam. Even today, with the Congress military terror, before which the atrocities of Nizam's Razakars pale into insignificance, the people's hatred grows without bounds. In the struggle year it has already reached the boiling point. That is why the people are demanding armed gueirlla struggle to be waged.

Among the people, though there is fear to some extent, yet as a result of repression, hatred grows more and more and this makes them take up struggles to a higher level. Our revolutionary Party must realise this and give proper programme to the people, and lead the struggle to a high pitch.

We must understand the message of Stalin when he said that the Party must be with the people but at the same time one step ahead. It is necessary, in view of this for the Party to be with the people during repression and during the period when the people begin to move forward for struggle, and give proper lead and take up the leadership. It is only by giving such leadership that the people's revolutionary movement would go forward. Instead of adopting this correct attitude, the Huzurnagar comrades refuse to see the hatred of the people against the ruling class, the people's demand for taking up the struggle and their revolutionary determination which are all very positive factors to take the movement forward; they see only the fear among the people and start theorising that "people have lost heart, they are not yet ready to stand up in the battle" etc. They underestimate the people's consciousness. With this wrong understanding they apply Stalin's teaching "with the people but one step ahead" wrongly and suggest a programme of retreat. It is unbecoming for revolutionaries to distort the words of our teachers, Lenin and Stalin and use them to divert and damp down the mass struggles.

Only when we give tactics suited to the level of people's fighting consciousness, to their revolutionary determination and as per their hatred against the ruling class, and assume the leadership, it is only then that the people would participate in the struggle, discarding their fear complex. These comrades do not stop to think whether the people are afraid of participating, in spite of our giving proper and timely lead. That is why the programme for advance seems to them as impracticable while the programme for retreat is practicable!

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The result of all our discussions above is this:

Telangana guerilla struggle is a very highly conscious struggle. Its effects are not confined to Telangana but have spread to the whole State. In spite of temporary dislocation in the movement, after the military intervention there are enough objective revolutionary factors and organisational basis to defend the gains of armed struggle against the Nizam, and to further develop the guerilla struggle. People are ready to support this guerilla struggle. The main task before the Party is to continue the guerilla struggle on correct tactics. It is this programme that is given in the Andhra committee Letter to Telangana fighters.

#### IV

#### PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES AND PEOPLE'S ORGANISATIONS

In India, in today's revolutionary conditions which are fast ripening, if the partial struggles are properly led, they can be developed into the struggle for land distribution and armed guerilla actions. Therefore it is wrong to draw a line as if there is a big gulf between the partial struggles and the political battles that are to be conducted to overthrow the Government. This has been already proved earlier in the basis of Polit Bureau's Resolution on Strategy and Tactics. We have also seen that the Telangana guerilla struggle is the political struggle which has destroyed the Nizam's rule, and established the embryonic forms of people's economy- the village people's

councils-and got the land distributed. Its effect and influence is not confined to Telangana alone but has spread to the whole of the State and the mass of the peasantry are ready to launch struggles for distribution of land. And in the fighting areas, the people are ready to defend their lands and their Gramarajyalu. We have also proved on the basis of the experience from different areas, that the only correct path is to continue the guerilla struggle and extend it, and defend the gains already achieved.

But the comrades who oppose this line, argue that in India conditions are not yet ripe for armed insurrection and so demand that guerilla struggle in Telangana must be liquidated and suggest a programme of retreat. Huzurnagar comrades have in fact started implementing such a programme.

The essence of this retreat programme is: "Give up the land which one got in land distribution; liquidate Gramarajyalu and guerilla squads and start the movement from the end of organising partial struggles".

We will take up each point and deal in detail with all these wrong trends.

This is the programme which these comrades ask us to adopt in the fighting areas:

".....We must launch many partial struggles, develop the people's political consciousness on the basis of their demands, spread to other areas and into the working class- this is the way forward". Tiruvur organiser.

".....We must carry on agitation that the people must cultivate the lands they have got distributed and if the landlords and zamindars try to seize the lands, resist them. We must agitate against the paying of taxes, and forcible grain procurement and levies. We must organise agricultural labourers and the farm servant for strike struggles. We must train the agricultural labourers, both men and women so as to make themselves capable of carrying on agitation on their demands." Huzurnagar Area Committee's review.

Huzurnagar comrades think that in this elementary stage the purpose of this whole programme is to organise the masses on their elementary demands.

Even the organiser for Munagala Paragana suggests that local struggles are to be conducted there in the same way as it is being done in Madras Andhra.

All the comrades say that partial struggles have to be launched on the wage demand. Only Huzurnagar comrades say that we must carry on agitation among the people to resists any efforts to seize the lands from their hands. These comrades also suggest that we must train the agricultural labourers so that they become capable of carrying on agitation themselves on their demands. This programme has been evolved on the basis of their generalisation, "that the people do not yet have the consciousness that they themselves must fight but think in terms of guerilla squads and fighting with arms as of old. They do not yet have developed consciousness that they themselves must fight the enemy naking up anything that comes into their hands". all this agitation is intended to make the people themselves

defend there lands they got in distribution, and make agricultural labour agitate for themselves on their demands and to develop the consciousness among themselves that they must carry on the struggle themselves.

We have already discussed that in one stage of revolution there will be only one programme. That programme changes only when the stage of revolution gets changed. It is wrong to divide the same programme into immediate and ultimate programmes theoretically. We have shown how these comrades confuse tactics to be adopted on the basis of ebb and flow of the movement in a particular revolutionary stage, with the minimum and maximum (ultimate) programme (See Section II of this document entitled, STRATEGY AND TACTICS, MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM PROGRAMME.)

Here we will see how this confusion leads these comrades into a programme of retreat. These comrades mention that the victories achieved by us will not disappear but at the same time formulate that Telangana movement has no revolutionary basis and suggest a programme which advocates giving up the gains of the Telangana revolutionary struggle. We will see how suicidal this programme is.

Huzurnagar comrades advocate that “agitation must be carried to resist every effort of the landlords and zamindars to seize the lands in the fighting areas!”. In these areas is there anyone who has not recognised the importance of defending the lands got in the distribution? Even according to the reports of these very comrades that Deshmukhs are able to occupy the lands only in such centres like Ramadagu, where our squads and Party have been completely wiped out, the people are fighting bravely and defending their lands in all other areas, where our comrades are moving, even though in these latter areas we have liquidated our squads.

The problem before the people of Telangana, who have participated in the struggle which reached such dimensions and level as to destroy Nizam's rule is not whether to cultivate the lands seized or not, or resist the deshmukhs or not, but one of how to cultivate and how to defend, how to resist? Without showing a way how to do this, if we merely give slogan “Defend, cultivate, etc”. it will only lead to evading the main problem, it is nothing but escaping from our main responsibility. That is why the Party must concentrate on explaining the programme as to how to defend the lands which we have got distributed. There is no place for this in the programme suggested by Huzurnagar comrades. These comrades may argue that the people do think in terms of guerrilla squads, taking up arms and fighting as of old and have not realised the necessity of themselves fighting in defence of their lands, and that they are only trying to make them realise the necessity of it. This is all wrong. They are only distorting the trend among the people and are coming to the conclusion that the people are not ready for carrying on the struggle. These comrades must realise that the struggle to be waged to defend the lands distributed is a people's struggle of a very high level. In this struggle, it will not be enough if the people were to participate as they had participated in demonstrations and in strikes

or even as they had participated in the struggle against goonda attacks! Because, this struggle for defence of land distributed is the struggle to overthrow the Government. For this the struggle and resistance must be of a far higher level. This can be done only by armed guerilla bands and by mass resistance. Then only the land can be defended.

It is only during the armed struggle against the Nizam, that people saw for the first time that to destroy Nizam's rule, to drive away the landlords and to get the lands distributed and establish Gramarajyalu and to defend them, armed guerilla struggle is the only way. They are demanding that this struggle be carried on today. This demand is right. It is true that it becomes impossible to defend the land without carrying on the guerilla armed struggle. But here one warning. We must not repeat the mistakes which we committed in not developing organised mass resistance during anti-Nizam period. It is very important that we develop organised mass resistance as a part of guerilla struggle, in defence of the land.

Huzurnagar comrades do not see this but go on to theorise that people alone on their own must resist. They argue that their agitation is to make the people realise this necessity. They are committing the same mistake which the Party committed during anti-Nizam period from another end. In those days the wrong trend was, that it is only the guerilla squads that have to carry on every kind of resistance; today the wrong trend that people alone should resist without any guerilla squads is raising its head. These comrades in refusing to give a programme of how the people have to resist, and remaining satisfied with just saying that the people must resist, have forgotten that it is their own responsibility to develop the people's mass resistance.

True, it is wrong to say that without mass participation in resistance the lands could be protected by guerilla squads. But it is equally wrong to say that without guerilla squads, without organising the masses to participate in the struggle, the people must take hold of anything they can lay hands on, and fight. Because of these wrong trends, neither guerilla struggle nor organised mass resistance will be there. If the people have to fight without having any clear perspective and methods of struggle though they will fight as best as they can, in the way they think best, yet at a particular stage, the land can be occupied by the enemy. Thus, in the end, this will lead, in practice, to giving up the land.

The result of Huzurnagar comrades' programme of retreat is ultimately giving up the land which is one of the most important gains of Telangana struggle.

Let us see what is the fate of the "minimum immediate programme" which Huzurnagar comrades suggest on the grounds that conditions today are not ripe for final armed insurrection; and the fate of the programme of agricultural labourers' strikes which they are following as well as the local struggles which other comrades are suggesting.

In to-day's revolutionary conditions every partial struggle has to be fought as a part of the political struggle to overthrow the landlord-bourgeois Government; but

to fight them as merely partial struggles is to deny the revolutionary character of these partial struggles and to underestimate the revolutionary upsurge. In all the districts of Telangana, because of the influence of Telangana, because of the influence of Telangana revolutionary struggle the revolutionary conditions have become ripe. If any struggle is started on any issue, immediately there is the possibility of its being developed into a struggle for land distribution. There are possibilities to launch struggles directly on the basis of land distribution slogan. The proof for this is the newsreports which are pouring in from Telangana districts. The main reason for this is the land hunger of the village masses and the path shown by Telangana's revolutionary struggle. It is only when we conduct the partial struggles in the villages in such a way as to develop them immediately as struggle for land distribution that we can say that we have given correct leadership to the people's movement.

In the fighting areas, the class struggle has passed the stage of partial struggles and reached the stage of overthrowing of landlord system. Before reaching this stage, partial and local struggles took place in certain areas. In other areas, without these preliminary partial struggles the movement reached the higher stage. Under the present day revolutionary conditions, because of the influence of the struggle of one area on others, this possibility is there.

That is why it is wrong to say that we have to re-start with partial struggle in those areas where the movement has reached a high level. There the task is to develop it is still higher. Not to see this would be pitting the partial struggles against the necessity of carrying on guerilla struggles and defending the land. It is nothing but creating a gulf-which would be utterly mechanical gulf and wrong under the present revolutionary conditions- that there will be first a partial struggle period and later on the period of politcal struggle to overthrow the ruling class, and what cannot pass into the second period without going through the first. It is because of this wrong trend that they deny the revolutionary character of Telangana's guerilla struggle and theorise that the people who participated in it have no class consciousness, the movement has to be started from the very beginning, etc.

Today in the fighting areas, the partial struggles which we are conducting and which we are still to conduct are to be so developed as to become a part of our struggle for defending the land and other gains of revolutionary struggle and of extending armed guerilla struggle. If we conduct partial struggles in any other way, without linking them up to the main problem facing the people, that of defending the gains of revolutionary struggle and guerilla armed struggle, then these will not help to solve it, but will only get crushed under the enemy's terror.

In short, Huzurnagar comrades counterpose guerilla struggle to mass resistance and refuse to see the necessity of the Party organising and developing organised mass resistance and go on repeating that people must themselves resist. And thus they not only give up guerilla struggle but even the mass resistance. They counterpose partial struggle to the struggle in defence of land in which everyone must participate, and thus liquidate even the partial struggles.

Huzurnagar comrades do not stop here. They extend their programme of retreat even to the liquidation of Gramarajyalu.

## II

This is the programme which the Huzurnagar comrades advocate with regard to the liquidation of Gramarajyalu.

**"ALL THE PEOPLE'S PANCH COMMITTES THAT EXISTED EARLIER ARE TO BE DECLARED**

AS DISSOLVED BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. Till elections are held again, only trusted, reliable persons to be chosen secretly and they must take the full responsibility on behalf of these Panch Committees. These will not get exposed but carry on as far as possible all the responsibilities of the Panch Committees (Village People's Councils or Gramarajyalu)." -Huzurnagar Area Committee's review.

These comrades do not show the reasons for this very dangerous generalisation and suggestion. In the review, pointing out the mistakes committed in conducting Village People's Councils they conclude that "they have become nominal". In another place they question the statement in the political resolution on Hyderabad that "in 3000 villages the Nizam's rule has been overthrown". In that connection they write: "This statement gives an impression that we have liberated these 3000 villages. From the beginning we have created an illusion that this is a liberated area. At least now we must correct it. This is not a liberated area. This is only a resistance area. The correct formulation would be because of mass resistance Nizam's government has been paralysed in these 3000 villages."

On the whole, these comrades think that it is wrong to call them as Gramarajyalu.

If the whole of Telangana guerilla struggle is a "sentimental movement", "house of cards", and the "people play more or less a role of spectators", then it will be right to say that the Nizam Government exists and continues on its own. In that case to say that "it got paralysed in these 3000 villages because of the mass resistance of the people" would be a complete contradiction to their main formulation. If the people were not there in the field, how could there be people's mass resistance? So when these comrades speak of fighting areas as resistance areas and that Nizam Government has been paralysed all these are just phrases with no meaning. That is why these comrades have failed to see the revolutionary significance of the village people's councils. They have failed to see the revolutionary significance of the village people's councils. They have failed to see in these the embryonic democratic State from which the people established after overthrowing Nizam's rule. In these comrades' opinion, it will not be an exaggeration to say that Gramarajyalu are only a few rooms in the "house of cards" that Telangana revolutionary movement is:

But, what is the revolutionary reality?

Who is it that is building these Gramarajyalu? Who is it that is trying to destroy them? What is the duty of the Party in this connection?

The Gramarajyalu are established by the revolutionary masses when the Telangana movement has reached a very high stage, a stage of land distribution, and in place of overthrown Nizam's rule, as parallel governments and embryonic forms of people's democratic Government. It is necessary to correct the mistakes committed in their formation and in conducting them, while carrying on the struggle. But to liquidate them showing these defects is nothing but suicidal. The enemy is concentrating all his forces to smash these Gramarajyalu and wipe out the very memory of them from the minds of the people. He is using white fascist terror. But the people do not want Congress-Nizam rule. They want to defend their dearest achievement "Sangha rajyam". The Party must put forward a complete programme before the people as to how to defend these and prepare them for it. This is the main task of the Party today. And this is what Andhra Committee letter to Telangana fighters gives.

It is because of the wrong trend that today conditions are not ripe for armed insurrection that these comrades deduce that it is wrong to establish Gramarajyalu or to defend the ones that exist. It is because of this they characterise Andhra Committee Letter as confusing "immediate programme and ultimate programme", whereas Andhra Committee Letter gives the call to defend the revolutionary gain of land and Gramarajyalu. We have already explained how Huzurnagar comrades' formulations are wrong and how the Telangana revolutionary movement level is such as could defend the land and Gramarajyalu.

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In the fighting area, what is the programme which we have to adopt to develop peoples struggles on other issues and to develop and strengthen mass organisations, while defending the land and Gramarajyalu? In Andhra Committee Letter, these problems have been dealt with comprehensively. Here we, give only the broad principles.

1. The defence of land and of Gramarajyalu and their extension are interdependent. Without carrying on the struggle in the fighting areas to defend our revolutionary gains we cannot extend to new areas. If we give up the fighting areas, where strong foundations were laid to continue the struggle because of the experience gained in the past battles against the enemy and steeled in them, the enemy could come back and get consolidated in these areas. However, fast and boldly the people in new areas take up the struggle, we cannot have an organised fighting base with firm successes of the level of our old fighting areas. So, if we try to expand to new areas without at the same time carrying on the struggle in defence of our old gains, it would be nothing but underestimating the role of this struggle. Similarly, if we do not plan to extend to new areas, but limit ourselves to the old fighting areas, the enemy would concentrate on these areas and by continuous

raids, will be able to hamstring our activities, and gradually will be able to deliver serious blows on the people. As a result our organisation will get liquidated.

Instead of this, if we defend our old gains, and at the same time plan for extension, we will prevent the enemy from consolidating and will strengthen our positions. We can drive away the enemy from the new areas, and build up the movement there on strong foundations and consolidate the revolutionary upsurge. Thus, by preventing the enemy from stabilising himself in the old areas, while driving him away from newer and newer areas, we can disperse his forces and make him lose heart and force him ultimately to defensive and defeat.

To see this interconnection between the necessity of defending the old areas and of extending to new areas, is the first step for our victory.

2. What does it mean 'Defending our old gains'? Merely because the enemy has regained one village or in one centre regained the land from the people, or because of continuous raids and white terror the enemy has been able to collect taxes or take away the crop, or because the Village People's Councils have been arrested or got frightened, to think that the enemy has become victorious and we have lost would be wrong. It is failure to understand the character or process of revolutionary struggles. Till the enemy can attack us directly his efforts will be directed against the gains of the people. That is why till we can destroy the enemy's offensive power, there is every possibility of the gains which the people achieved changing hands repeatedly.

Merely because the enemy gets the upper hand in the villages once, we must not give up the struggle to defend our gains as lost. We must continue our efforts to deal a blow to the enemy and to regain them. If the land is taken possession of by the enemy, we must see that the enemy cannot make use of that land. We can destroy the crop on the land or take possession of it. We must drive the enemy away from the villages. Whenever possible the peasants must get and occupy the land and keep it for a few months, even for a few days in their possession. They must try to cultivate it themselves and enjoy the crop. We must not allow the enemy to raise any crop on it. If he raises it, we must see that he does not reap or enjoy it. We must continue this struggle for land irrespective of the loss we may have to suffer financially and physically. The land may change hands not ten times but a hundred times. But the struggle must be continued till the enemy is driven away from that area finally.

The reorganisation of Gramarajyalu, and the mass organisations, their further development and extension and through these the development of people's organisational strength, is possible only by continuing the guerilla struggle in defence of revolutionary gains and for their further extension. We must develop the peasant mass organisations by making them implement the revolutionary programme and by making them mobilise the masses to resist the enemy. That is, we have to develop them as organs of struggle.

To give up resistance because of the fear of the losses, would be giving up the class struggle itself. It is the responsibility of the Party to prepare the people for the above looks and perspective. This every Party member must realise.

V

### GUERILLA STRUGGLE

The deviations of those comrades who want to withdraw the Telangana guerilla struggle express themselves in the following forms:

1. They confuse armed guerrilla warfare with armed insurrection. They argue that guerilla struggle is to be taken up only when the majority of the people in India become ready for it. So the guerilla struggle in Telangana has to be withdrawn. This is the argument of Tiruvur, Palvancha and Paragana organisers.

2. Today conditions in the country are not ripe for armed insurrection. But once we took up arms, then there is no question of putting them aside, even if we disperse squads and take up the programme of retreat, even then for mere self-defence we have to keep arms. This itself is guerilla struggle. This is the argument of Huzurnagar comrades.

All these express the same opinion that it is not correct to continue the armed guerilla struggle in defence of the gains of Telangana struggle or to extend them. They only put forward different arguments.

What are the facts however?

Guerilla struggle has started when the class struggle in Telangana reached a high stage, when the Nizam rule is being overthrown, when the land to tiller slogan is being implemented and when village people's councils are being established. Guerilla armed struggle, land distribution, and establishment of people's councils are interdependent. Even today the defence of the revolutionary gains and their extension and carrying on armed guerilla struggle are interdependent. Huzurnagar comrades forget this and think of armed guerilla struggle in isolation from the question of defence and extension of revolutionary gains. That is why they are saying that the guerilla squads have to dispersed but yet that they would continue guerilla struggle.

We will take up the arguments one by one to delve into the matter more deeply.

#### 1. WHY CONFUSE GUERILLA STRUGGLE WITH ARMED INSURRECTION?

“India is one administrative whole. Hence the majority of the people must hate the Government. Then the revolution can begin either from the centre or from one end. Today such political preconditions do not exist..... to launch armed insurrection against the existing bourgeois Government is suicide Tiruvur organiser.

“We will wage armed struggle offensively. Armed struggle should be only waged in sufficiently wide area, which will give space to retreat and to attack the enemy wherever possible; to wage armed struggle with a very powerful enemy in a small limited area is suicidal”. - Palvancha organiser.

When Tiruvur comrade says that armed struggle can be started either in the centre or from one end, what he means is that we must first capture power either in Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay; or start our armed struggle in Kashmir or Assam which border Soviet Union and China and from there advance with people's liberation army consolidating its power in one area after another.

Before we go into detailed examination of these comrades' opinions it is necessary to analyse the experience of Russian revolution which captured power after the armed insurrection, and that of Chinese Revolution which building People's Liberation Army went on capturing one area after another till it could finally capture power. We must see how these lessons will be applied to our conditions.

In Russia, the working class, steeled in many revolutionary battles, captured power by armed insurrection when the conditions were ripe. Till that time in the countryside, the peasant movement had not developed to such an extent as to wage a continuous guerilla struggle. The land distribution, the establishment of village governments, came into existence only during the period of armed insurrection and after. The revolution of 1905 was suppressed not only in the towns but also in the villages. After this, till the October Revolution in 1917 struggles in the rural areas did not reach the stage of land distribution and the establishment of Governments. So, when the working class captured power in the cities, landlordism was abolished and land distributed to the peasants without the necessity of a prolonged guerilla struggle in the countryside. The Russian revolutionary experience is the capture of power by armed insurrection in towns by the working class, instead of fighting prolonged guerilla warfare in the countryside with land distribution taking place simultaneously.

Even in China, in 1926, in Shanghai, the working class took to armed insurrection, captured it and because of its political immaturity handed it over to the bourgeoisie. When the Chinese bourgeoisie betrayed the revolution and joined hands with the imperialists, and began to suppress revolutionary upsurge, there took place the armed insurrection of the Canton workers and establishment of Canton commune, led by the Communist Party. Kuomintang could suppress this too, with the help of the imperialists. Under the influence of these events, the peasantry took to arms. The Chinese Party developed these peasant struggles as guerilla struggles. It built up the people's liberation war, and went on liberating area after area. After 22 years of bitter struggle it has been able to liberate most of China, first the countryside and then cities.

Both the Russian and Chinese Revolutions are led by the working class on the basis of alliance of workers and peasants. There is no difference between them on fundamentals. But the Chinese Revolution gave us a new experience that was not there in the Russian Revolution. Because of the concentration of the enemy force in the cities, if the working class had been suppressed for the time being, the peasantry and oppressed masses of the villages, if they are ready for armed struggle, need not wait for the working class to start the armed insurrection, but by waging armed guerilla struggle this can destroy the bourgeois power, establish liberated

areas, and from these liberated areas proceed to liberate the rest of the countryside and towns. This is the new experience which the Chinese Revolution gave to the world working class. The armed guerilla struggles in different countries during the Nazi occupation and the present guerilla warfare in Greece only go to prove this. Without taking into account this experience of Chinese Revolution, to argue that because in India the majority of the working class and the oppressed masses are not ready for armed insurrection, therefore as such to attempt armed guerilla warfare in Telangana is nothing but to attempt revolution with the vanguard alone and hence suicidal—this whole argument becomes meaningless in the light of Chinese experience.

The experiences which we got in Telangana armed guerilla warfare, show a new way for the democratic revolution in the whole of India. Here in Telangana, without the working class becoming ready for armed insurrection, the class struggle in the villages reached a very high level. We are able to destroy Nizam's rule under the slogans "Land to the Tiller". Village People's councils, and by establishing people's army and by waging armed guerilla struggle. After the "military intervention", because of the organisational weaknesses in the movement, guerilla struggle has received a serious setback, yet the Congress Nizam regime is unable to suppress it, with all their armed forces. The guerilla struggle has once again started in the old fighting areas and is spreading to newer and newer areas. Thus Telangana guerilla movement is not confined to the destruction of Nizam's Government but is being waged against the Indian bourgeois rule, to smash it. Telangana teaches that even in India, basing on land distribution and waging armed guerilla struggle in the villages, we can destroy the landlord bourgeois rule in the countryside and that these armed guerilla struggles could be most helpful to the working class in its efforts of armed insurrection and final liberation. The Polit Bureau taking into consideration all this experience has got this to say about the connection between the guerilla armed struggle in the countryside, and the countrywide political general strike and armed insurrection to be led by the working class, about Telangana itself:

"At the same time it is true that the battle is a hard one, people have to be won over, and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries who think that for revolutions people are not necessary, who forget that revolution is made by the majority of the people, have to be told that a swift and easy victory cannot be expected. But this does not mean that general strike and uprising disappear. It is quite conceivable that in these revolutionary battles, centres in the cities might be temporarily crushed while in agrarian areas because of their vastness, centres of resistance might continue and the struggle may reach high pitch. But this does not mean general strike disappears, general uprising disappears, only civil war in the countryside remains. On the other hand in such circumstances general strike will have an electrifying effect. There is another trend which considers that agrarian struggles, Telangana, etc., are nothing but partial struggles, that these struggles are to be fought as partial struggles, and that until the working class in the cities is able to capture power agrarian struggles cannot develop upto the point of liberation. This is an

erroneous view. It fails to take account of the depth of the crisis of capitalism and the agrarian crisis growing as part of it. It fails to see that mass political strikes in the cities at a time when agrarian struggles burst out in the rural areas may strengthen the agricultural workers, and poor peasants to raise their struggle to the highest pitch, upto the point of liberation of the are where such struggle develops'. (COMMUNIST, No.4, 1949, June-July, Pages 87-88.)

If we see the problem in this light it becomes clear that it is correct to continue the guerilla struggle in Telangana. Instead of this, the line of argument of Tiruvur comrades that in to-day's conditions only partial struggles and not guerilla struggle should be waged lead to counterposing guerilla to armed insurrection. This will not lead to the winning over of the majority of Indian people to armed insurrection. But guerilla struggle which is the most important part towards such mobilisation will be given up as unnecessary and harmful. If by the time, the Indian working class goes over to general strike and armed insurrection, we can destroy in the countryside the rule of the landlords and their ally the Indian bourgeoisie, will it not be easier for the working class to capture power in the cities with armed insurrection? If we imagine that the revolution can be successful only all at one stroke by an armed insurrection, we would in reality be over-simplifying the whole issue to the entire working class at a fixed auspicious time waking up, shouldering arms, marching to Delhi and capturing power.

Under the present revolutionary conditions, the working class strike struggles and the peasant struggles in the form of armed guerilla warfare, are to be co-ordinated, and waged simultaneously. All these combinedly evolve into countrywide armed insurrection. This is the path to be adopted for the success of People's Democratic revolution in India. Telangana guerilla struggle is a part of these struggles. Hence to give it up is suicidal.

Let us examine the argument of Palvancha organiser who says that "We can always conduct the armed struggle only offensively and in no other way". This outlook is entirely contradictory to the very basic principles of guerilla struggle. What is guerilla struggle? What is meant by offensive? What is meant by defensive? If we understand these questions, then it will become clear how wrong is the argument of this comrade.

When the people's struggles against their exploiters and for their own liberation reach a particular stage, they assume the character of guerilla warfare. As against the enemy who is superior, in numbers, in training, in modern weapons, the form of struggle which the people adopt to carry on their revolutionary struggle forward, is this guerilla warfare. That is why, whenever people get ready for guerilla warfare, they wage it on the basis of their own strength in that area. Thus the guerilla warfare begins in small areas with a little armament and strength. It will not begin in a wide area and that too not initially with sufficient strength to take the offensive against the enemy. Under the present conditions when we have to overthrow bourgeois rule, guerilla struggle will start like this and will spread.

What does offensive against the enemy mean? What does defensive mean?

If we take the whole of India, till we become stronger than the enemy politically and militarily, we will have to carry on a defensive struggle. In this stage, we have to build up our bases, organise liberation bases, organise regular army, and go gradually to mobile warfare and go over to offensive ultimately. But in this stage, with this broad strategy of warfare, all our tactics will be offensive tactics. In Chinese Revolution till the fall of Mukden (1948) we were waging defensive warfare. The Chinese Communist Party went to offensive warfare only when it became politically and militarily stronger than Kuomintang.

The defensive actions are not contradictory to Marx's enunciation of the principles of armed insurrection. Mao writes as follows:

"Marx said that following an insurrection, there must not be a moment's cessation of attacks. This means that the masses participating in an insurrection taking the enemy by surprise must not allow the ruling class any chance to retain or recover its political power but must utilise the opportune moment thoroughly to exterminate the power of internal regime. This is entirely correct...But this does not mean that when both sides are already in a military contest with the enemy in superiority bringing pressure upon us, that we should not resort to defensive measures. Only a first class lunatic entertains such an idea". (Problems of Strategy concerning Chinese Revolution, by Mao Tse Tung, China Digest, Vol.VII, No.7, p.20, 1949).

The above opinion of Mao applies to us also when we have to fight the bourgeoisie which has got military superiority, for capturing power. To start guerilla warfare in limited area, is not against the slogan of armed insurrection. It is only by beginning in the limited area, and extending it by building up bases and by intensifying guerilla warfare, that we can occupy wide area. Instead of this, to say that we must have a wide area to begin with, goes against the very principles of guerilla warfare. Thus there is no fundamental difference between the outlook of Tiruvur organiser who says that we must win over the majority of the people without waging any guerilla warfare, and only afterwards start armed insurrection, and the Palvancha organiser who says that we must have a very wide area to conduct armed struggle offensively from the beginning.

If we examine these comrades' argument, in the light of the experience we gained in Telangana, their arguments again get disproved.

We did not begin guerilla warfare all at a time in all these districts where we are now waging it. We began it in a few talukas with a few squads. It need not be repeated that in those days it was very difficult for our squads even to face Nizam's military and police. But as the land distribution progressed, and the establishment of people's councils spread to wider and wider areas, guerilla squads also increased. Gradually guerilla squads spread not only throughout these two districts but to newer places. In spite of many wrong tactics in spite of organisational weaknesses, we were still able to extend our movement so much.

Thus, not only guerilla area has increased but Party influence also has increased. The influence of this movement is felt even in other non-fighting areas. Because of this, in wider areas, in whole of Telangana, conditions have become ripe for waging guerilla warfare.

Similarly, we did not conduct, guerilla struggle from the beginning purely on the offensive. Our squads till 2 months before the military intervention had to face many difficulties and had to suffer great loss in the field, only after that the enemy lost morale. Then only we could come on to the offensive.

After the military intervention, though our guerilla struggle received a big setback, we are able to spread it to new areas. We are facing many difficulties and losses, in our struggle to defend our revolutionary gains and spread them to new areas. We are advancing with great difficulty and effort, fighting the enemy to new areas. We are advancing with great difficulty and effort, fighting the enemy at every step. Yet, only by following this method, correcting our organisational weaknesses, and by boldly leading the people's upsurge, we can rapidly extend guerilla warfare.

Because Tiruvur and Palvancha organisers do not understand this process of development of guerilla struggle, they argue that without majority of people on our side, and without a wide area, we must not resort to armed guerilla warfare. They counterpose armed insurrection to guerilla warfare. That is why they advocate giving up the guerilla struggle and a programme of retreat.

Let us now examine the argument of Huzurnagar comrades that people must wage a guerilla warfare without a guerilla army.

2. Andhra Committee's letter sharply criticised the wrong tactics adopted by us in the guerilla warfare both before the military intervention and after. It showed what severe losses we have had to suffer as a consequence of these mistakes. It explained the tasks we have to carry out in waging guerilla warfare. It pointed out how to reorganise squads, how to wage guerilla warfare with surprise and fighting attacks and tactics, how to defend our revolutionary gains and how to spread them.

Huzurnagar comrades criticise the Andhra Committee Letter that "it recognises only one fact that it is absolutely necessary to continue armed struggle". They criticise it as taking up this point on the ground that "because people want us to continue, so let us continue it". The Andhra Committee Letter, they say, starts from the angle that "it can be armed struggle only if the squads exist". They criticise that document that it "stresses on secrecy and the precautions to take to safeguard it but at every step calls for open street fighting". They thus go on to argue that guerilla warfare has to be conducted without guerilla squads. This argument leads to ridiculing guerilla struggle and finally giving it up and retreating.

We are giving below, some extracts of their programme of retreat even in guerilla struggle (apart from their programme on land and village people's councils). These extracts will make clear the wrong trends of these comrades.

“The very cell existence is possible only if it takes up guerilla victories. If the cells want to carry on their political and organisational responsibilities they have to adopt guerilla methods. So it is only guerilla struggle that safeguards our very existence. Therefore, (1) Guerilla struggle is absolutely necessary; (2) The political and guerilla tasks are to be carried on by the cells themselves.

“It is wrong to think that it is guerilla struggle only if one or two police are killed or if we organise raids on them..... If we foil the police efforts to capture us, even this would be delivering attack on the enemy.

“In the attacks against the people’s enemies, the people must play the main part. It is utterly useless to fire at the police just to frighten them. On the other hand, it will wake up the enemy. That is why we must give up attacks on their camps, even to frighten them”. - Huzurnagar Area Committee review.

The meaning of their assertion that “there is no question of putting down the weapons” now becomes clear.

What is the essence of these arguments?

1. Guerilla warfare is not to destroy the enemy, and to defend the gains of revolution (land and Gramarajyalu) and to extend them, but the method to be adopted for the Party cells functioning secretly is called guerilla warfare.

2. Disband guerilla squads. This is their line of retreat.

How did the Telangana guerilla fight develop? What is the relation between the Party organisation and the guerilla struggle? What is the difference? What should be our tactics at the present period? We must examine these comrades’ arguments from this angle.

Telangana guerilla struggle is developed in the following way briefly.

When Nalgonda struggle started, to defend ourselves against the police atrocities and deshmukh goondas, we organised people’s volunteer corps and successfully fought against them. But when the struggle reached the stage of land distribution, widespread agricultural labourers’ strikes, it became impossible to carry on the resistance with this organisation. Because we failed to develop this as a guerilla struggle our movement could not face the enemy attacks and had to slow down.

With the starting of State Congress Satyagraha the temporary lull in the people’s upsurge was at an end. It burst forth with renewed strength. The Party came forward to organise this upsurge. It organised People’s Volunteer Corps in every village on a big scale and organised the people to defend themselves against Razakar attacks. With mass propaganda squads (Jaitrayatra) going from village to village we spread the movement to newer areas. These squads used slings as well as muzzle loading guns. In spite of organisational defects, these squads were able to check the Razakar atrocities, build selfdefence among the people, make them participate in the resistance to Razakar attacks, spread the movement and develop it to a higher stage of land distribution and of establishment of village people’s councils. Thus these PV organisations played their historical role. This armed resistance is the starting point for regular armed struggle.

When the people drove away the landlords, the deshmukhs and zamindars from the villages, and got the land distributed, and when Village People's Councils were established, at that stage, regular guerilla army came into existence to prevent Nizam from re-establishing his rule in the villages and to defend the land by Gramarajyalu. It has developed and extended to newer areas. To deny the high level reached by the movement, by showing organisational mistakes, wrong tactics and other mistakes committed locally: to do this is anti-Marxist.

If we see this history of guerilla struggle of Telangana then it becomes clear that this guerilla warfare is the expression of high level reached by the movement, in the stage of land distribution and of establishing Village People's Councils. We are continuing the guerilla struggle even after the military intervention, to defend the land and Gramarajyalu and to extend these. Then for what purpose do these comrades talk of carrying on guerilla struggle, when they even deny the revolutionary character of Telangana? They forget the very purpose for which guerilla struggle is to be waged and thus liquidate it in practice.

They style this guerilla struggle, in defence of revolutionary gains and for extending them as "street fighting", they call the illegal Party functioning and secret methods as guerilla methods, and guerilla struggle. To do this is nothing but ridiculing the guerilla struggle itself.

In guerilla struggle all our activities and methods of functioning are bound to be secret. But we do not call our secret methods to save the Party from the enemy's attack as guerilla struggle. Nor do we call the illegal activity of the Party as guerilla struggle.

These comrades, advocate that "to attack the police should not be the main part of our activity and that even in attacking people's enemies, people must take part mainly", etc. Thus they advocate giving up the task of destroying of enemy too. Thus they carry on their "guerilla struggle" only on paper and in words and not against the enemy.

These comrades disband guerilla squads and fail to see the difference between cells which are the primary Party units and the squads which are the primary unit of people's army. Thus they merge guerilla army in the Party itself.

During the armed struggle against Nizam, the Party failed to organise Party cells separately and merged them with the guerilla squads and thus allowed the local Party organisation to get disrupted. These comrades are now committing the same mistakes from another end. They are merging guerilla squads in the Party. Not building local Party cells when the people's upsurge is on the upgrade and not to build guerilla squads when the movement is receiving certain setbacks, -both these are different forms of the same deviation of merging the Party with the guerilla squads. In the past because we did not build the Party organisationally, the whole movement was weak and hence could not spread to wider areas and achieve greater successes. Now with the liquidation of people's army which these comrades propose, we lose the main weapon to defend our revolutionary gains and to extend them.

If we examine the fundamental principles of Party and the people's armies, it becomes clear how wrong it is to mix up both:

1. The Party is the working class Party that has to lead the People's Democratic revolution. The People's Army is the military organisation of the people to conduct successfully the armed struggle which is so absolutely essential to make the people's democratic revolution successful.

2. Party members must accept the minimum and maximum programme, must be members of a local Party unit and observe discipline with Socialist consciousness and must participate in evolving the Party policy. The members of People's Liberation Army must accept only the goal and programme of People's democratic front and must show willingness to become a soldier to fight for it. They must observe conscious discipline to the extent necessary for military organisation.

Thus we see that the Party and People's Liberation Army are two different organisations. So to disband the separate guerilla bands is to liquidate the guerilla struggle. If we deny that Telangana movement has got the stature to build up the primary units of People's Army- i.e. the guerilla squads -we deny that Telangana movement has the stature of carrying on the guerilla struggle.

These comrades do not stop with styling as "guerilla warfare" the illegal functioning of the Party after disbanding of guerilla squads, after giving up attacking the enemy, after giving up the defence of revolutionary gains. They go a step further. They call the illegal functioning of the Party as the highest form of guerilla struggle without the "anti-guerilla anarchist methods followed during anti-Nizam struggle!" They say that what is lost is only the "indisciplined anarchist characteristics of guerilla activities" and quote Lenin's words too!

Mao in his book on guerilla warfare has explained how the leadership had to fight against the anarchist characteristics that existed in guerilla squads in the countrywide anti-Japanese struggle. He says that merely because some such anarchist features exist, one should not call the guerilla squads anarchist bandit groups, and that these anarchist features can be liquidated in course of struggle itself. Mao quotes Lenin in his support. Mao did not advocate as our Huzurnagar comrades are doing to liquidate the guerilla squads, to give up the revolutionary gains, to give up guerilla struggle and did not style illegal functioning of the Party as "real guerilla warfare". What Mao and Lenin advocated is to overcome these weaknesses in the movement and in the organisation of squads and to continue the guerilla warfare. This is exactly opposite to what these comrades of ours advocate. To quote Lenin, without context, is to distort him as to ridicule not only guerilla struggle but also Lenin.

Here we give a few broad general lines towards the solution of problems facing us in rebuilding guerilla squads because of death of cadres and because of severe repression. These have to be applied to the concrete conditions in different areas and concrete programme has to be evolved.

1. First select among the cadre who remain, those who are fit to carryout Party organisational responsibilities, and those who can work in the guerilla armed squads. Those who are fit for guerilla squads must be put in that front.

2. In the villages, there are very many militants who are conscious enough to be taken into regular guerilla squads. Similarly with the growth of terror intense hatred against the military Government develops, and the number of those who are anxious to join the guerilla squads increases. These are militants wanting to defend the lands. From these choose the brave and daring ones with fighting consciousness for the regular guerilla squads. In Manukota and in Bhuvanagiri areas, new recruits are coming from the poor to join the squads. If we remember the people's upsurge, it is not only possible but absolutely essential to recruit more and more from the people.

3. Some who left the squads due to the political confusion, immediately after the military intervention, are to day coming forward in the old fighting areas again to join the squads. We must also recruit from them trusted persons. If necessary, first we can give them some ordinary jobs and test them before taking them into regular guerilla squads.

4. The training to be given to the regular squads must be in accordance with the tactics and line given in the Andhra Committee Letter.

5. In the villages, we must organise local squads with militants who are not exposed even to the local enemy and they must function completely secretly so that even the local enemy do not come to know of them. They must be one with the people. They must in no case get exposed, and must carry out all their activity absolutely secretly. In certain special conditions if they have to join to declare themselves as Congressmen, they must do so without any hesitation and then get mixed with the people. Local squads member must keep their place of living completely secret and see to it that it does not get exposed.

6. For the local squads, special training in sabotage must be given. Squad members must use any country weapon. Here one must realise that formerly weapons used to mean only rifle, sten gun and bombs and neglect of country weapons. This was the harmful outlook of the past partial warfare. Mao in his book on guerilla warfare suggests that even in regular squads besides modern weapons, country guns, spears and swords are to be used and it is impossible to supply all the members of the squads with modern weapons. Both our regular squads and local squads must take up the country weapons.

7. The local squads must acquire skill in attacking the C.I.D.s, to disrupt the enemy's communications: to harass the military and police in the camps; to kill them when they are found alone and when an opportunity comes, etc. We must set tasks as per the level of the squads and as they gain experience, even give them more and more responsible and onerous duties.

It is wrong to say that "People themselves must come forward to kill the C.I.D's" as our Huzurnagar comrades suggest. This outlook comes from the wrong

idea that “people on their own must carry on the struggle”. We must take the help of the people in attacking the C.I.D.s. But to say that people themselves must directly attack, is to underestimate the role of the local squads.

8. Near the communication lines of the enemy (like railway line, roads, and the paths that link up the village Military Camps with their main bases), there will be great movement of the enemy. He would try to get reinforcements in every difficulty. So if we organise local squads which carry on persistent sabotage in his key communications, they would divert the attention of the enemy and prevent him from attacking areas far away from his bases.

We must give up the old wrong positional warfare outlook which we had during the anti-Nizam struggle that every action must be done by the regular squads. Where there are no local squads, regular squads have to act at certain times. But no neglect the building up of local squads and to use regular squads to do these jobs is not only technically dangerous, but it is restricting the activities of guerilla army and even the building of the guerilla army.

9. We must begin to organise Party cells, both in the regular and local squads. These must be organised on the distinction whether the members in the squads have Party consciousness or not. The Party members: the squads must try, by exemplary life, initial bravery and daring and by political foresight, to win the love and confidence of the rest of the members, and see that they voluntarily accept the leadership of the Party.

10. We must start giving political training in the squads, to give them a clear understanding of the purpose and programme of Democratic Revolution, and the leading role of the Party.

Only if the comrades see the revolutionary character of the Telangana struggle and its depth because of which even the Congress fascist terror could not suppress it, they would be able to overcome all the obstacles that beset their path and go forward. Those who do not see will be bound to adopt a programme of retreat.

## GUERILLA TACTICS

Let us discuss the tactics which we have to adopt. Huzurnagar comrades advocate that we must give up revolutionary gains, disband guerilla squads, “not attack the police so as not to rouse the enemy”. These are the tactics which they say we have to adopt especially in “the present revolutionary stage”, in the interests of self-defence, and even our very existence. These comrades style it selfdefence, to safeguard our existence at the cost of not defending our revolutionary gains, without destroying the enemy. This may be literally correct, but in the guerilla sense, it is not self-defence. Mao in his book stresses the importance of offensive actions in the interest of self-defence and in order to destroy the enemy.

“Although many things have been touched upon in our discussion, they all revolve around offensive in campaigns and battles. Initiative can be secured only

after a victorious offensive. All offensive operations must also be organised on our own initiative, and there shall be no offensive forced upon us. Agile disposition of forces revolves around the offensive fight; the importance of planning lies also in its offensive objectives. Defensive tactics become meaningless if unrelated directly or indirectly to aiding the offensive. Quick decision refers to the duration of offensive and outer lines describe the sphere of offensive operation. The offensive is the only means to destroy the enemy as well as the main method to preserve one's self. Pure and simple defence or retirement is only a measure for temporary and partial self-preservation and is utterly useless as a means to destroy the enemy". (Mao Tse-Tung: "Aspects of China's Anti-Japanese struggle", PPH edition, pp 60-61).

What emerges out of this? Self-defence and destruction of the enemy are interdependent tasks. Without destroying the enemy, we cannot defend ourselves. If we have to protect our forces then it is absolutely necessary to destroy the enemy forces. This is one of the basic principles of guerilla warfare. Without guerilla activity, guerilla squads cannot live. And if guerilla activity is to continue, the destruction of the enemy becomes necessary; in whatever stage we may be, whatever tactics we may adopt, we must never forget the task of killing the enemy and offensive actions against the enemy. That is why, taking offensive against the enemy and being on the defensive, both are interdependent tasks. If we evaluate these comrade's tactics from this angle, we will see that their tactics for "self-defence" would ultimately lead to suicide.

Thus, self-defence tactics without killing the enemy, become useless even for selfdefence. These comrades advocate another wrong line that we must give up temporarily killing the enemy as it would arouse the enemy and become a hindrance to carrying on Party activity. The Munagala organiser also agrees with them. (He says "Do not attack the police"). Every attack we market on the enemy, dislocates his plan and prevents him from consolidating his position in the villages. It will make them lose their morale under constant harassing attacks, and it will increase the people's power of resistance manifold. Because of this there will be greater scope for increased Party activity than before. If we do not attack the enemy, to think that he will allow us to carry on Party activity is merely an illusion. It is known to all of us, whether we distribute a leaflet or attack the enemy, the enemy's terror is the same in the fighting areas. The enemy's effort is to wipe us out completely. So, it is wrong to counterpose Party activities to the killing of the enemy. We must coordinate both and take the struggle forward. This is our task today.

If we examine the tactics of guerilla warfare given in Andhra Committee Letter, they are practical, complete and suited to the existing conditions. In the view of Huzurnagar comrades, who do not attach any importance to the killing of the enemy and who are becoming an obstacle to the further progress of the struggle, no wonder these tactics look as a "call for street fighting".

It is necessary to enumerate a few more tactics here on the basis of our experience gained during the last one year.

Many problems face us in the present situation when we have to defend our revolutionary gains, when we have to organise and to extend, and for this when we have to carry on guerilla struggle, we must withstand the enemy's offensive and at the same time carry on the guerilla struggle. To do this, we must solve our problems with a correct outlook. Some of the problems facing us are, how to save our forces from the enemy's offensive, how to train the squads and develop them further and how to prepare for an offensive against the enemy, how to carry on Party activity without interruption. We must carry out the following tasks:

1. We must develop the fighting areas and the newly extended areas, into strong guerilla bases and guerilla districts.
2. Solve the problem that face in temporary retreats.
3. Agitation and propaganda among the enemy forces.

Before we go into these, we must learn what are fighting areas.

Mao says that an area where guerilla struggles go on and the enemy is not completely driven out is to be called a guerilla district:

"In these the guerillas have not been able to effect complete occupation in the beginning of their operations. What has been possible for them is to carry out systematic operations and effect temporary occupation where their forces happen to be, reverting to the occupation of Japanese puppet administration after their departure." (Mao Tse-Tung: "Aspects of China's Anti-Japanese Struggle", PPH Edition, Page 66).

Till two months before the military intervention upto July 1948, our squads were locked up in the struggles, against the enemy's forces. In these struggles, though we suffered severe losses, due to the mistakes committed yet because of our bold struggles, the Nizam forces lost their morale and were forced on to the defensive. Our squads began gradually to go over to the offensive. From that time, till the military intervention, the guerilla area has spread not only to the whole of Nalgonda and Warangal districts, but also to Attrabaldha (Hyderabad District), M....and Karimnagar districts, bordering on these two. Squads also have increased. Land distribution and establishment of Gramarajyalu was done extensively. Enemy attacks on the forest areas and in the places far a way from the communications have decreased. Enemy has to give up small camps and concentrate his forces in limited centres. He can attack only during the daytime. In this period, it became possible to carry on mass activity more extensively and in an organised way, mass organisations developed and the people began to participate in large numbers in the resistance struggles; enemy positions began to deteriorate and ours to strengthen. If we had adopted correct tactics, we could have organised strong bases in the forest areas.

Because we adopted the same old wrong tactics even after the military intervention our movement in all this area received a serious blow. Because of this setback, to say that these areas are no more guerilla districts would be wrong. Mao describes the changes that come under these conditions thus:

"The result of either the mistakes of our leadership or the overwhelming pressure of the enemy may reverse a situation as described above and transform a base into a guerilla district and a guerilla district into a region under relatively stable enemy occupation." (Ibid. Page 67)

After the military intervention, as explained above with the enemy's offensive, we have lost a big portion of our guerilla squad members and leadership. The remaining leaders and squads left the fighting areas to the forest protection belt. With this we are faced with the following situation:

- Our squads in their retreat reached wide forest belts. In these and in other surrounding plain areas guerilla struggle continued. We must consider them as guerilla districts. Manukota, Pakhala, Mulugu, Illudu and Palvancha talukas of Warangal district, and Bagatu, Shirkey of Hyderabad district are examples of these.

- Though we lost links with the old fighting areas, yet because of mass resistance on the part of the people and because the landlords and deshmukhs are afraid of staying in the villages, the enemy could not get consolidated there. Most of the land distributed remains in the hands of the people and whatever cadres are left in the village go on taking action against the zamindars, landlords, etc., along with the people in these areas. Now once again guerilla squads are being reorganised in these areas, and the struggle is being launched again (Janagana, Bhuvanagiri, Nalgonda, Suryapet, etc., and Khammam etc.)

-Areas where the enemy could consolidate to some extent. The villages along the roads and railway lines. Villages with permanent police and military camps, and the villages where the landlords could return.

This, in brief, is the present situation. Those comrades who argue that there was no guerilla character for the struggle waged against the Nizam and that today we have to begin from scratch are entirely wrong.

We must carry out the following tasks, to develop guerilla warfare in all these areas:

1. Develop the areas with natural terrain suited for protection and cover, as guerilla bases.
2. Develop those plains without natural protection, but away from the communication, into guerilla districts.
3. We must harass the enemy entrenched in his bases near communication lines and weaken him.

## ORGANISING GUERILLA BASES

In each area, we are faced with the problems of training the cadre politically and militarily; of the production of arms and literature and how to carry on other

activity of the Party; the problem of temporary retreat of cadre from the plains, when the enemy's offensive is very serious. Until we can develop naturally protected areas into strong guerilla bases, we cannot solve these problems. For this purpose in each area there must be natural protection terrain which can be developed into guerilla bases. Today we have such places in the present fighting areas as well as in new areas to which we are extending. Our main task is to develop them as guerilla bases.

Though it is not an impossible task to develop the plains without natural terrain conducive to turning them into guerilla bases, yet because we are forced to carry on guerilla warfare in a limited area and because the enemy is able to concentrate large forces, this may not be possible immediately. But we can develop the natural terrain areas into good guerilla bases.

Mao describes the necessity for guerilla bases like this:

“What is a guerilla base? It is a strategical base to enable the guerillas to carry out their strategic task, to maintain and develop themselves and to destroy and chase away the enemy. The absence of such a base will deprive us of the means to hinge all strategic tasks and war objectives. War without a rear is of course a characteristic of guerilla warfare, as it is separated from the general rear of the state. But guerilla warfare cannot survive for long and develop itself without a base, and such a base becomes the rear of the guerillas.” (Ibid, pp.63-64).

Guerilla bases are necessary not only for the solution of immediate problems facing us but also to go from the defensive to the offensive, to intensify the guerilla warfare.

But if we remember that guerilla bases are developed in the course of guerilla struggle, then it is easy to understand that natural terrain guerilla areas can be more easily developed into such guerilla bases. Mao says that conversion of guerilla districts into guerilla bases becomes possible only “with complete liquidation of the enemy any the development of mass activity to a high level”.

“A guerilla base can be genuinely established only after the eventual fulfilment of these basic conditions: i) the building of anti-Japanese armed forces, ii) the defeat of the enemy, iii) the awakening of the masses.” (Ibid, p.68).

Only when these conditions exist, that guerilla base is possible. We must apply these to our conditions and begin to build up guerilla bases.

The mountainous and forest natural terrain areas which we want to develop into guerilla bases are economically, politically and socially backward areas compared to the plains. In these areas the people are subject to unheard of exploitation. The rich peasant is far less here than in the plains. In the total peasant population they are either in insignificant number or non-existent. We must thus find out the conditions of the people and evolve programme suitable to these and develop them into guerilla bases.

1. It will be wrong to think that the very moment our squads and organisers go to these areas and start agitation and propaganda, the militants would come from the people and join our squads. It is only when we can move the people to fight against the exploitation beginning from illegal taxes to land problems, when we make them fight the repression that would be launched on the basis of a correct programme and tactics, that militants will gradually come forward and join our squads. Because our squads and organisers come from the plains, though the people give us protection and help us in the initial stages, yet it requires great effort to win their confidence and to bring them into struggle. We must lead a correct model life so as not to give rise to any suspicions among the people. We must show extreme patience in carrying on agitation and propaganda on their problems and to draw them into the struggle.

We must give military training to those militants who come forward in the struggles, and build up big guerilla armies in these bases. We must think out methods as to how they can use their usual country weapons in the fight against the enemy. This guerilla army will develop gradually into regular army. This is what we have to do to build the people's army.

## 2. We must follow this programme to liquidate the enemy from these areas.

- We must drive away all the officials who are kept here to collect taxes or for supervision.

- Drive away zamindars, deshmukhs, landlords and village officials.

- We must isolate the heads of the tribes and castes who live among the people but act as agents of the enemy.

- Deal severely and mercilessly with C.I.D.'s of the enemy.

- Drive away the enemy camps from the protective zones. We must prevent the enemy from carrying out raids from outside camps and gradually make it impossible for the enemy to enter these areas.

It is true that all these tasks cannot be carried out in a day. Local squads must increase and sabotage must take place on large scale. Regular guerilla squads must get strengthened and both in numbers and skill and continue persistent and uninterrupted raids and make it impossible for the enemy to move out of his camps and ultimately force him to abandon these camps. Only to the extent that the tasks get fulfilled will the formation of guerilla bases progress.

3. To develop people's consciousness, alongside implementing the mass programme, organise mass organisations. These must be under the influence of tribal and caste leaders. We must explain in simple words and directly so as to make it understandable to the people regarding these leaders, because they are very backward. Only when the people begin to move into struggles, when they develop full confidence in our leadership, and when their mass organisations are

formed, it is only then that any social reforms should be carried into practice and that too through their mass organisations. Without this, trying to carry out social reforms will be only forcing it on them. The tribal and caste leaders and other reactionaries will only utilise such opportunities to mobilise the people against the Party.

All these problems came up before our organisers and squads when they retreat to forest protected zone. Because of our work these tribal people help us to carry on the guerilla struggle by participating in sabotage activity; they are joining the squads. We must remember that this process of their participation in guerilla struggle has just started and we have to do much more.

## **HOW TO DEVELOP STRONG GUERILLA DISTRICTS IN THE PLAINS?**

In order to develop the plains which are further off from the enemy's communication lines into powerful guerilla districts, we must recognise guerilla squads, mobilise the people to defend their revolutionary gains and build up secret Party organisation. But we must remember certain important points. In the plains, it will not be possible to carry on the programme of struggle throughout the year, in a uniform pattern. Rainy season, winter crops, areas with river course and big tanks, give us plenty of protection. Water logged areas obstruct and slow down the communications of the enemy. It is in this period that we must intensify our activity as well as mass struggles especially on land problems. Thus we must develop them into strong guerilla districts, with the coming of summer, and with fields bereft of crops, the enemy communications would be more facilitated. Hence our fighting programme also gets slowed down and limited. **AT THIS TIME, WE MUST WORK MUCH MORE SECRETLY, HAVE A FEW CADRE, SQUADS TO CARRY ON THE RESISTANCE BUT WITHDRAW THE REST OF GUERILLA ARMY TO OUR BASE.**

## **HARASS THE ENEMY IN HIS CAMPS NEAR TO THE COMMUNICATION LINES:**

Here the enemy concentration and movement is the greatest. It is not easy to protect our gains and our organisation. The main reason is that we are within reach of the enemy attack within a space of minutes. So here we must intensify secret sabotage on the enemy's communications lines, and weaken the enemy. Attack enemy's communication lines to the forest belt. Similarly, we have to intensify our sabotage activity on the lines of communication to the fighting guerilla areas in the plains and see that the enemy cannot carry out repeated raids on them.

## **HOW TO CARRY ON TEMPORARY RETREAT:**

**COMRADES FROM ALL THE AREAS REALISE THAT WE CAN SAVE OUR SQUADS AND CADRE FROM THE DETERMINED AND CONCENTRATED EFFORTS OF THE ENEMY ONLY IF WE RETREAT**

## TO PROTECTED FOREST ZONES, ACCORDING TO A WELL THOUGHT OUT PLAN. BUT WHAT IS THIS PLAN? WHAT ARE THE PROBLEMS THAT FACE US WHEN RETREATING? WHAT IS THE SOLUTION?

The problems facing us are these: Where are the squads and cadre to retreat? What is the programme for the squads till they again link up with the people? If the squads and organisers and other cadre all retreat, if every one retreats, what will happen to the people's problems? How to lead them in times of repression?

It is only when we can organise stable bases that this problem of where to retreat can be solved. That is why, in each area, we must retreat to such protective belts however weak they may be for the present. If these protective forest belts are far away, because it is not possible to retreat quickly, we have to begin to retreat long before the enemy offensive begins. So we must see that our protective belts and bases are as far as possible within reach of our fighting plains. If the guerilla bases are far away, then we must first move to those nearly guerilla areas where the enemy attack is comparatively less. The enemy will know what are our protective zones and bases, and as such he may surround them so that he cuts off our retreat. Area leadership must observe this and organise its retreat from that direction where the enemy concentration is the least. If we are not careful enough, there is every danger that our squads will get confused and surprised on the way and fall into the enemy's net. Even while retreating we must always be ready to resist the enemy's attacks.

It is true that if no programme is given to the squads and cadre after retreat till they again come back into touch with the people, there is the danger of rot settling in. So, during this period on the basis of experience gained, we must give them intensive training both political and military. Carry out the necessary organisational changes. Train the organisers politically. We must finish all our training during this period. This will help us in two ways. This makes it unnecessary to withdraw the cadre from the fighting front, for sake of training it but their period of retreat can be used for this purpose. We need not cut short our resistance activity for the sake of training. The cadre that has retreated do not get stagnated, cut off from the people, but get trained and will be ready to enter the field with renewed vigour and intensify activity double. If the area leadership is ready with its plans, the training can be carried through quickly and efficiently.

When there is no cadre in the villages who are not exposed and can function secretly, and when we retreat with all our cadre, how to maintain contact with the people is a very serious problem. Because we have failed to adopt secret methods during anti-Nizam struggle most of our cadre got exposed and a major section was caught by the enemy. The rest of cadre could not remain in the field when the enemy concentrated his attacks. **BECAUSE OF THESE REASON, THIS PROBLEM CAN BE SOLVED ONLY ON THE BASIS OF BUILDING THE SECRET PARTY ORGANISATION IN THE VILLAGES, AND ON BUILDING SECRET LOCAL SQUADS. WHEN WE ARE SUCCESSFUL**

## **IN FULFILLING THESE TASKS, THEN WE CAN CARRY ON SECRET AGITATION AND SABOTAGE ACTIVITY.**

When the squads and Party leadership retreat, they must give full and detailed instructions to the cadre secretly functioning in the villages and make arrangements to keep in touch with them. Some of the leadership must stay in nearby guerilla areas where the enemy attack is less severe, and help to guide the secret cadre. Where there is no secret local cadre, when we retreat, the whole cadre must not retreat to the guerilla base. Some must stay in the guerilla areas nearby where the enemy concentration is less and now and then go to their areas and carry on the work. They must keep links with those who have retreated to the base. Not to use the protection given by the rainy season and the protection given by nature in winter, and without taking every precaution to function secretly as long as possible, to retreat would be harmful to the movement.

## **THE RAINY SEASON IS COMING TO AN END. THERE IS EVERY POSSIBILITY OF THE ENEMY'S CONCENTRATION INCREASING. SO, IT MAY BECOME NECESSARY THAT OUR SQUADS RETREAT NOT ONCE BUT FREQUENTLY. FOR THIS WE MUST BE READY FROM NOW ON IN AN ORGANISED MANNER:**

Those comrades who are advocating a programme of retreat may question us: "You too are advocating retreat. Where is the difference?" Where does not difference exist between your stand and ours? You advocate retreat to give up revolutionary gains, and to withdraw the guerilla struggle. You advocate the disbanding of guerilla squads. You ask us not to attack the enemy forces. So, you advocate not a military retreat but a political retreat. You advocate retreat not as a preparation to fight the enemy, but put forward a period of retreat or lying low, and want to give up the whole guerilla struggle itself. What you say is political retreat. What we have been explaining above is a tactical retreat which is a part of guerilla struggle. This is temporary and is such as to take forward struggle itself.

## **CARRY ON AGITATION AMONG THE ENEMY FORCES:**

We have not realised the importance of this and did not carry it out sufficiently. News is coming that in the enemy's forces, the ranks are already getting demoralised day by day. The reasons behind this are frequent suspensions from jobs, no increase in the wages, no leave for going home, and added to this, the danger to their lives.

Because of the Chinese Victory and the victory of the struggles in Malaya and Burma, they are losing confidence that Indian Union Government would ever be able to suppress the movement and achieve victory. These armed forces are being specially brought from the politically backward areas, like Nepal, United Provinces, Rajasthan, Mysore. Leaving their homes and staying in far away places, for months together add to their gloom and despair. Though the language difficulty is there, we must overcome it and carry on agitation among them.

We must carry on intensive agitation among the Congress Volunteer Squads. Because of the conflict between Swamiji and Burgule groups in the State Congress, local Congress volunteers are being subjected to repression. We must utilise their consequent dissatisfaction and intensify our agitation. It becomes possible to neutralise a section among them especially that which comes from the poorer classes!

## VII

### PARTY ORGANISATION

1. "Andhra Committee Letter" defining our tasks on Party building, called upon the cadre to build up the Party on the proper basis, while carrying on guerilla struggle. Those very comrades who argue that the guerilla struggle has to be withdrawn because the "enemy is strong and the people are not ready for guerilla warfare" put forth as an additional reason in support of their thesis, that in Telangana there is no Party organisation, whatsoever, and that only after building up a strong Party organisaiton, we must begin guerilla warfare. They say the call of the Andhra Committee to build the Party organisation is correct, but their call for guerilla struggle is wrong. These comrades express their call for retreat even with regard to the Party organisation in Telangana.

"....Today in Telangana except for a few important organisers, there is no Communist Party in reality there. That is why, to-day in Telangana we can begin armed struggle only after we strengthen our Party organisation to some extent".

- Munagala Pargana organiser.

"....We do not have Party organisation with deep roots in wide masses of the people, and a well disciplined, well trained Party. How then can we, continue the armed struggle?"

- Tiruvur organiser.

"In these conditions if we can go on building the Party as per possibilities existing, and escape the enemy's net, it must be considered as a great success."

- Huzurnagar Review.

All these advocate one thing in common, to give up guerilla struggle and take up Party building, whatever phrases they use, like "no Party whatsoever in Telangana", "the Party has no deep roots among the people" or "build the Party as per possibilities existing", etc. These comrades counterpose Party building to guerilla warfare. They want to build the Party after giving up guerilla struggle and every other struggle. They do not see that the correct way to build the Party is while carrying on the guerilla struggle.

This is not the first time that comrades have brought the question of Party organisation to put brakes on the Telangana mass struggle being developed to a higher pitch. In Suryapet area, even though the peasantry was ready to defy Government bans, we did not lead the struggles of the tenantry on the ground that the Party has not got sufficient strength. With similar reasons we did not develop Janagana struggles to a militant pitch. In Nalgonda struggle, even though people

were occupying the lands, we did not take it up and hold it back on the ground that the Party did not have strength enough to lead them. To-day also these comrades repeat the same wrong argument that the Party has not got enough strength and want the guerilla struggle to be withdrawn.

Are we to build the Party through revolutionary struggles? Or are we to give them up and thus liquidate the Party? Is it our responsibility to 'rebuild the Party in Telangana? Are we to begin it from A.B.C? What are the problems that face us in building up the Party? How are we to solve them? If we examine all these questions, we can understand the retreat slogan of these comrades fully.

If we examine the experiences of Telangana it becomes clear that where the Party led the struggles boldly, it got strengthened. Where we did not lead them on the ground that we did not have enough strength, the Party existed only in name. In those days, however much the Party policy was a brake in developing militant struggles in Nalgonda district, efforts were made to develop militant struggles to higher level. Because of these efforts, the enemy was unable to suppress the movement, the Party got strength ended in every struggle. On the one hand there was the reformist political line and on the other the enemy's severe repression and the Party's organisational weakness; we could not therefore give a proper form to the Party building, yet the Party got strengthened after every struggle. The Party organisation has spread to many villages, and the Party influence is felt not only in the fighting areas, but to the whole of Telangana. The influence of the Congress got less and less. All these denote the strength of the Party.

By assuming leadership of the anti-Nizam armed struggle we could spread our organisation to three districts. Our political influence spread throughout the State. Because of our organisational mistakes, we were unable to strengthen the organisation sufficiently but it is wrong to say that we did not even get strengthened more than before.

After the military intervention, because we did not follow correct tactics our movement received a serious setback, yet because we took the decision to continue the guerilla warfare and while doing it to reorganise the Party with whatever cadre that was left over, we were able to save the movement which would have been otherwise liquidated because of the past mistakes. In fact, because of our decision to continue the guerilla struggle and in that very process to rebuild the Party, we have even advanced. The enemy is not in a position to suppress the movement even after one year. We are defending our revolutionary gains, and spreading the movement to newer areas. We are even able to build up the Party organisation. In Manukota, Palvancha, Bhuvanagiri areas, while continuing the guerilla warfare, on the one hand, we are rebuilding the Party and advancing on the other. Even in Janagana area, we have begun guerilla struggle along with Party reorganisation.

What do all these experiences teach us? It is only by leading the revolutionary struggles that the Party gets strengthened, organisationally and politically in course of these struggles. We have been able to overcome the weaknesses in Party organisation through conducting these struggles and not by postponing or giving up the struggles and concentrating on "building the Party".

If we do not defend our revolutionary gains and extend them, through guerilla warfare, how can we keep the links with the people and not get trapped by the enemy, leave alone building up the Party? If we follow the line advocated by Huzurnagar comrades, the spirit of resistance will be gradually broken and the Party lose its mass basis.

In to-day's conditions, we have already seen that there is no wide gulf between the local struggles and political struggles. We can build the Party through all the struggles we wage. There is no meaning in Paragana comrade's argument that we can build the Party through all the struggles we wage. There is no meaning in Paragana comrade's argument that we can build the Party organisation only through local struggles.

It is utter blindness to say like Tiruvur organiser that the Party in Telangana "has no roots among the people". Inspite of the fascist terror by the Indian military they could not drive a wedge between the Party and the people; in the struggle areas, the people put up with all the repression and terror but did not reveal any secret to the enemy. We have lost so much because of our wrong tactics, and not because we did not have any place among the people nor because of our "weak roots among them". We must not forget that people are looking forward for our leadership throughout the State.

But, the problem facing us is how to rebuild the Party while continuing guerilla warfare, in face of severe blows dealt at the Party and severe loss of cadre? We must solve it.

The main obstacles in the building of the Party are: 1. wrong attitude, 2. adoption of legal barrack methods in our working. All our problems arise out of these.

Firstly, our Party is not limited in the fighting areas merely to area committees, organisers and a few strong squad members, as is apparently seen. There are very large number of militants who came forward in the struggle against the Nizam as well as during one year of our resistance. When we have been conducting a fight of such dimensions, to think that the militants thrown up in the movement could be only a limited number, is nothing but underestimating the people's revolutionary consciousness.

We can activise these militants in the villages only if we take up struggles to defend Gramarajyalu and the land and launch partial and local struggles on wages and other innumerable demands that face the people. As we prepare the people for these struggles, we organise the militants who are thrown up into local squads and

regular squads. We must extend the sphere of the activity of these squads beyond the present fighting areas. We must allot the cadre properly both to the building up of the Party and to guerilla struggle and continue both the tasks.

We must recruit as Party members and build up cells and the Party only out of those who have been tested in the struggles and have developed party consciousness, and who have been working in regular or local squads or in the village people's councils, or agricultural labourers' committees or other mass organisations. It is only thus that we can build up a strong Party.

Our past mistake is not that we waged an armed struggle "without building up a strong revolutionary Party Organisation", as Munagala organiser asserts. Our mistake was that we did not organise the militants thrown up in the struggle into cells and develop them to function with initiative and thus build local Party organisation. We cannot correct that past mistake by giving up guerilla struggle as he is suggesting, but only by trying to build up such local Party units as function with initiative while conducting the guerilla struggle itself. That we can build a strong Party only through revolutionary struggle is the basic principles of party organisation. If we do not understand this, then we cannot build the Party or continue the struggle.

Secondly, what are the qualifications for Party membership? In Andhra Committee letter this question has been explained very clearly thus:

"1. He must understand and accept the Party programme and ideal. He must accept the programme which we are implementing in our guerilla areas, which is nothing but a practical application for our Party programme.

"2. He must follow conscious iron discipline based on democratic centralism. He must express himself unhesitatingly what he thinks in the discussions in his unit and participate in evolving the Party line and decisions. He must implicitly carry out the majority decisions of his unit, as well as the decisions of higher committees. He must participate regularly in Party activity. He must not reveal his cell secrets.

"3. He must be ready to sacrifice his all even his life, for the Party.

"4. He must live such a life as is not derogatory to Party's prestige or such as not to be an obstacle to the Party activities. Normal drinking and moral lapse, which may have occurred temporarily in a fit of weakness, are not disqualifications for Party membership, in the present day society with its economic roots not suited for an ideal life. But, for habitual drunkards, addicted debauches, etc., there is no place in the Party. Even though the above mentioned weaknesses may be there, but if he is otherwise qualified for membership, he can be taken into the Party.

Note: Those who come from agricultural labourers and poor peasants may not be able to define and explain clearly the Party goal and its programme, but if they have other qualifications, they must be taken into the Party. We must explain to them the Party constitutions, Party Thesis adopted at Party Congress, and the Party programme in the State. Before we admit them into the Party, we must make them take the oath given in the Party Organisation. Before we admit those

coming from the exploiting classes, before we promote them into higher committees or responsibilities we must test them in struggles, and see whether they have overcome their class weaknesses”.

The qualification for Party membership given in Andhra Committee Letter are correct and detailed. In this connection we must understand that the goal of the Party which is mentioned above is the ultimate goal, the achievement of the revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, of Socialism, and the immediate goal is the establishment of People’s Democratic revolution. Today the programme we are carrying out in guerilla area is People’s Democratic programme.

Today of those who remain under the test of military terror, most of them are fit to be taken as Party members. Yet every one of them must be judged from the standard whether he possesses the Party qualifications enumerated above, in consultation with the local and zonal organisers, by the area committees before he is given Party membership. If there are developed zonal committees, and cells, this responsibility of recruiting Party members may be entrusted to them.

Huzurnagar comrade’s suggestion that “one’s conduct must be especially closely watched, if he happened to have come from the rich” is a disruptive principle. This will lead to factional groupings inside the Party. If we start to make class division in the Party, then there will be no unity. This is contrary to monolithic Party outlook based on Marxist Leninist principles.

We must admit those coming from rich classes, only after they have given up their class weaknesses. Once we admit them into the Party, we must not forget that all Party members have equal rights. The promotion of Party members to more responsible positions is to be done on the basis of the part they play in the struggles and on the estimation of their development based on these struggles. Instead of this, we must not evaluate cadre coming from one rich from the standard and those coming from the poor with another standard. Andhra Committee Letter also gives correct understanding on this question.

**THIRDLY: Functioning.** Huzurnagar comrades have taken wrong decisions which tend to individual functioning instead of collective functioning of the Party unit. Their decisions on this point are:

“Party functioning: A.C.’s main centre will be in the protected zone. A supplementary centre will be inside the fighting area itself. Uninterrupted connection must be maintained between the two centres and work to be co-ordinated by the main centre. A.C. members will divide work among themselves, some being responsible for fighting centre and others at main centre. They will divide the responsibilities and those who are in the fighting centre will come to the centre in the protected zone whenever necessary.

“A.C. will consist of five members.

“A.C. meetings: These are being held too often, forgetting the present critical situation. Because of these meetings being held nearly once a month or even a fortnight, there are technical and organisational dangers. Before these decisions

are taken to the people and the effects and results begin to come, we meet again and so we repeat only the past decisions with no useful purpose being served. Because of this there must be 3 to 4 month's gap between one session and another. Only such sessions would enable us to find the mistakes in our past decisions and become conducive to our development. We want some one from the State fraction to attend our sessions."

Huzurnagar Area Committee Report, 26.6.1949.

The essence of all these ideas is this:

There must be an area committee of five. Each member of the area committee must take up his responsibility as per the division of work among themselves. Secretary must remain in the centre, take the responsibility for the whole movement. Because of technical difficulties, A.C. must meet only 3 or 4 times a year. Because the area committee is not mature enough, one from State fraction must attend them and conduct them.

To do this, means introducing individual functioning, on the grounds of repression, etc.

These comrades reviewing Party functioning during anti-Nizam struggle have got this to say:

"There was no cell functioning whatsoever. No cell life. The whole movement was carried on the basis of individuals, organisers and commanders. There was no collective discussion from time to time, about the present situation, and correct Party line, slogans and functioning with self-criticism. The slogans coming from the higher committees were implemented as per possibilities and blindly without realising its full political implications. There was no scope for the cadre, commanders and organisers, and even Area Committee members to contribute in deciding Party policy or in deciding Party tactics. Every organiser, commander, as far as his area was concerned, or as far as his work was concerned' became **SOLE DICTATOR. IF ANY PERSON FROM THE PEOPLE OR ANY CADERD ARED TO SPEAK CONTRADICTING THEIR LEADERS EITHER IN A CENTRE OR A ZONE, THERE WAS EVEN THE DANGER OF LOSING HIS LIFE TOO.** The initiative of the people and the cadre was killed. Leaders have become dictators and the followers blind followers. Though this is not found in everybody to the same extent, the ultimate result is the same".

They describe the gulf between the Party organisers and commanders in the following terms:

".....when the squad met the squad leader did not allow the local organiser to attend it. When the Area Committee military commander was conducting the meeting of a squad, he did not allow another Area Committee member, as the area organiser to attend it. This anti-Party trend entered the Party unnoticed, developed day by day and **AT THE END WENT TO SUCH LENGTHS AS EXPRESSED ABOVE. TITOIST SEEDS HAVE SPORROUTED IN ANOTHER FROM"**

- Huzurnagar Area Committee report

Before we proceed to discuss about functioning further we have to say two thing on the above:

1. These comrades on the one hand describe the bad effects of individual functioning during anti-Nizam period, but yet advocate the same mode of functioning now which would result in the same old mistakes manifold. They advocate individual functioning in between the area Committee sessions.

2. These comrades generalise from a few instances of Koto Narayana and Raju and describe the whole Party leadership as dictators and style bureaucracy and other deviations as Titoism and paint a picture that the whole Party in the area is a group of Titoists. The Party has been taking action against these few individuals who transgressed the limits. To fight the bureaucratic tendencies, the collective functioning which is being put into practice in the Party now will go to help a long way. But the characterisation by these comrades of these wrong trends in the Party as Titoist dictatorship etc., is neither criticism nor self-criticism. It is just an argument to support of their line of retreat on the grounds that there is no Party whatsoever in Telangana they have done earlier in denying the revolutionary character of anti-Nizam armed struggle.

This characterisation is nothing but slander of the Party or this must be their expression of contempt against the Party leadership and cadre which won the confidence and love of the mass of the people. With this wrong attitude, they pretend to see the harmful results of individual functioning in past but at the same time suggest the same mode of functioning for today.

Because in the past our Party members failed to function through Party units but functioned as individuals, they did not discharge their responsibilities in evolving the Party policy. They failed to discuss the decisions of the higher committees, as well as the problems that they were facing from time to time, they failed to organise criticism and self criticism. This restricted Party development. It is because of this that authoritarian, bureaucratic tendencies entered the Party, self seekers and opportunistis came to occupy key positions in the Party and made it possible to sabotage struggle. Thus the guerilla struggle received a severe blow. These are the main mistakes in our Party functioning. All this is undoubtedly due to individual mode of functioning.

If comrades now begin to function as per the Huzurnagar Area Committee's decisions each member will be responsible for his respective jobs and because only the Area Committee Secretary will be at the centre, every one will have to carry out A.C. Secretary decisions on all the problems facing them on each of their fronts. Or they must think themselves on their own, individually and come to individual decisions. Even the circulars that come from higher committees will have to be applied to each front by the comrade concerned, as best as he could, without the benefit of collective discussion and decision. Between two sessions of the area committee there may be any number of circulars and documents from

higher committee. Though they may correspond and know each other's opinion, they remain mere opinions but can never become common decisions arrived at after collective discussion.

If the A.C. meets only thrice or four times a year, all that can be done in the sessions is to broadly review the experience in between and arrive at broad programmes of action. But these session will be useless to discuss problems as they come or to take decisions on the basis of circulars and documents that come from the higher committees. It will also become impossible to hold sessions of six (including the one from the higher committee) due to technical difficulties.

Because of this, area committees with five members can meet only twice or 4 times a year or in reality in practice they will turn into broad committees which only discharge the function of taking general decisions. All the day to day functioning will be done by individuals instead of through the Party unit. This area committee will continue to function on the same old pattern of individual functioning and the unit will not function. The old bad effects would appear in their worst form.

But then how to overcome the technical difficulties and difficulties that arise out of the political immaturity of the committees? How to build the party on correct foundations?

There must not be more than 3 in the area committee secretariat. By reducing to 2 we can overcome the technical difficulties and meet at any moment we want. These secretariats must function as permanent committees. The committees must take decisions collectively on all questions of all fronts.

Today when we have to lead the guerilla struggle in the faced of fascist repression every day we will be force to take important decisions on many important questions. To wait for suggestions and directives from the higher committees or from the Secretary, and because of technical difficulties not receiving them in time, the resultant loss to the movement, and the consequent discontent against higher committees will become worse and worse. All this would harm the movement immensely.

It will not be correct for the secretary to give decisions on his own. However experienced and matured he may be, his directives will be merely his opinion. They will not be so complete and correct as the decisions arrived at when the experiences of the three members are pooled together and decisions arrived at on that basis. When the three function together, and collectively, it will not be necessary for higher committee comrade to attend everyone of their meetings.

If the line of action is to be decided on the basis of circulars of the higher committees even then the decisions arrived at after collective discussion will be correct and completer than if one single individual, the Secretary arrives at it. It is indisputable fact that committee of three would be far better able at impart its experiences and the decisions of the higher committees to lower units than any single individual. In this lies Party democracy as well.

The political immaturity must be overcome by theoretical study, unit functioning and selfcriticism. Higher committees must help lower units in this. Area committees must help the lower committees and organisers, even directly as per their need. There can be no other way that this, to improve the political level of the committees.

The unit is said to function only when it can on its own take decisions, with initiative and then carry them into practice. If the area committee starts on this mode of collective functioning, the other units also will improve.

**Fourthly:** Organise permanent schools. Party schools are necessary in order to train the cadres to function the committees with initiative, to develop their thoeritical level. We must give immediately political training to all the Party members in the schools, If we make them read or read to them, newspapers, party circulars, etc. these in themselves do not mean that we have politically trained them. Only when we have imparted the minimum knowledge about Marxist principles, Party programme and its organisation, then alone it can be said that we have given some political training to the cadre.

**Fifthly;** What must be our tech?

Here we examine the wrong conception of "cadre protection", held by Huzurnagar comrades.

"1. Area is limited. Whatever cadre is there is exposed. Their level is low. There is not enough consciousness among the people to stand up to the reach. If the raids begin on a large scale, we have to send them all to protective shelters. Only if we can do this as per plan, then alone we can call them at any moment. We feel it necessary.

"2. If we send the cadre to shelters the enemy gains the initiative, Contacts get broken and days will pass away before we can re-establish contact. Meanwhile it will be difficult to find out who had turned enemy etc. We lose more by removing the cadre from the field than sticking there." (Huzurnagar Area Committee Report 26.6.49).

If we link with the above their demand that to every one of their area committee meetings a member from the higher committee must attend, then it can be seen what wrong tech, methods these comrades are following. Theirs boils down to this:

1. When the repression is severe, it is impossible for the cells to function secretly in the villages.
2. In these conditions there is no other way except to leave the people and go to seek shelters or to fall into the hands of the enemy by remaining with them.
3. State committee members must attend every session of area committee as in the old days of legality.

The main reason for our failure to function during the periods of severe repression in the past are two: 1. We failed to estimate the severity of the terror that would be launched against us and hence we did not go over to suitable secret

methods of functioning but continued open barracks methods which we had been following during Razakar regime, with some small changes. When we adopt these wrong open methods, even the people are afraid to give shelters for fear of exposure and becoming targets of the enemy terror. Cell members, squad members, and other local cadre lost their self-confidence and with the least danger approaching would start for shelters in far off places.

2. When we take up self-defence line after liquidating squads and Gramarajyalu, it becomes inevitable that people's support will also become less. Hence, with even little intensified repression, the cadres leave and go to shelters.

So the political retreat line as well as open barrack methods are the two root errors for our failure to function secretly. This is what the Huzurnagar comrades fail to see and hence the wrong conclusions they come to. It may be a more difficult task but not an impossible one to keep the old exposed cadres in their old places of work, when compared to the new ones who are not exposed. So it is very necessary to observe strictly the rules of secrecy, when we start functioning to rebuild Party cells, Party organisation from the local squads, militants and local cadre. This is the lesson to be understand by the Huzurnagar comrades.

Bhuvanagiri area committee has got this say to show how squads there are functioning with self-confidence by following strictly the rules of secret tech.

"Comrades are observing very seriously and strictly the technical precautions. If any one neglects tech, action is being taken against him as disobeying Party discipline...Because tech instructions are being strictly followed, there are very good results both among the people and the cadre. They welcome this method of secret functioning....If we continue to observe strictly the principles of secrecy we have confidence that we can function without any of our squads being blown up. Squads members also have the same confidence. People too have confidence and support our secret methods". (Report, 22.7.49)

It is not necessary to dilate on this. Let those comrades, who think that it is impossible to function in the village when the repression is severe, learn from the experience of Bhuvanigiri comrades and adopt the secret tech methods they are following.

Underestimating the revolutionary consciousness of the people, giving up guerilla struggle, underestimating the severity and scale of enemy's terror, adopting open barrack methods and when these fail, running for shelters or failing into the hands of the enemy; all these are different forms of the same wrong trend. It is because in the past we failed to change our methods as per the conditions that as a result we suffered severe losses in the Party and in the movement.

Thus, these comrades are also advancing wrong organisational principles which are fundamentally opposed to our Party organisational principles, along with their advocacy of political retreat. These will harm Telangana guerilla struggle and the Party building there. It is necessary that we should give up these wrong trends.

## VIII CONCLUSION

We have criticised at length the suicidal slogan "Withdraw the Telangana guerilla struggle and retreat" and its consequent wrong ideas and theories. We think our criticism in this document will help to fight out these wrong trends and to clear doubts as to the necessity of continuing the guerilla struggle. We have criticised these wrong trends on the basis of the experiences we gained in the Telangana struggle. So, we think that this document will not only give a clear line for future but will enable the cadre to work with redoubled enthusiasm!

To sum up the document:

1. Recall the memory of hundreds and thousands of guerillas and people who laid their lives in defence of the gains of Telangana revolutionary struggle- Land, Gramarajyalu, the abolition of landlord zoolum, and the fulfilment of labour demands. Have confidence in the revolutionary consciousness of masses of Telangana!

Lead their armed struggle without hesitation! Give up Company outlook and company tactics which are suicidal, nothing but suicidal in today's conditions! Follow strictly the guerilla principles and tactics. Reorganise guerilla -squads and continue the struggle.

2. Mobilise the masses for the land distribution, for village people's councils and for the demands of wage-labour and for mass participation in resistance. Safeguard the fighting areas. Organise old fighting areas. Spread to newer and newer areas. Build bases that will be impregnable against the enemy, in forest and hilly tracts.

3. Give up the old wrong organisational methods and open barrack tech methods. Build our working class Party on completely illegal methods and said the Telangana people's movement, their armed struggle, to success, defeating all enemy plans.

Give up individual mode of functioning, and develop collective functioning through the unit. Recruit into the Party all the militants being thrown up in the struggles. Organise permanent schools and develop the theoretical level of the Party.

4. Expose and isolate the Congress and other bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties before the people. Even though Congress, by itself is getting discredited among the people, do not neglect the haste of exposing it. Serious efforts are to be made to expose and isolate the Socialist Party which is disrupting mass struggles and which is trying to avert the mass upsurge.

Comrades must realise that these tasks are interdependent and it is only by carrying them all out together that we can carry the guerilla struggle forward.

Today we are stronger than we were when we decided to continue the guerilla warfare against the Indian bourgeois. At that time though people's struggle had just started, the enemy could concentrated his major forces to suppress Telangana guerilla struggle as well as its base, the neighbouring Andhra movement. We were forced to carry on the struggle and forge ahead on our own in face of temporary

illusions created among the people in the rest of the country, and even in the State, with the military intervention. All these conditions have changed now. We are in far stronger position. In India in other provinces also, people's struggles have begun on a large scale. The working class is carrying on the prolonged strike struggles. In Andhra, armed resistance has begun and people's enemies are being attacked. Today no forces can be sent from Andhra to suppress-Telangana struggle. People in the rest of Andhra have taken up the path of Telangana and are fighting against the enemy.

The people in the whole of the State, their temporary illusions burst, are taking to the path of struggle. The moment the Party can lead them, they are ready to begin the struggle.

In China, the people are successfully concluding their people's democratic revolution, defeating all the plans of Anglo-American imperialists and other reactionary forces. In Malaya, in Indo-China, Burma, Greece and other countries guerrilla warfare is going on. In France and Italy the working class struggles are a nightmare to the bourgeoisie there. Under the leadership of Soviet Union, the world democratic forces have advanced.

All these conditions undoubtedly strengthen our guerrilla struggle. We are not alone. We are advancing daily. With full confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the people and in Telangana, march forward!

**September,  
1949.**

**Andhra Provincial  
Committee**



# Statement of the Polit-Bureau on the Editorial Article of the Organ of the Information Bureau on the National-Liberation Movement in the Colonies

*(The Polit -Bureau in issuing the statement given below to the ranks of the party has sent the following circular to all PCs:*

*You should study the Lasting Peace editorial of 27 January 1950 and the PB statement on the same carefully and express yourself on both the documents. The PB statement attempts to place the mistakes of the PB and at the same time carry forward the achievements made by the party. We are also sending herewith Bala - bushevich's article (PB) document for all PMs – No 15) which will place the activities of the party correctly and will help in understanding the Lasting Peace editorial. The article is from Problems of economics, No.8. Moscow. The PB will report on its mistakes to the CC which will take all steps necessary to implement the correctives. You should circulate both the lasting Peace editorial as well as the PB statement to the ranks. You should also circulate this covering letter and wherever possible Balabushevich's article to the ranks.)*

The editorial article on "Mighty Advance of the national Liberation Movement in the colonies and dependent countries" published in the organ of the information bureau of the communist and worker's parties, For a lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy, No.4 (64) dated 27 January 1950 is a brilliant contribution to the Indian People's struggle for national independence and people's democracy.

It is a correct lead to the communist Party of India and a timely reminder that in its actual achievements it is Lagging behind the immense possibilities of the rising tempo and sweep of the revolutionary struggles which the Indian people are waging against Anglo- American imperialist and their Indian collaborators for national liberation and against colonial slavery.

"One of the outstanding features of the present international situation", states the editorial article, "is the unprecedented scope of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, Which in many countries is of

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+ This statement was issued on 22nd February 1950 as PB document no: 19 for all Party members.

armed nature with hundreds of millions of working people of the countries of the east taking part in it."

This mighty advance of the postwar revolutionary liberation struggle of the colonies and semi colonies, which has shaken the entire system of world imperialism to its very foundations, has been opened up, as the editorial article points out, by the following major factors:

(1) The great October socialist revolution, the victory of socialism in the USSR and the Lenin-Stalin national policy which turned the former oppressed peoples into equal socialist nations.

(2) Victorious people's liberation war led by the USSR against fascism, the defeat of German and Japanese imperialism and the weakening of such colonial powers as Britain, France, Italy, Holland and Belgium.

(3) The establishment of the people's democratic power in the countries of central and southeastern Europe.

**Foot note:** This statement was issued on 22nd February 1950 as PB statement no.14 for all Party members.

(4) The resolute struggle of the democratic camp headed by the USSR against British and American imperialism the main oppressors of the freedom of the colonial peoples.

(5) The world-historic victory of the Chinese people over the combined forces of the reactionary Kuomintang and American imperialism.

All these factors have weakened the entire system of imperialism and have created favourable conditions for the struggle and for the victory of the national-liberation movements in the colonial and dependent countries.

The editorial article is thus a sharp reminder to the communist party in India and in Pakistan of the great lag that exists between the mighty advancing forces in the entire colonial world led by their communist parties and the Indian people's liberation movement led by the Communist Party of India.

A tremendous responsibility rests upon the communist party of India to make up this lag. This is all the more urgent at the present moment when the British and American imperialists, with the active support of the Indian big bourgeoisie and other reactionaries, are desperately seeking to tighten their grip on our country, crushing the national independence and freedom of the peoples both in India and Pakistan, monopolizing their vast material resources, to convert the entire country into a military base, to crush convert the entire country into a military base to crush the national-liberation struggles in the countries of Southeast Asia, in Malaya, Burma, Vietnam and Indonesia and to unleash a war against the Soviet Union, people's democratic China and people's democracies of central and Southeastern Europe.

"The victory of the revolution in China and the advance of the national-liberation struggles in the colonies," warns the editorial article, "have thrown the imperialists, who are desperately trying to retain their grip on the colonies, into a fury, it would be a mistake to underestimate this feverish activity of the imperialists, who are suffering defeat."

The resolute struggles which the working class, peasantry and other progressive forces such as the students, democratic youth and women are waging under the leadership of the communist party in the Indian Union and in Pakistan against the reactionary bloc of the imperialists the big bourgeoisie, the feudal princes and the land lords. The fact that these struggles are rising to the pitch of armed clashes between the police and the people in many cities and districts; the peasant partisan warfare developing in Telengana and in certain other parts of the country all these indicate that the Indian proletariat and the communist Party are rising to the level of the leader of the national-liberation struggle of the Indian people, and that conditions for the victory of this struggle for the rout of Anglo-American imperialists and their Indian collaborators are maturing fast.

These developments point out that the lags that exist are not inevitable, that they can and must be removed. They can and must be removed by correctly applying the Lenin, Stalin teaching concerning the strategy and tactics of the communist parties heading the national-liberation struggles, which have registered a signal triumph in the world historic victory of the Chinese people's liberation revolution.

In this respect, the editorial article had drawn the pointed attention of the Communist Party of India to the rich experience of the people's democratic revolution in China, which was led by the communist Party of China and its leader, Mao Tse-tung, to its final and irrevocable victory. The editorial article has emphasized that 'the path taken by the Chinese people..... is the path that should be taken by the people of many colonial and dependent countries in their struggle for national independence and people's democracy."

The editorial has sharply underlined two main lessons which the experiences of the victorious national-liberation struggle of the Chinese people teach us:

(1) "The working class must unite with all classes, parties, groups and organizations willing to fight the imperialist and their hirelings and to form a broad, nationwide front headed by the working class and its vanguard, the communist party, equipped with the theory of Marxism - Leninism; the party that has mastered the art of revolutionary strategy and tactics; that breathes the spirit of revolutionary irreconcilability to enemies of the people, the spirit of proletarian organization and discipline in the mass movement of the peoples."

(2) "A decisive condition for the victorious outcome of the national-liberation struggle is the formation when the necessary internal conditions allow for it, of people's liberation armies under the leadership of the communist party."

The polit-bureau shall reexamine all its resolutions, including the report on the strategy and tactics, in the light of these lessons and make comprehensive reviews and submit them to the central committee for confirmation and issue them to the ranks in the immediate future.

The second congress of the communist party of India was a great step in the life on of the Indian Communist Party. The political thesis adopted by the congress

laid down the basic programme and strategy and tactics of the people's democratic revolution in India.

The political thesis advanced as the most important task in the new stage, the struggle for the consolidation by all means of the people's democratic front, which must be the embodiment of the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class.

The congress became the starting point and a tremendous step forward in unleashing the forces of people's liberation struggles in Indian Union and Pakistan and for the strengthen of proletarian hegemony in the same.

The general secretary's report on the strategy and tactics adopted by the polit-bureau correctly applied on many points the line of the political thesis, and combated reformist influence inside the party, which was a hindrance in giving a bold leadership to the struggles of the workers and the toiling masses. This is testified by the fact that in the course of the last one year, the working class the Communist party have registered considerable success in developing and heading struggles of workers, peasants and the oppressed petty bourgeoisie in many parts of the country in which tens of thousands have been mobilized.

But the Communist party cannot rest satisfied with rousing and leading tens of thousands, at a time when under the stress of the deepening economic crisis, and when the anger and the disillusionment of the people against the bourgeois servitors of imperialism are rising ever higher, the objective possibility exists of mobilizing tens of millions of people belonging to all classes, parties and groups and organisations willing to fight imperialists and their hirelings and uniting them in the revolutionary struggle for people's power.

This lag is explained by the fact that while fighting reformism, which acted as a brake on the unleashing and the bold leadership of the struggles of the workers and the toiling masses, the polit-bureau committed certain errors in dogmatist and sectarian directions, which restricted the scope of those struggles and prevented the mobilization of the broadest masses in the same.

In combating the reformists who were retreating before repression and resiling from revolutionary struggle, the various resolutions of the polit bureau, particularly the report on strategy and tactics, correctly emphasized that the countrywide offensive launched by the Congress Government against the Communist Party and the democratic forces is a measure not of the strength of the reactionary camp but of its crisis, of its growing weakness and a sign of its impending collapse. We correctly pointed out the growing crisis, of the capitalist order and underlined the revolutionary tempo and sweep which the struggles of the masses were assuming under the leadership of the proletariat and called for the unwavering and resolute leadership of these struggles by the communists. But in doing so we failed to bring out sharply the fact that the grant of fictitious independence in the form of dominion status has not changed the colonial character of the Indian economy in which the key positions still remain in the hands of foreign imperialists. As a result of this faulty understanding, the main stress was

not laid on the fact that the character of the struggle still remained in the main anti-imperialist, anti feudal and national - liberationist. The task of dislodging of the national bourgeoisie from the leadership of the movement and its isolation, which constitutes one of the most important conditions for the hegemony of the working class in the national-liberation struggle, cannot be effectively carried out unless this basic fact is kept firmly in view.

In combating the reformists, who maintained that nothing has changed as a result of the Mountbatten award, the resolution of the polit - bureau correctly pointed out that the Nehru - Patel government representing the interests of the capitalists and landlords has gone over to imperialism, but we failed to underline the fact that in this sham independence, which we correctly unmasked the interests of the British imperialism remained "sacred and inviolable" and that " the Mountbattens had departed but British imperialism remains and octopus-like grips India in its bloody tentacles." This lied to two serious errors:

Firstly , we described the national bourgeoisie as the leading force (most active fighting partner) in the imperialist-bourgeoisie-feudal combine; whereas imperialists constitute the leading force in the bloc composed of the imperialists and their Indian satellites. The Nehru-Patel governments is carrying out the dictates of Anglo-American imperialists.

Secondly ,the general secretary's report on strategy and tactics adopted by the polit - bureau failed to distinguish between the Indian big bourgeoisie and other sections of the bourgeoisie, to point out that it is big bourgeoisie that is placed in the seat of power and collaborating with imperialists as their satellites.

In combating the reformist position which advocated abjuration of struggle against the bourgeoisie of the less developed nationalists, the resolution of the polit- bureau correctly maintained that one of the essential conditions of victory of the Indian revolution is ruthless struggle against all shades of bourgeoisie nationalism, establishment of the unity of the workers and the toiling masses belonging to all nationalities in a common people's revolutionary front in the struggle against imperialism and its collaborators. But they failed to point out that various sections of the bourgeoisie, i.e mainly belonging to undeveloped nationalities can still at one time or another ply the role of "fellow-travelers" in the national liberation struggle that the working class can enter into temporary agreements on national-democratic issues with those sections of the bourgeoisie for common struggle against imperialism, feudalism and national big bourgeoisie representing predominantly the Gujarati and Marwari capitalists. At the same time we must bear in mind that under the present conditions of the extreme accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism, when a specially sharp polarization of class forces is taking place, both on an international scale and within the bounds of every capitalist country individually, these oppositional strata of the Indian bourgeoisie ought not be regarded in any way as reliable or stable members of the anti- imperialist camp.

In combating the reformist elements ,who had been undermining the struggles of the agricultural workers and poor peasants in the interest of the rich peasants

and refusing to tear off the former from the political influence of the latter, the polit-bureau resolution on the agrarian question and similar other documents correctly laid stress on the supreme importance of firmly relying on agricultural workers and the mass of the peasantry. It is as a result of this strategy that mighty agrarian struggles have developed under the leadership of the Communist party in a number of provinces and districts. The aforementioned resolution of the polit-bureau, instead of emphasizing the anti feudal character of the workers' and peasants alliance, wrongly lumps the rich peasants with the landlords, describing the former as the spearhead of bourgeois - feudal reaction in the rural area. The resolution failed to point out that main slogans of the present stage of Indian revolution - abolition of landlordism without compensation and land to the tillers - correspond to the interests of the entire peasantry.

The aforementioned article of the organ of the information bureau has corrected this serious mistake by pointing out that "In these conditions, the task of the Indian communists, drawing on the experience of the national - liberation movement in China and other countries, is naturally to strengthen the alliance of the working class with all the peasantry to fight for the introduction of the urgently needed agrarian reforms..." (emphasis added). No doubt political influence of the rich peasants in the village must be fought, peasant masses weaned away from them and proletarian leadership and discipline established in the mass peasant movement. But in the interest of rallying the entire peasantry, for the struggle for the abolition of landlordism without compensation and for securing land to the tillers which constituted the urgently-needed agrarian reform, and in the interest of strengthening the alliance of the working class and all the peasantry, such, reforms as nationalization of all land must not be advocated as an immediate demand and the slogan of expropriation of rich peasants must not be advanced, the trade-union movement must actively lend its support to the peasant movement. The communist party must organize the peasant masses into action for general as well as the partial democratic demands of the peasantry.

In applying the correct slogan of alliance of the working class and all the peasantry, reformists will distort its true meaning by preaching abjuration of partial struggles of the agricultural workers and sharecroppers on the ground that they endanger the interests of the rich peasants; such distortion must be combated in order to establish leadership of the working class over the peasant movement and to lend it a revolutionary character. Reformists will further distort the slogan to hinder the mass struggles of the peasantry on the ground that they will alienate the rich peasants. It is by fighting such deviation that peasant struggles have advanced and will advance.

The ideological root of the sectarian deviation of the polit-bureau on the agrarian question arises out of this while development of capitalist relations in agriculture in India and the consequent class differentiation of the peasantry have been rightly pointed out, we have failed to see feudal landlordism as the dominant form of exploitation in the agrarian economy. It further arises out of the failure to understand

the anti-imperialist and national liberationist character of the Indian peasant movement.

The understanding of the development of the capitalist relations in agriculture, growing within the framework of feudal property relation, and of the consequent growth of class differentiation in the ranks of the Indian peasantry enabled the party to recognize the very important role which the agricultural workers must play in developing the agrarian revolution and in drawing the broad masses of the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle for the abolition of landlordism. It enabled us to come out of the grooves of reformism and to swing the peasant movement towards militant struggles of the peasant masses for land and agriculture workers strike struggles for higher wages, etc. But the failure to understand feudal landlordism as the dominant form of exploitation and the colonial character of Indian economy or, in other words the failure to understand that the fight against imperialism and feudal landlordism constitute the basis of the community of interest of the entire peasantry have led to restricting the scope and sweep of peasant struggle on a country wide scale.

The editorial article of the organ of the information bureau has correctly, formulated our important task in the following words: "On the basis of the common struggle for freedom and national independence of the country against the Anglo-American imperialists oppressing it and against the reactionary big bourgeois and feudal princes collaborating with them, to unite all classes, parties, groups and organizations willing to defend the national independence and freedom of India." The programme of people's democratic front set forth in the political thesis of the second party congress constitutes the basis of this broad joint front. Such a joint front must be obviously, under the leadership of the working class and an ally of the international democratic anti-imperialist front led by the USSR.

In order to draw the broadest sections of the masses in the revolutionary struggles and to build the people's democratic front capable of ending the rule of the imperialists and its Indian collaborators, we must emphasise the importance of the following cardinal tasks:

(1) The peace movement which has already begun with a broad based character must be developed throughout the country along the line laid down in the resolution of the information bureau on the "Defence of peace and the struggle against warmongers". It must become the pivot of the entire activity of the party and the mass organizations. It is our duty to merge the struggle for national liberation with that for peace, tirelessly exposing the anti-national and treacherous policy of the congress and League governments which have become direct lieutenants of British and American imperialists and are seeking to make India a base of war against the USSR, the people's democracies and the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia.

(2) Ceaseless efforts must be made to unite of the ranks of the working class by systematic exposure of the splitters like the leadership of the INTUC and the Socialist Party, by persistently explaining to the rank-and-file workers under reformist influence the significance of the cause of working class unity, by bringing

the unorganized workers into the fold of the unions affiliated to AITUC, organizing joint strike committees with all unions in defence of working class rights and interests, and by setting up board based rank-and-file mill committees, factory committees, etc. The Communist Party and the militant unions led by it must be in the forefront of all in mobilizing the broadest masses of workers to fight for their immediate and most easily understood demands and thus help to establish permanent unity in the ranks of the proletariat. Unity of the working class is essential not only for the successful defence of its day-to-day interests but also for consolidating its leading and organizing role in the people's liberation struggle.

(3) Systematic efforts must be made to develop the struggle of the agricultural workers for wages and land and to organise independent agricultural workers, unions. At the same time, it is of the utmost importance to remove the lag in giving a broad based and all-India character to the struggles of the peasants against the oppression of the feudal landlords and the police and for the seizure of land, which are developing under the revolutionary leadership of agricultural workers and proletarianised peasants and which are rising to the level of partisan warfare as in Telangana and other places. Drawing the broadest masses of the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle for land, for the abolition of landlordism will be possible only by resolutely fighting against the Congress and socialist leaders, the purveyors of the stupefying influence of Gandhism, who are seeking to draw away the peasant masses from revolutionary struggle and to disrupt the growing worker-peasant alliance in the countryside. The building of mass agricultural workers's unions, and of mass kisan sabhas, their coordination and guidance on an all-India plane, the isolation and exposure of the parallel kisan organisations that are sought to be formed by the Congress and socialist leaders are the most important tasks closely bound up with the developing revolutionary struggle of the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party.

(4) It is of the utmost importance to develop a broadbased struggle against the fascist repressive policy of the Congress rulers, the trampling of all democratic rights and liberties by them which is arousing anger and disillusionment among the wide sections of the people. For this purpose we must broaden the movement for the defence of civil liberties by bringing within its fold all parties, groups, organizations and individuals who are prepared to defend the civic rights and political liberties of the people.

The resolutions of the polit-bureau, correctly repudiating both reformist restriction of mass struggles into the confines of peaceful constitutionalism as well as petty-bourgeois revolutionism advocating socalled 'militant' actions without the participation of the masses, have rightly stressed upon the supreme importance of combining all reforms of struggle taking into account the unequal development of the movement of the masses in different parts of the country. These directives summed up the essence of out experience of the countrywide struggles led by the Communist Party in different forms on different issues. Emphasising the essence of the experience of the Chinese revolution and the national-liberation struggle of other colonial countries, the editorial article has correctly pointed out that "A decisive

condition for the victorious outcome of the national-liberation struggle is the formation, when the necessary internal conditions allow for it, of people's liberation armies."

The immense significance of the editorial article of the organ of the information bureau must be properly understood. The Anglo-American imperialists are preparing for war with feverish haste, to drown in blood the national-liberation movement of the Asian peoples. The Communist Party of India must play its historic role by mobilizing millions of people against imperialism, for national independence and people's democracy.

The hatred and indignation of the people are rising high against the Congress government selling national independence to the imperialists and brutally suppressing the people at the orders of their imperialist masters. Armed clashes are taking place between its police and the people in many parts of the country. Partisan fighters are already active in the field in certain regions. The base of the imperialists is tottering.

By correct application of the tactical line contained in the editorial article, the Communist Party shall be able to be at the head of a nationwide struggle for real national independence and people's democracy.

By daily exposing the colonising plans of the imperialists at every step, by weaning a way the masses from the influence of the Congress and the socialist leaders acting as the stooges of Anglo-American imperialists, by combining all forms of struggle and mobilising all democratic forces, we will be able to remove the gap that exists between the national-liberation struggle of the Indian people and that of the other Southeast Asian countries. The patriotic call for national independence, peace and democracy has such a wide appeal that it is possible for the Communist Party to mobilise the millions of working people and other democratic forces in India against the antinational reactionary bloc led by Anglo-American imperialists.

The Congress government is delivering cruel blows on the people's movement, on the working class and on the Communist Party to save the crumbling colonial order of the imperialist colonisers. But as the editorial article points out, "when a people resolutely goes into struggle and when the communist parties are capable of heading this struggle, no forces of internal counter revolution and of the foreign imperialists can crush the people's masses who have taken to revolution".

The editorial article of the information-bureau organ is a great contribution to the unification of party ranks. Since the second Party congress the stubborn fight against reformism carried on by the entire Party has played a great role in unifying the ranks and putting the party at the head of the fighting people. The editorial article of the information bureau strengthens that fight and at the same Marxism - Leninism Armed with this weapon based upon the correct application of Lenin and Stalin teachings to fight against all alien trends, we must unify the entire Party as a granite rock against imperialism and its Indian allies.



# **REPORT ON THE LEFT DEVIATION INSIDE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA**

*Draft critique submitted by the members of the  
Central Committee from Andhra and amended  
and approved by  
the Central Committee in its recent meeting*

**MAY, 1950**

## INTRODUCTION :

That the Communist Party of India was sunk deep in right reformism and suffered heavily from it for a number of years, is common knowledge of every Party Member. Hardly did we make a turn from it and start locating it in all its hidden manifestations, in order to root it out, when the monster of left sectarianism has gripped the Party in its talons- a monster no less dangerous than right reformism.

It is full two years since the communist Party of India held its Second Party Congress at which a long Political Thesis had been adopted and a number of other important resolutions also had been passed. In these last two years a serious inner-Party struggle has been and is being conducted not only to unify the Party on the basis of the new political line adopted by the Second Party Congress, but also to get at the completely correct and clear understanding as regards the stage, strategy and tactics of our struggle. This inner-Party struggle is expressed in a number of documents drafted and submitted by different Provincial Committees, members of the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau. Out of them, the draft note submitted by the Provincial Committee Secretariat of Andhra - incidentally, the Secretariat is comprised of two members of the Polit Bureau and four members of the Central Committee - that was discussed and drafted in the month of April, 1948, hardly one month after the Second Party Congress, and the subsequent criticism of the Polit Bureau on it which obtains in the form of three main documents, i.e. Some questions of Strategy and Tactics (called the Tactical Line in the Present document), on the Agrarian Question and On People's Democracy, are the key and basic ones in which a good many highly controversial issues are discussed and decided one-way or another.

In the same period, a number of important articles, by eminent Marxist writers, both on India and on general theoretical and political questions, have been published in the international Communist Press. Particularly significant for us are those by the Soviet and the Chinese leaders like Zhukov, Dyakov, Alkeyev, Schneerson, Ostrovitianov, Mao, Liu Shao-chi and others. The resolution of the Information Bureau (IBNCP) on the Tito gang and the ideological, theoretical struggle that has been unleashed on Leninist -Stalinist lines throughout the world in the Communist Parties is another historic event of the period. The discussions and deliberations of the Peking Conference of the Trade Unions of Asia and Oceania and the Editorial that appeared in the Lasting Peace, organ of IBNCP, dated January 27, 1950, are of special importance, because they have direct bearing on the problems facing India.

In the light of all these it is incumbent on us, the members and leaders of the Communist Party of India, to examine self-critically the whole understanding, outlook and practice of Communist Party of India and its leadership, so that prompt and proper lessons and tasks are deduced from it for the future work and progress of

the revolutionary movement in India. In a nutshell, this is the purpose and scope of this document.

The second Party Congress and its resolutions as embodied in the Political Thesis are an important step in the life of the Indian Communist Party and a big political event inside the country. It is a genuine attempt to rescue the Party from the mire of reformism, in which it had been sunk for a long time.

The thesis succeeded in bringing out sharply the following salient points :

- (i) The post-Second-World War international situation and the new alignment of forces in which the people's camp emerged stronger vis-à-vis the imperialist camp, is sharply brought out, though the correlation of forces in India is wrongly estimated.
- (ii) The post-war crisis, the severe effects on the working class and the other toiling millions of India, and the consequent anti-imperialist mass upsurge, the machinations of imperialism and the reactionary Big Bourgeoisie to counter that upsurge, are also prominently brought out.
- (iii) It has taken note broadly of the fact that the new ruling bloc of Imperialism, feudalism and the bourgeoisie now represents the chief immediate enemy of the revolution, and hence the national liberation struggle is to be conducted not only against Imperialism and feudalism, as in the past, but also against the collaborationist bourgeoisie (though it failed to distinguish the middle bourgeoisie from the big bourgeoisie and lumped them together). A sharp break is made from the former reformist understanding of the Mountbatten Award and "to parade this new status as national freedom or national advance" is severely attacked and exposed. "The Mountbatten Award does not really signify a retreat of Imperialism, but its cunning counter-offensive against the rising forces of the Indian people." (Political Thesis P.40).
- (iv) Though the agrarian part of the Thesis is weak and without enough elaboration nevertheless it has shown how the feudal and pre-capitalist relations on land have brought ruin and misery to the overwhelming millions of colonial masses, i.e., the peasantry; the slogan of abolition of land-lordism and land to the tiller, is brought to the forefront.
- (v) A call to rally "all the classes for whom the success of the Democratic revolution is vital" and who are interested in defeating this new counter-revolutionary bloc of imperialism, feudalism and the collaborationist bourgeoisie, is brought out in striking relief in the Thesis; it also gave a corresponding Democratic programme.
- (vi) The conception of working class hegemony which was in a way watered down in the period of reformism has been reinstated in the Thesis with due emphasis, even though its understanding of the concept of hegemony is crude and mechanical.

But this is not all. There are some serious shortcomings and dangerous roots of Left-Sectarianism from which the Thesis suffered. Before we analyse them, it is also necessary to comprehend the circumstances in which the new line had been

discussed and adopted. The Draft Thesis had seen the light of day only in December, 1947, and that too only in English. It took some weeks more to get it translated into different national languages and reach it to the ranks. Between the Second Party Congress where the Thesis was adopted and the time when the original draft was issued, there was hardly a month's interval within which the ranks were called upon to discuss and contribute. That too, without the self-critical report of the Central Committee by which alone it could have been possible to pick up all the threads, understand the deviations, note the departures and participate actively in the discussion. Added to this one cannot ignore the fact that the theoretical level of the whole Party ranks was poor since it was in an emasculated condition due to the systematic discouragement of study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism in the preceding long period of reformism.

It was under these limitations that the Second Party Congress was held. Even the Congress itself imposed further limitations of its own. It was composed of a huge delegation, as much as a thousand, out of which six to seven hundred attended. Further, there was a wide disparity of levels in the delegation. The time before the Congress was short-just 7 days, within which a number of resolutions besides the Thesis had to be pushed through while the self-critical report of the Central Committee was given three days after the commencement of the Congress, and only just a few hours before the discussion of the Thesis was taken up. By the time of the meeting of the Congress, severe repression was unleashed on the three major provinces of the South, thereby preventing several leading cadres from attending the Congress and keep the whole Congress in an atmosphere of tension.

The above-mentioned state of affairs naturally had their repercussions and reflections on the deliberations of the Congress.

Consequently, the Thesis suffered from the following principal short-comings:

i. The new constellation of class forces on a world scale in the post-Second World War period is defined as one in which the entire world bourgeoisie, ranged together with its reformist hangers-on and reactionary supporters, is attempting to stem the tide of revolution and oppose the working-class, the people, Socialist Soviet Union and Eastern Democracies and colonial people. At the same time, the aspect of bourgeois collaboration inside India is talked of loosely and vaguely, and not in precise and specific terms. While discussing the economic basis of collaboration, it generally speak of "**Big Business**". The following quotations from the Political Thesis bear testimony to this. "The accumulation has made the Indian bourgeoisie-**Big Business**-ambitious and to look in all directions for investment"- (Page 23, para 3). "Notwithstanding the growth of liquid capital and ambitions, Indian **Big Business** is hemmed in from all sides by its backwardness, colonial limitations and dependence on Britain-factors which the latter is fully exploiting." (Page 24, para 1). "The sum earned by India through exports is too little to finance the requirements of **Big Business** and it is thus brought to face the bitter truth that for its very existence it is dependent on America or Britain." (Page 25, Para4 – Emphasis in all the above ours).

But at the same time, throughout the Thesis, whenever it spoke of collaboration, it used the phrase “bourgeois collaboration” which is vague and which may mean either the Big Business or the entire bourgeoisie. This ambiguity and consequent confusion on it is best demonstrated when further discussions arose on this specific topic, how some of the members of the Polit Bureau themselves, who were also members of the Drafting Committee of the Political Thesis, came forth with different interpretations of the phrase “bourgeois collaboration” at different times and argued that the middle bourgeoisie at certain stage of the revolution can either be neutralised or brought into the Democratic Front. For example, Com. Mehta in his note on the Draft Resolution of the Andhra Secretariat (which was accepted by many members of the Polit Bureau), makes the following formulation: “undoubtedly, the lower sections of the bourgeoisie in the urban and rural areas, middle-sized traders and a section of the rich farmers, we will be able to neutralise in the course of the struggle.”

But, subsequently, by the time the Tactical Line document was prepared, the left - sectarianism of the Polit Bureau asserted itself completely and it rigidly and unambiguously declared the entire bourgeoisie including the rich peasant to be in the camp of the enemy, thus closing all loopholes left in the Thesis for any corrective effort in the right direction on this topic.

(ii) As a corollary of the above the question of the stage and strategy also remains defined in vague and broad terms. A tendency is revealed even in the Political Thesis while discussing the stage and strategy to forget the specific nature and tasks of the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and equate them with those of the revolutions in the independent, capitalist, imperialist countries brushing aside the distinction. Similarly, another tendency is expressed as though the slogan of People’s Democracy is a slogan which dispenses away with definite and different stages of development in the post-second-world-war period. It is sometimes argued as if the Democratic and Socialist stages get mixed up into a single stage.

Take the following quotations from the Political Thesis: “It means the People’s Democratic Revolution has to be achieved for the completion of the task of the democratic revolution and the simultaneous building up of Socialism.” (page 74, para3, Emphasis ours.) This is subsequently interpreted as to mean that both the stages i.e., Democratic and Socialist, are mixed and rolled up into one single stage.

iii. In its analysis of the economic changes which have taken place in India during the period of the Second World War, and the consequences thereof, the Thesis points out how the Indian big bourgeoisie has profited by the war; but from this fact, the Thesis draws wrong conclusions, conclusions tinted with the wrong understanding based on certain erroneous formulations of Varga and false theories of the Tito agent, Kardelj, such as “India has become a creditor country from a debtor country etc.” — Conclusions which have been subsequently trenchantly criticised by Soviet economists and which bear the germs of the discredited “decolonisation” theory. The Thesis is tainted with the germs of this wrong

understanding because while pointing out how the Indian big bourgeoisie has profited by the war, it at the same time fails to point out the **basic fact**, - to which the above is subordinate, - of the one-sided colonial character of the Indian industries and their dependence on Imperialism and the compradore character of Indian big capital which was acting as the agent of Anglo-American monopoly capital in maintaining India as their colonial base. Not only this, it wrongly tends to emphasise the independent development of Indian big capital and its "conflict" with Imperialism, its solving these "conflicts" "at Government level", its gaining some big concessions from imperialism by "political bargaining", etc.-thus virtually equating the economic status of India with that of the Marshallised countries like France, etc. In its analysis of Indian economic crisis too, the Thesis makes concessions to the same wrong understanding as if Indian economy is independent capitalist economy.

iv. Similarly, while on one hand making formulations such as "the poorer sections of the landlords are to be given a moderate allowance for a certain period or allowed to retain private land sufficient for their maintenance" (P.99), on the other, the slogan that the "KHAS lands of the rich peasants must be confiscated without compensation and distributed among toiling peasants" is shoved in a haphazard manner.

v. Besides these, the Thesis does not give any warning against the danger of left-sectarianism.

The Polit Bureau later developed all the left sectarian roots contained in the Thesis into a full system, nullifying its basically correct formulations.

Seriously enough, some delegates to the Second Party Congress had remarked in the Congress discussions that the Political Thesis is somewhat like Encyclopedia Britannica, meaning that it is diffused, voluminous and not sharp, etc. Thereupon Com. B.T. Ranadive replied in the following manner: If the Central committee were capable of presenting it in a sharp, short resolution, it would have been a great Central Committee, etc., pleading the necessity and inevitability of such a lengthy Thesis. But, the subsequent doubts and discussions on the stage, strategy, etc., showed how the diffused, voluminous character had really concealed some serious shortcomings and sometimes in a way self-contradictory formulations too.

In the further discussions it will be shown how these concealed shortcomings have revealed themselves later.

Seizing upon these ambiguities in the Political Thesis, a section of the provincial leadership in Andhra, incidentally which had been in the past consistent upholders of reformist line of the old Central Committee, curiously enough began to argue that with the Mountbatten Award the entire bourgeoisie had got political power, the stage of the revolution was nothing but the October stage, i.e., the Socialist Dictatorship of workers and poor peasants, and at the present stage the struggle was a struggle against the entire bourgeoisie including rich peasant. The middle peasant was not to be considered an ally in the Democratic Front, but only to be neutralised. On further discussion and clarification others withdrew from this stand, but one member of the Central Committee persisted on the same lines. It was

impossible to carry conviction to him if we had argued confining ourselves strictly to the letter of the Political Thesis. It was under these circumstances that the rest of the Andhra Provincial Committee Secretariat, incidentally which had been consistently voicing its opposition to the reformist line of the old Central Committee since 1944-of course with its own limitations,- was called upon to fight this left deviation. As a matter of fact this swing to left deviation was not confined merely to a few individuals, but was raising its head as a trend inside the Party, in one form or other and in one measure or other. Thereupon a note was drafted by the Andhra Secretariat in which clarification and concretisation of the issues in discussion was attempted.

The Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat made the following basic formulations:

i. It is wrong to refuse to make basic distinction and differentiation between the revolutions in imperialist countries and the revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries, that suffer from the domination of imperialism. In support of this stand, besides other arguments, it was stated that Russia was an independent, feudal-military state, whereas India is not independent but only a semi-colony.

ii. "The present stage of revolution essentially though not exactly is similar to that of the present stage of Chinese revolution, the stage that is opened since 1927 bourgeois offensive against communists and working class." (Draft Note of Andhra Secretariat, P.10)

To bring out a parallel mechanically or try to borrow verbatim strategy adopted for the October stage of the Russian revolution is totally wrong, confusing and misleading.

In this stage of our revolution, our fight is not directed against the "entire capital including the rural rich, kulaks and the profiteers, but only against imperialism, feudalism and the native big, collaborationist bourgeoisie."

iii. The middle bourgeoisie may however maintain neutrality or participate in the revolution.

iv. The middle peasant is not to be neutralised in this stage of revolution as some argue on the basis of the analogy of Russian October stage, but to be won over. It is our task to rally the middle peasant to the Democratic Front and solidly unite with him.

v. "The offensive launched by Nehru Government against CPI is a part of the international offensive started by world imperialism. It is an offensive by which it ranges itself against all progressive and democratic forces of the world. To put it bluntly, this offensive is practically nothing but a **cruel civil war** let loose by the imperialist-bourgeois-feudal combine against the working class, peasants and other toiling masses. The stage has come wherein even day-to-day partial struggles have to be fought armed or semi-armed. Armed resistance has been forced on the agenda of the revolution by this offensive of the bourgeoisie. Either we resist inch by inch the civil war and offensive let loose against us by all means at the disposal of the people, or allow the bourgeoisie a free hand to crush the forces of revolution and end in the victory of counter-revolution.

“Keeping all this in view, in areas where we are a good proportion in the masses like certain parts of Andhra, Kerala, Bengal, etc, the time has come to think in terms of guerilla warfare (Chinese way) against the military onslaughts of Nehru Government, which is bent upon mercilessly liquidating us. Unless, with a clear perspective we plan out methods of resistance and if we leave it to spontaneity the future history will charge us with gross betrayal of the revolution.” (Draft Note, Andhra Secretariat, P.10 paras 5 and 6). Thus, the nature of the civil war and the imminent tasks of organising armed resistance to the brutal offensive of the collaborationist regime, are sharply brought out.

vi. The course and the path and the form of the struggle is similar to that of the Chinese, i.e. creation of liberation armies, etc., etc. This is as regards the perspective of our struggle.

The Polit Bureau came out in its three documents concerning the issues at controversy with a vehement attack and complete condemnation of every point made in the Andhra Draft note. The Polit Bureau instead of utilising the strong points brought out in the Andhra document seized upon some of its shortcomings and certain over-simplified explanations and formulations and denounced the entire document as containing “crassest reformism” as alarming to the extreme “and as an attempt to revise the Political Thesis” adopted at the Second Congress. Not satisfied with the rejection of all the main formulations made in the Andhra document, it went full length and made fundamental departure not only from the Political Thesis but also from all accepted tenets of Marxism-Leninism. And it chose to thrust all these distortions and worst sectarian formulations on the entire Party as the supposed authoritative interpretation of the political Thesis. In this connection it must be said the Polit Bureau by then alone had sunk so deep in left deviations, that the strong points in the Andhra document, instead of helping them to grapple with realities and making them put these thought provoking points to sober discussion, only caused them to get “alarmed to the extreme.”

The force of the style used, the vehemence with which the attacks were delivered, the polemical salics that were attempted therein, the false pretences that were made to fight reformism, the repeated invocations of the names of the masters of Marxism-Marx, Engles, Lenin and Stalin-in order to screen their left-adventurist formulations, were such that they made the Party ranks reel before them and made them shudder. Therefore the ranks could hardly pick up courage to come forward with any criticism of the documents. With all the weight and prestige that the Second Congress gave the leadership as those in the forefront of the fight against reformism, with the entire Party crippled theoretically as a result of the long reformist past, these documents could go down more or less unchallenged in the ranks. Even some of the members of the Andhra Secretariat, who could not agree with these documents dared not frontally attack them in the prevailing atmosphere of all-out political offensive of the Polit Bureau on these lines. The Secretary of the Andhra Provincial Committee, in his capacity as a member of the Polit Bureau, had written a letter to the Polit Bureau expressing differences on

some of the basic formulations of the Polit Bureau documents though they were in the form of doubts, seeking clarification, etc.

This was written on the basis of a series of discussion conducted on these documents inside the Andhra Secretariat and in the light of a number of articles that had by them appeared in the international Communist Press.

This solitary voice of disagreement had no effect on the Polit Bureau.

Thus, the Polit Bureau which accuses Andhra Secretariat of having attempted to revise the Thesis and departed from it, etc., in reality has itself not only revised and made basic departures from the Political Thesis, but also committed the sin of revising the Communist International documents and all accepted tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

Before we examine these in detail in the main body of the present document, let us analyse in brief the points made out in the Polit Bureau documents.

(A) The Polit Bureau's interpretation of the international situation and analysis of the class forces operating therein is subjective and mechanical. The formulation of zhdanov made at the inauguration of the Nine Parties Conference, that the world is divided into two camps etc., has been reduced by the Polit Bureau practically to mean that in post-Second World War period only one contradiction remains, i.e. that between capital and labour and all other principal contradictions of the era of Imperialism have receded into the background and are of no or little significance for the strategy and tactics of the proletarian struggle. It is in a way so simplified that the working class and the communist parties can afford to do away with bothering with the various stages of the revolution and the entire world is reduced to such a simple and vulgar division into "haves and have-nots". In fact , this is how the Polit bureau built their entire strategy .

(B) From this erroneous understanding flowed the rest of the blunders.

They attempted to fit in every aspect of the problem into this wrong framework. A pseudo-class analysis was made devoid of all objective reality , and only based on their own wishful thinking.

The accepted Lenin-Stalin formula of distinction and differentiation between revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries and the revolutions in independent , capitalist, imperialist countries was summarily set aside . Thus, the national liberation aspect of our struggle and the particular task that enjoins upon us are refused to be taken into consideration at all.

To suit their conclusions a pseudo-left theory was invented "that the bourgeoisie acting within the frame-work of the Mountbatten Plan has been able to bargain hard and advance its own interests in relation to imperialism ,etc. They made the Indian bourgeoisie the spearhead of counter-revolution , thereby screening from the people the imperialists their domination and their conspiracies . By stating that the Indian bourgeoisie has advanced its position , they have returned objectively in essence to the discredited old reformist stand that Mountbatten Award constituted "national advance".

**(C) Stage and strategy:** It is already pointed out in the foregoing, while examining the shortcomings of the political Thesis, how it is vague and confusing about the stage of our revolution. Even after the question was raised on this point, the Polit Bureau in its document "On people's democracy" only made the confusion worse confounded. The Polit Bureau pretended to make an attempt to clarify the Leninist concept that the two revolutions, i.e. the Democratic and the Socialist, are the two links in one chain; but all it did was to play with phrases like "interlinking", "interweaving", "interlacing", "inter-twining", "delayed democratic revolution ripening into Socialist revolution", "its extreme nearness to Socialist revolution", etc., and work itself up to the conclusion that "it is mixed", thereby meaning that the present stage of revolution is a combination of both the stages of February and October of Russian Revolution. This is what the document "On people's Democracy" says on the point : "It is this mixing, this combination that gives people's democratic revolution in our country. Is the present phase of Indian revolution comparable with the February and the October revolutions in Russia? It is neither. It is mixed ." (P.9, PPH Ltd).

Thus, the supposed clarification once again returns to the bankrupt anti-Leninist formulation made in the pamphlet "Opening Report by Comrade B.T. Ranadive on the Draft Political Thesis" (PPH Ltd.) which reads thus: "It has been characterised in the document that the struggle for democratic revolution gets intertwined in the struggle for Socialism and **there can be no two stages of revolution**. It is the same type as in Yugoslavia." etc. (P. 39. para 5. underline ours).

Thus, the Polit Bureau had successfully muddled the idea of two links in one chain as to make it into practically "one link and no chain."

Naturally, with such a muddled, confused and erroneous outlook on the question of stage, it is impossible that the Polit Bureau can work out a correct strategy. Here again after the much repeated talk of "concrete class analysis" the Polit Bureau brings in its outrageous interpretation of Zhdanov's analysis of the international situation and argues thus:

"Zhdanov in his report on the international situation at the Warsaw Nine Parties' Conference, describes the People's Democratic government as a bloc headed by the working class- a bloc of peasants, people, etc., i.e., **one in which the bourgeoisie has no place.**" (P.I. para 2, PPH Ltd., On People's Democracy.)

Having sufficiently distorted and oversimplified Zhdanov on the one hand, and in the name of fight against reformism on the other, the Polit Bureau fulminated against Mao and the Andhra Secretariat, which had quoted Mao in the following words: "The petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie oppressed and injured by this class and its state power, although they too are bourgeoisie, may however participate in the new Democratic Revolution or maintain neutrality." (Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat, P.12, Para 6). The Polit Bureau thus summarily ruled out the possibility of any section of the bourgeoisie becoming an ally of the working class in the People's Democratic Front, at any stage of the People's Democratic Revolution. They do not stop there; they go further. They apply the same rod to

the rich peasant and go hammer and tongs at any suggestion of the anti-feudal role of the rich peasants, "since they too are peasant bourgeoisie!" They make a demagogic attack on the Andhra Secretariat. To quote from the "Tactical Line": "How can rich peasants, even in the feudal areas, really play an anti-feudal role when the entire bourgeoisie wants to compromise and enters into alliance against the masses; when their leader the industrial bourgeoisie have signed a new alliance with feudalism and when consistently fighting against feudal elements creates danger for the rich peasants also at the hands of the masses? How can all this happen when the class antagonism between the exploiters and exploited have reached such higher proportions?" (Tactical Line, cycloped copy, P.38, para 2).

Such was the bankrupt manner in which the strategy was worked out by them.

**(D) Agrarian Question:** The Polit Bureau document on the Agrarian Question attempted at a basic revision of the formulation made in the Colonial thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International (herein after referred to simply as the Colonial Thesis of Communist International). Such revision was made by means of a summary statement that "this was two decades ago, before the great capitalist crisis before the Second World War and the economic developments preceding it-two decades before the full effects of the growth of Indian industry despite imperialist obstacles, growth of trade, commerce and towns which led to increased commodity production, production for the market in villages could be seen, etc." (On the Agrarian Question, PPH Ltd., P.2 last para).

The Polit Bureau attempted at "new" and "fundamental" analysis and "fundamental re-estimate of the class relations in the agrarian areas."

The so-called "fundamental re-estimate" has resulted in nothing but a stupid assertion that the capitalist relations have become dominant though feudal relics in varied forms "still exist".

The Polit Bureau takes cudgels against the Andhra Secretariat for distinguishing the rich peasant from the capitalist landlord. That to reject this distinction has a number of harmful consequences, is patent to any who had studied the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on this issue.

.. The Polit Bureau asserts that the rich peasantry in our country is "able to get out of the shackles of the feudal landlords by the power of money, the power of the exchange relations over feudal relations," and "these well-to-do elements are able to escape the mediaeval yoke and carry on capitalist exploitation."

Sometimes the wish is father to the thought for our Polit Bureau. Contrary to the understanding of the Communist International about the objective position and interests of the Indian Big Bourgeoisie, the Polit Bureau foolishly puts its faith in the objective potentialities of the collaborationist bourgeois regime to "compel feudalism to reform to its own advantage". "Curb feudalism to suit its own interests" and "emancipate the peasant bourgeoisie" from the clutches of feudalism. While on the one hand they nullify the real antagonism between feudalism and the rich peasant, and get extremely touchy when it is pointed out by the Andhra Secretariat,

on the other they make a big point on the antagonism between landlords and the Indian Big Bourgeoisie, whose objective interests in fact are closely bound up together in many respects. In reality, what a Marxist has to understand and stress in this connection is the **counter revolutionary alliance** of these two sections and not exaggerate their conflicts as the Polit Bureau does. It is with such a wrong outlook that all the agrarian bills proposed by the Congress Governments in different provinces are interpreted by the Polit Bureau and subjective and sectarian conclusions are drawn from them.

Naturally from all the aforesaid comes the prize conclusion that the rich peasantry is not only in the enemy camp but "is one of the main enemies on the rural areas-in fact the spearhead of bourgeois-feudal reaction in rural areas."

Then coming to the question of the middle peasant and his role, it is to be noted that the Polit Bureau far from debunking sharply the stand taken by some comrades that the middle peasant is to be neutralised in the People's Democratic Revolution, only provided ample grist to their mill. No doubt the documents state that "he (middle peasant) can be won over, there is an important place for him in the alliance, because he is a victim of both feudal and capitalist exploitation," etc. But, often repeated formulations that precede the above statement such as "there is no doubt that initially his vacillations will be very big; incited by the rich peasants he may be hostile," "his vacillations however are bound to be great." "the middle peasant vacillates most" and "his vacillations will be therefore of the most violent type" etc., overstresses the aspect of vacillation without taking into consideration the stage of the revolution. Thus what it does is in effect indirectly to concede the viewpoint of those who advance the slogan of neutralisation of the middle peasant, on the plea that the present fight is a straight fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Lastly, the document introduces afresh the slogan of nationalisation of land, citing the authority of the Colonial Thesis of the Communist International. The Polit Bureau which makes bold to revise the fundamental analysis made in it, dogmatically clings to this slogan of nationalisation of land without least bothering itself to put the question why in the east European democracies and in China this slogan was substituted by some other intermediary slogans. Nor does it bother itself with the subsequent clarification by Marxist authorities on this issue. Besides introducing this slogan, the Polit Bureau advances the queer logic that it will be a rallying and galvanising slogan in the ryotwari areas, whereas in reality these areas of the country prove too tough for this slogan to go down because the principle of private property is more deeprooted among the peasantry when compared with other parts of the country. To cap it all it runs into imaginary fancies that the peasant masses in India "have seen that under present property relations, they have been expropriated", meaning thereby that their consciousness has outgrown the instincts of private property.

(E) **Forms of struggle** : The Polit Bureau, while on the one hand it indulges in big talk about world capitalist crisis, upsurge and revolution, etc., on the other

fails to assess properly what all this really means. The nature of the civil war that has been unleashed by the imperialist-bourgeois –feudal bloc against the people’s forces , the ruthless counter-revolutionary forms of struggle adopted by it are neither understood nor proper revolutionary forms of struggle attempted to be advanced . The suggestions of the Andhra Secretariat , based on the experience of Telengana, for a planned partisan warfare are pooh-poohed and ridiculed . When the Andhra secretariat says the perspective and the course of the struggle is similar to that of the Chinese, or in other words the “Chinese path” the Polit Bureau refuses to see anything new in the Chinese struggle, and learn from it. It doggedly pitches its tent on the set forms of struggle , i.e., a general strike and country wide armed uprising , as though the enemy were to allow you to muster and nourish your revolutionary forces as in the days of old . A number of phrases that were hurled into the documents which sound highly revolutionary are in reality nothing but a mere dressing for the opportunist and revisionist theories it invented.

(F) Finally ,the Polit Bureau as a consequence of all this faulty and un-Marxian understanding , landed itself in a scandalous attack on Mao , the leader of the Chinese Communist party, which has been successfully leading the mighty People’s Liberation War of china. They did this because the Andhra Secretariat in its Draft Note on the clarification of the questions of stage and strategy of our revolution extensively quoted from Mao’s pamphlet “New Democracy” and other reports, in support of the contention.

This refusal of the Polit Bureau to learn from the Chinese experience and the outstanding Marxist leaders like Mao, and resorting to vile attacks on Mao, has a number of serious consequences. At a time when the world imperialist press itself was busy putting out slanderous propaganda that he would become an Eastern Tito, etc., the sly suggestions of the Polit Bureau in their documents that his booklet “New Democracy” is not accepted by the Cominform Bureau, that Mao’s contributions on New Democracy belong to the category of revisionist theories of Browder and Tito, and that some of his formulations are reactionary, which no Communist party will accept, etc., etc., have done immense damage to the cause of the international solidarity of the revolutionary forces. Not only the bourgeois press and other left and pseudo-left press in the country utilised this to discredit the Communist party of India and its leadership in the eyes of the people, but the party ranks also were terribly confused and badly miseducated by this . It is no wonder some Committees and individual party members began to talk light of Mao and Chinese communist literature. It hindered and obstructed the entire party ranks in India from correctly imbibing the invaluable lessons of the Chinese revolution.

This is how the Polit Bureau has made a precipitous fall from right reformism to left adventurism all along the line .

Let us take a bird’s eye view of the way in which the leadership swung from the extreme right to extreme left.

In the pre-second congress period the party leadership under P. C. Joshi had practised tailism all along the line . Now in the name of fighting reformism the Polit

Bureau practised left adventurism . If the right liquidationism which ignored the independent class role of the proletariat had shelved the question of proletarian hegemony, the present left sectarianism in the name of proletarian hegemony and socialism has isolated the proletariat and its party from its fighting allies .

The right reformism with its opportunist interpretation and understanding of the anti - Imperialist United National Front had sabotaged the agrarian revolution ; the left sectarianism with its pseudo-class analysis coupled with extreme slogans , sabotaged and disrupted the agrarian struggle and armed resistance in the countryside .

On the question of nationalities, in the right reformist period, the party leadership had tailed behind communal bourgeois chauvinism, which ended in the disruption of the democratic movement. The sectarian Polit Bureau now in the name of proletarian internationalism and working class unity ,advocated the Bukharinite formula that reduced the slogan of self –determination of nations to mere “self-determination of toilers”. If in the period of reformism our policy ended in supporting Jinnah and his Pakistan slogan, the present sectarian denial of real right of self-determination has only strengthened the hands of reactionary Nehru-Patel Government .

Joshian reformism under the slogan of “partial struggles must be fought as partial struggles” preached and practised crude economism; the sectarian polit Bureau under the leadership of Ranadive issued the slogan that “every partial struggle is to be transformed into insurrectionary struggle” and landed in left adventurism.

Right reformism derided “spontaneity” with all its contempt for the masses, always putting organisation and its weaknesses only to sabotage struggles; the left sectarians began defying spontaneity and in the name of struggles they overlooked, ignored and brushed aside the dire necessity of any organisation. While one negates and liquidates the upsurge in the name of organisation, the other liquidates the organisation with the formula “crisis-upsurge and revolution” roled into one.

During the reformist era, it was bureaucracy in the party and the mood of the leadership was : everything to teach and nothing to learn; the party leaders are to say and the ranks are to do. Bureaucracy and anarchy stood at opposite poles with formal democracy in operation. The sectarians starting with the pretension of fighting for democracy, ended in undiluted authoritarian Titoist methods in the name of democratic centralism. Bureaucracy, formal democracy and anarchy of the right reformist era is substituted by complete nullification of inner Party democracy and establishment of Titoite-Turkish authoritarianism inside the Party.

The old right reformism reduced the standards of Party membership to the mass level, corroding its revolutionary cohesion and fighting capacities. Now, with erroneous left-adventurist policy in operation, and failure to convince politically and unify the ranks, it resorts to the magic wand of “discipline” and disrupts the Party. The right reformist Joshi under the slogan “Function the form efficiently” discouraged the proletarian cadre and promoted untempered petty-bourgeois intellectuals to man the highest positions. The left-sectarian Polit Bureau catching the correct slogan of “proletarianising the Party” vulgarised it and began to drive away cadres

on the ground of their “non-proletarian” origin. In other words, then it was liquidation of the Party from the right reformist end. Now it is liquidation of the party from the left-adventurist end.

In those days, under Joshi’s leadership, the Polit Bureau attacked the Andhra Secretariat branding it as sectarian and left-nationalist, etc., when it pointed out the mistakes in the tactics and policy of the Polit Bureau on a number of questions. The Polit Bureau “criticised” that there was not a “single socialist intellectual or peasant bolshevik” in the entire Andhra Party, and circulated this “criticism” to all the Provincial Committees. Now, once again, under the leadership of Comrade Ranadive, the Polit Bureau attacks the Andhra Secretariat as “crassest reformists,” etc., etc., when, once again, the latter pointed out the errors in the strategy and tactics as laid down by the Polit Bureau, and circulates its “criticism” not only throughout India, but throughout the world.

Thus the right opportunist Joshi pushed his reformism, down the throat of the party in the name of fighting “sectarianism and left nationalism”. The sectarians under the leadership of Ranadive pushed their left adventurism in the name of fighting right reformism. In reality neither fought the other; indeed, one cannot fight one deviation with another deviation. Both in fact fought against the growth of the revolutionary movement and the party in India.

This is how matters stand in a nutshell.

Right on the heels of the Polit Bureau documents articles appeared in the New Times and from Tass Agency written by eminent Marxist writers like Dyakov, Liu Shao-chi, Schneerson and others. Some of the formulations these articles contain basically differ from those made by the Polit Bureau. These were immediately brought to the notice of the Polit Bureau and clarification and serious consideration sought from the Polit Bureau by the Secretary of the Andhra Provincial Committee, who is also a member of the Polit Bureau. The Polit Bureau did neither choose to think seriously nor reply. The tenacity and persistence with which the Polit Bureau stuck to its wrong position can best be understood by the following two instances:

i) As early as July 1949 an article by Mao on the Dictatorship of people’s democracy was published in the organ of the Cominform Bureau from which good many threads for a correct understanding of our own problems could be picked up. No less a party than the C.P.S.U.(B) thought it fit to publish it in a pamphlet form. But, the Polit Bureau chose neither to publish it in its organs nor put it to inner-CC discussion. The General Secretary had taken the stand that he was opposed to publishing anything coming from Mao uncritically in our press. This he had clearly stated in his letter to another member of the Polit Bureau more or less in the same period.

ii) The second glaring instance is as regards the inaugural address of Liu Shao-chi to the peking conference of the Trade Unions of Asia and Oceania. Once again the Polit Bureau had neither thought it fit to publish it nor initiate inner-CC discussion on it. Not only that, it also appears from a reported conversation of a

Polit Bureau member with a delegate from Hyderabad to the Calcutta peace conference that an attempt was made to press all the points Liu Shao-chi has made in his speech into the framework of the Polit Bureau's erroneous and sectarian formulations.

This attitude of refusal of self-criticism persisted right upto the moment of the appearance of the Editorial in the organ of the Cominform Bureau (January, 27, 1950) which directly addressed itself to the strategy and perspective of the Indian revolution, which speaks against the stand of the Polit Bureau on every basic issue in discussion. After a couple of weeks of its receipt, General secretary rushes to the press with a statement greeting the Editorial. But, this too lacks the necessary self-critical approach and satisfies itself by making a mechanical paraphrasing of the Editorial.

The statement of the Polit Bureau-Polit Bureau Document to all party Members, No. 14, dated 24.2.50-assumes to be an attempt on the part of the Polit Bureau self-critically to examine its mistakes and achievements, etc., etc. A few quotations from the said document are more than enough to demonstrate how the statement in question is rather self-deception than self-criticism.

Here are a few choice pieces :

“It is a correct lead to the Communist party of India and is a timely reminder that in its actual achievements it is lagging behind the immense possibilities of the rising tempo and sweep of the revolutionary struggles which the Indian people are waging against Anglo-American imperialists and their Indian collaborators for national liberation and against colonial slavery.” (Emphasis for “lagging behind”. Polit Bureau's, rest of emphasis ours . Page 1, para 2 of the statement ).

“General Secretary's report on the strategy and Tactics adopted by the Polit Bureau correctly applied on many points the line of the Political Thesis, and combatted reformist influence inside the party, which was a hindrance in giving a bold leadership to the struggles of the workers and the toiling masses”. (Ibid , p. 3, para 6,emphasis ours ).

“The ideological root of the sectarian deviation of the Polit Bureau on the Agrarian Question arises out of this: while development of capitalist relations in agriculture in India and the consequent class differentiation of the peasantry has been rightly pointed out, we have failed to see feudal landlordism as the dominant form of exploitation in the agrarian economy (Ibid , p. 5, para 2, emphasis ours).

“Since the second party Congress , the stubborn fight against reformism carried on by the entire party has played a great role in unifying the ranks and putting the party at the head of the fighting people.” (Ibid , P.7 , para last , emphasis ours).

All that the organ of the cominform Bureau pointed out in its Editorial, in the opinion of our Polit Bureau is only a “timely remainder of the lag” in the actual achievements of the communist party of India , and not a sharp pull -up and totally alternative strategy and tactics placed before us !

The General Secretary's report on the Strategy and Tactics "has correctly applied on many points the line of the Political Thesis"! This document which made formulations and advanced strategy which fundamentally revised Marxism-Leninism on almost all basic issues, is acclaimed a correct contribution! This document which has topsy-turvyed the whole of Marxism, which is an embodiment of left-deviationist blunders, is acclaimed a document that "correctly applied on many points the line of the Political Thesis"! Could there be a more atrocious claim than this?

The Agrarian Document which made pseudo-class analysis and revised the entire Marxist-Leninist understanding on the colonial agrarian question is supposed to have "laid the correct stress" on and "rightly pointed out" a number of issues!

As a climax to all this exhibition of supreme self-confidence—really speaking it is nothing but conceit—comes its claim that its policy of left-deviation in operation has "played a great role in unifying the ranks," etc.! Is it not elementary Marxism that real revolutionary unity on Marxism-Leninism cannot be achieved with a left-adventurist policy in operation? Yet, the Polit Bureau is giddy with its supposed successes and woefully fails to assess the damage caused.

Will it not be naïve on the part of anybody to expect any genuine self-criticism from the propounders of the left-adventurist policy in the Party, who have miserably failed to make use of the invaluable international documents that appeared in this period, who arrogate to themselves all knowledge of Marxism and think they have little to learn from the brother parties and who doggedly defended their wrong line all through masquerading it as 100% Marxism?

It is evident how the Polit Bureau's leadership from right reformism has steadily marched straight into left-adventurism. With this left-adventurist policy in operation, with persistent refusal to correct themselves in the light of both the experience and the international documents, it is not difficult to assess the damage caused to the liberation struggle of India. Of course, it is imperative and urgent to examine self-critically the entire work on all fronts of the party during the last two years, without which no genuine turn can be made.

While world imperialism on the hand is making hectic-preparations to turn India into a bastion of reaction in the East and a jumping off ground to unleash a war on the people's liberation movements and democracies and the Soviet, it is highly deplorable that the leadership of the Communist Party of India on the other, paralyses the progress of the revolution and disrupts it with all the discredited anti-Marxist-Leninist pseudo-left theories and practices. The Central Committee, nay the entire ranks of the Party, have to take serious note of these developments and do the needful immediately to set right the malady, rise to the occasion and lead the liberation war in the footsteps of the victorious Soviet people and the Chinese people.

We have seen above in this short introductory note in a general way the nature of the blunders the Polit Bureau has committed. It would be far incomplete if we do not proceed to detailed discussion and examination of each and every point raised herein.

Here we wish to clarify one point. Reference to the Andhra Secretariat and its Draft Note is made throughout the present document, because the Polit Bureau's documents in question are a rejoinder to the Draft Note and hence such repeated reference becomes inevitable.

### THE BEGINING

The Purpose of the present document, as already indicated in the introduction is to study self-critically the serious left-deviationist mistakes in our party to-day. Because of their grave nature, it is necessary to go to the root of the errors and study in detail so that we rectify them easier and quicker.

It is no use satisfying oneself, as our Polit Bureau does, by saying that here is a small error and there a little gap—an attitude that blurs the Bolshevik outlook on self-criticism, which ought to be merciless. Here is the method and manner of self-criticism given by Lenin:

“The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the Party is, and how it, in practice, fulfils its obligations towards the **class** and the toiling **masses**. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious Party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the **class** and then the **masses**. By failing to fulfil this duty, by failing to give the utmost attention, care and consideration to the study of their mistake, the “lefts” in Germany (and in Holland) have proved that they are not a **Party of the class**, but a circle, not **Party of the masses** but a group of intellectuals and of a few workers, who imitate the worst features of intellectualism” (Lenin's Selected Works, Moscow Edition, Two volumes, Vol.II, P. 599, Emphasis author's).

Further, Lenin had occasion to observe “How true it is that a little mistake can always be turned into a monstrous one if it is persisted in, if profound reasons are given for it, and if it is driven to its ‘logical conclusion’.” (Ibid, P.589).

If even little mistakes, once persisted in, will turn into monstrous ones, one can easily imagine how our mistakes, which are not little but monstrous ones, already persisted in too long, and still only half-heartedly and formally accepted, will be damaging to the extreme!

It is in keeping with these instructive passages from Lenin that we shall proceed to self-critically discuss our mistakes, etc.

The starting point for a number of deviations on the part of the Polit Bureau is its mechanical, subjective and sectarian interpretation of Zhdanov's report to the Nine Parties' Conference at Warsaw. The Polit Bureau documents find fault with the Andhra Secretariat for its alleged reformist understanding of the international situation in the post-second World War period. While doing so, they seek support of Zhdanov's analysis of the world situation from his historic report at the Nine Parties' Conference, in which he stated “the more the war recedes into the past, the more distinct become two major trends in post-war international policy

corresponding to division of political forces operating in the international arena into **two major camps**— the imperialist and anti-democratic camp on the one hand and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp on the other.”(Emphasis ours).

Let us see from the following how the Polit Bureau deduces the meaning of the two camps.

The Political Thesis says: “The old combination in which certain sections of the bourgeoisie and their reformist hangers-on were found in the people’s camp in the common battle against fascism is replaced by one in which the entire world bourgeoisie ranged together, with its reformist hangers-on and reactionary supporters, is attempting to blend itself together to stem the tide of revolution and oppose the working class, the people, the Socialist Soviet Union the Eastern Democracies and the colonial peoples.”(Political Thesis, PPH, P.5, para 3, Emphasis ours).

Though the formulations that it “is attempting to blend itself together” leaves room for doubt and different interpretations, the Polit Bureau, while subsequently amplifying this in its document, the Tactical Line, without leaving any room for any doubt, categorically stated that in the present day world no section of the bourgeoisie, whether big, medium, small or peasant, in no country, whether imperialist, independent, capitalist, medium-developed capitalist, colonial or semi-colonial, at no stage of the revolution, whether national-liberationist, democratic or Socialist, can have a place in the revolutionary front. This in essence is their interpretation of the formulation of Zhdanov, the “two major trends” and the “two major camps”.

Is this Marxian interpretation or gross distortion? It is definitely the latter. Zhdanov’s analysis is perfectly correct and clear, and anybody who will not and cannot see the truth of this analysis cannot claim to be a serious Marxist.

After the October Revolution the world is split into two fundamentally hostile camps, i.e. the camp comprising the Soviet Union, the world working class movement and the colonial liberation movements and opposing it is the camp of world imperialism and its reactionary servitors. Again, during the course of history, particularly during the Second World War, there was a temporary alignment of World forces which got divided into two different camps, i.e. the camp of anti-fascism under the hegemony of the Soviet Union, in which certain imperialist states also were compelled to be present for the time-being. This anti-fascist camp after the defeat of the fascist camp again got divided into two major trends and two major camps as Com. Zhdanov has stated. One is at a loss to understand how this pointing of two major trends and two major camps by Zhdanov can be interpreted in the way the Polit Bureau has done.

Does this mean exclusion of all the other principal contradictions of the era of Imperialism—on the basis of which the strategy and tactics are worked out and, that out of them only one contradiction, i.e. the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, capital and labour, remains, as our Polit Bureau, sometimes overtly and sometimes covertly, asserts? Does it mean that all other principal contradictions of the era of Imperialism—except the one between capital and

labour—the contradictions to talk about which the Polit Bureau is touchy and likes to call them “difference”, etc. – are of no significance for the strategy and tactics of the world proletariat in its struggle for power? Precisely this is what the Polit Bureau means. Otherwise what do the following formulations of the Polit Bureau aim at ?

“Revealing as it may seem, the Andhra Secretariat does not accept the fact of the division of the world into two camps-of the line laid down by the Cominform, by Comrade Zhdanov. On the other hand, it presents a reformist understanding of world situation giving first importance to conflicts and competitions among the bourgeoisie and bases the entire strategy of class alliance on it.” (Tactical Line, cycloed copy, P.30. last para).

“Not the conclusion of two camps of imperialism and people, of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but the first conclusion is that the imperialism is devouring certain sections of the bourgeoisie which is supposed to have a tremendous bearing.”(Ibid,P.31).

“Not two camps, but reliance on and basic reliance at that (it is a distortion and bad suggestion that the Andhra secretariat had basically relied on sections of the bourgeoisie-Andhra Secretariat) on the increased competition among the bourgeoisie-not reliance on **revolutionary contradiction** (as if one contradiction is of revolutionary significance and the rest are not!-Andhra Secretariat) between the people and imperialism, between the workers and the bourgeoisie, but on the conflicts among the bourgeoisie: such is the international understanding of the situation of the Andhra Secretariat which is but an attempt to tie the proletariat to one of the sections of the bourgeoisie. This formulation also makes it clear that when the Andhra Secretariat talks of neutralisation they actually advocate collaboration and surrender; otherwise they would not have called the ‘devouring of smaller capitalists’ as having a tremendous importance on world situation to the exclusion of the contradiction between the people and imperialism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie,” (Ibid, P.33, Emphasis ours).

“The Political thesis bases itself on the intensified contradictions-the major contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, on the immensely increased strength of the forces of socialism. While it takes account of the increased conflict of capitalism, and imperialism, it at the same time lays down that the new basic elements is two camps-the camp of the bourgeoisie of imperialism, against the camp of socialism; of the working class, of democracy, the people. The Andhra Secretariat because it denies the existence of two camps, bases itself primarily on the increased conflict among the bourgeoisie and thus makes out a case for collaboration with one section of the bourgeoisie **when all sections are united in organising a world front of capital against labour**. The document of the Andhra Secretariat, when it talks about the Soviet, paraphrases the estimate which Stalin gave about the consequences of Russian Revolution 25 years back and do not go beyond them-do not see the great shift in the balance of forces reached since then.

“Obviously the international outlook revealed in the Andhra Secretariat document is open repudiation of both the Thesis and Zhdanov’s Statement before the Nine Parties Conference .” (Ibid.P.34.Emphasis ours).

“Thirdly, they (the entire world bourgeoisie) are not thinking in terms of competition and conflict only, but more in terms of collaboration against world communism and the Soviet Union.

“Fourthly, they know they cannot get a state which is equally anti-mass and at the same time completely free from imperialist strings.

“Fifthly, the Andhra Secretariat always forgets the basic class contradictions and bases itself only on the increased conflict of the bourgeoisie. It is obvious that even if some sections of the bourgeoisie do not get enough benefit, or let us say not much out of the present state, etc.-can they think in terms of an alternative, of altogether of a new type? Can they really take a challenging stand to the present collaborationist state? They dare not. For the alternative to it is the People’s Democratic State and not another form of capitalist state. That is why even the disgruntled elements cannot go beyond constitutional opposition and an attempt to take possession of the Government through constitutional means, while always ready to protect the state against people, against Communism.

“The Andhra Secretariat, forgets the dominant contradictions between the exploited people and the capitalists, the challenge of world Communism and the consequent position taken by world capitalism-the international front of capital, and hope to base its strategy on the differences among capitalists, **when all of them are united, inspite of the differences, against their enemy, the working class.** The working class no doubt takes advantage of whatever differences that might exist among different sections of the bourgeoisie, not to rely on any section, but to discredit and expose both. In the present period it cannot base its strategy on these differences, and forget as the Andhra Secretariat does, the main basic contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The Andhra documents see the effect of economic crisis, collaborations, etc., only on certain sections of the bourgeoisie, and forget the masses; they forget these same crises and collaboration intensify the contradiction between the people and the bourgeoisie a hundred-fold, leading to an open war between the two. It thus leads to an advocacy of alliance in one form or another with sections of the exploiting bourgeoisie and in the name of this alliance, of this broad front, effectively tie down the working class to the apron strings of the bourgeoisie.”(Ibid, P.36, Emphasis ours).

“How can rich peasants, even in feudal areas, really play an anti-feudal role when the **entire bourgeoisie** wants to compromise and enter into alliance against the masses; when their leader, the industrial bourgeoisie have signed a new alliance with feudalism and when consistently fighting against the feudal elements creates danger for the rich peasants also at the hands of the masses? How can all this happen when the class antagonism between the exploiters and the exploited has reached such higher-proportions?” (Ibid, P.38 Emphasis ours).

"Secondly, the documents of the Andhra Secretariat quote Mao's outlook on New Democracy in support of its view but does not even mention by a word that a Conference of leading Communist Parties including the CPSU(B) took place, that, Conference at that Zhdanov submitted a report explaining People's Democracies and that this Conference was hailed as the opening of a new chapter in the struggle against capital. A very precise class character of People's Democracy is given there—a characterisation which excludes the bourgeoisie from power. But all this does not find place in the document."(Ibid, P.41, Emphasis ours).

"The Andhra Secretariat while it gives quotations from Mao's book which was written five years back, is shy of even referring to Zhdanov's report and his description of People's Democracy, even though the latter is a document accepted by world Communists while the former is not." (Ibid, p.44.)

"In reality if they were to study quotations from Zhdanov they would find an answer to all the questions."(Ibid, P.44)

Leaving aside all the rigmaroles and the lot of revolutionary phrasemongering phrases such as "the major contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat", "when all the sections are united in organising a world front of capital against labour", "when all are united inspite of differences" "the main basic contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie", "the crisis and collaboration intensifying the contradiction between the people and the bourgeoisie hundred fold", "not reliance on the revolutionary contradiction ...between workers and the bourgeoisie", "how can all this happen when the class antagonism between the exploiters and the exploited had reached such higher proportions" etc., etc., which only sway the gullible and mislead the ignorant, what is the main drive given and conclusion drawn from all the above discourse?

It is simple and plain: In the present phase of the world situation the proletariat has to build its strategy and tactics basing only on one contradiction, i.e. the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; all the other principal contradictions of the era of imperialism are receding and will recede more and more into the background in the face of advancing tide of revolution, which is supposed to intensify the contradiction between capital and labour a hundred times, **mitigating the rest of the contradictions**. Hence it follows from this that as far as the present stage & strategy of our struggle is concerned right from the Anglo-American imperialists down to the rich peasant, all are united in a 'solid' counter-revolutionary camp. The Polit Bureau sees from the mighty growth-of world revolutionary forces the growing unity of the world bourgeoisie-imperialist, big, medium, colonial, including the rich peasantry - into a counter-revolutionary bloc, but not the intensification of all the inter-imperialist contradictions and of the contradiction between Imperialism and the colonial world, which are of no small significance to the camp of world socialism and democracy.

Here is an extract from a letter, introducing the Polit Bureau documents(The Tacticalline on the Agrarian Question, On People's Democracy) written to the

Andhra Secretariat by a member of the Polit Bureau, with the approval of the Polit Bureau. It speaks eloquently of the understanding the Polit Bureau has on the formulations of Zhdanov:

“The crisis of capitalism and the basic contradiction of the capitalist society, i.e. the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, has so much intensified, the camp of socialism and democracy has so much strengthened and the camp of Imperialism so weakened, as a result of the Second World War, that *the bourgeoisie in every country on a world scale cannot now* when the doom of entire capitalist system is within sight, **take the conflict among them to the point of certain sections joining the camp of the people for a time as happened in the Second World War, but on the other hand, on national and international scale it is uniting itself to avert its impending doom while taking every precaution to keep the conflicts among them within the limits of negotiation and compromise.**” (from Com. Ram’s letter, dated, December, 1948. Emphasis ours).

This understanding and comprehension of the Polit Bureau on present day world contradictions has nothing to do with Marxism Leninism, it is nothing but a base attempt to revise the entire Thesis on Imperialism by Lenin.

Comrade Stalin, in his **foundations of Leninism** at the very outset, analysing the “historical roots of Leninism”, states thus:

“Lenin called, Imperialism ‘moribund capitalism’. Why? Because imperialism carries the contradictions of Capitalism to their last bounds, to the extreme limit, beyond which revolution begins. Of these contradictions there are **three which must be regarded as the most important**.

“The first contradiction is the contradiction between labour and capital.....

“The second contradiction is the contradiction among the various financial and imperialist powers in their struggle for sources of raw material for, foreign territory...

“The third contradiction is the contradiction between the handful of ruling “civilised” nations and hundreds of millions of colonial and dependent peoples of the world....

“Such in general are the principal contradictions of Imperialism which have converted the old ‘flourishing’ capitalism into ‘moribund’ capitalism.” (Problems of Leninism, Moscow Edition, p.15, emphasis ours)

Thus it is evident that the three contradictions as described by Com. Stalin are the ‘principal’ ones and “most important” ones. It is sheer nonsense to speak of only one as “revolutionary” and the others as having no bearing on revolution, and the one important and the others un-important.

Again, it is a fact that the intensification of the contradiction between the labour and the capital reduces the other contradictions to insignificance?

Here is what the Communist International and Stalin say regarding such vulgarisation:

“The world coalition of capital is unstable, internally corroded, but armed to the teeth, is confronted by a single world coalition of labour. Thus, as a result of the

first round of imperialist wars, a new fundamental antagonism has arisen of world historical scope and significance the antagonism between the USSR and the capitalist World." (Programme of the Communist International, PPH Ltd, P. 17, para 1. Emphasis ours).

"Thus, the system of world imperialism, and with it the partial stabilisation of capitalism, is being corroded from various causes: First, the antagonism and conflicts between the imperialist states; second, the rising for the struggle of the vast masses in the colonial countries; third, the action of the revolutionary proletariat in the imperialist home countries and lastly, the leadership exercised over the whole revolutionary movement by the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR. The international revolution is developing (Ibid, 19, para 2).

Comrade Stalin, while dealing with the topic of "The October Revolution as the beginning of and the ground work for the world revolution in his book *Problems of Leninism* (Moscow Edition) states thus, "If we add to this the fact that not only defeated countries and colonies are being exploited by the victorious countries, but that some of the victorious countries have fallen into the orbit of financial exploitation at the hands of the most powerful of the victorious countries. America and England; that the contradictions among all these countries are an *extremely important factor* in the disintegration of world imperialism that, *in edition to these contradictions very profound contradictions exist and are developing within each of these countries* that all these contradictions are becoming more profound and more acute because of the existence, alongside of these countries, of the great Republics of the Soviets— *if all this is taken into consideration, then the picture of the international situation will become more or less compete* (P. 121, Emphasis ours).

(We can best understand the importance of all these contradictions to the cause of the world proletariat if we recall the stern admonition Comrade Stalin gives to one of the comrades who had under estimated the importance of these contradictions. This is what Stalin says:

"I have just been handed a note in which a reply to Comrade Chicherins articles is requested. Comrades, I consider that these articles of Chicherin which I have read carefully are nothing but literature. They contain four errors or misconceptions. Firstly, Comrade Chicherin is inclined to deny the existence of contradictions between the imperialist states to **exaggerate the international unanimity of the imperialists and to over look and underrate the internal contradictions** between imperialist groups and states, (France, America, Great Britain, Japan etc.) contradictions which do exist and give rise to war. He has exaggerated the **factor of unanimity of the imperialist rulers and has minimised the force of the contradictions that exist within this trust**. Yet these contradictions do exist, and it is on them that the activities of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs are based ..... The whole purpose of the existence of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs is to take account of these contradictions, to use them as a basis and to manoeuvre within these contradictions". (Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, Lawrence and Wishart, Pp.105,106).

When we find that our Polit Bureau; has committed the same mistake. i.e., of overrating the unanimity of the entire world bourgeoisie and underrating the significance of its contradictions and conflicts, and this in the name of Zhdanov, the enormity of the crime of the Polit Bureau stands out in bold relief.

Here one word of caution is necessary. In the foregoing, we have attempted to expose the bankruptcy and anti-Leninist character of the Polit Bureau understanding which reduced to bought all other contradictions except the one between capital and labour. But this criticism of ours should not be taken to mean that all contradictions therefore are of equal significance and there is not such thing as the **main contradiction and subsidiary contradictions**. Such an understanding also would run counter to Lenin-Stalin teaching on Imperialism and dialectical materialism.

To be clear in the present historical period the contradiction between the capitalist world and the world of Socialism continues to be the **main and the deepest contradiction** this contradiction today in expressed sharply by the fact that the two great imperialist powers America and British are openly calling for a war by preparing for it against the Soviet Union and People's Democracies of both East and West.

The antagonism or contradiction in the capitalist camp is undoubtedly of subordinate importance compared with the fundamental world antagonism, i.e., the contradiction/ between the world of Socialism and the world of capitalism. To forget this fact is to lead oneself into right opportunist deviation.

While it is so, it should be noted that in "the present day world, of various contradictions existing in the capitalist camp, the contradiction between American capitalism and the British capitalism has become the main contradiction."

Although this antagonism in the capitalist camp is of subsidiary importance compared with the fundamental contradiction between the world of Socialism and the world of capitalism, the proletariat cannot afford to maintain neutral attitude towards this struggle in the capitalist camp. The proletariat will, and must, utilise these contradictions. But it determines its concrete approach basing on the magnitude, intensity and nature of these contradictions as they evolve and undergo change in that process.

The above gives the guide for a correct concrete understanding based on dialectical materialism. It enables us to see sharper the bankruptcy of the Polit Bureau understanding that the accentuation of the main contradiction, that between capital and labour, between Socialism and Imperialism, mitigates and reduces to nought all the other contradictions.

So that no room may be left to doubt that precisely this is the understanding of the Polit Bureau on the international situation and that of the "two camps", and that this is the starting point of a number of mistakes it has committed, the following can be cited.

In its Draft Note the Andhra Secretariat had made the following two formulations with reference to the international situation after the Second World War:

“I) Imperialism after the two world wars has been so weakened as we find it today that the nature of its warring camps has been ended. Today, there is only the mighty colossal American Imperialism”. etc.

“ii) American Imperialism faced with unheard of crisis has bent upon not only keeping colonies and semi-colonies under its domination but steadily advancing step by step to reduce other independent and capitalist states as its colonies. This parasitic feature of rapidly devouring the weaker sections of its own species has got tremendous bearing on the course of the present day world,” etc.

Before we go to examine these formulations, it must be stated that the fact the Andhra Secretariat deals with the topic of international situation in a small Para goes to show that the intention and purpose of the Secretariat was not to sit for a detailed examination of the international situation, but only in passing to pointing out the might, growth of American Imperialism after the Second World War and consequent intensification of the contradictions and conflicts in the world bourgeois camp. However briefly it may have been dealt, it makes formulations which are nevertheless serious in their nature and deserve careful attention and examination. Especially the first formulation that “the feature of its warring camps had ended”, practically approximates to the formulations of Varga, which are subjected to scathing criticism and condemnation by the CPSU(B) in the following words:

“Comrade Varga considers that there is very little probability of an armed conflict in the future between the Imperialist countries. Certainly, we cannot foretell and concrete forms which the contradictions in the imperialist camp will take in the more or less immediate future. But it would be gross error to underestimate the importance of these contradictions and their inevitable sharpening in connection with the striving of American imperialism to world domination and the enslavement of the countries of Western Europe.”

“We must for this reason, decisively reject the attempt which Comrade Varga makes to revise the fundamental thesis of the Leninist-Stalinist theory of imperialism as to the inevitability of wars between the imperialist powers arising from the sharpening of the unequal economic and political development of capitalism in the period of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism.” (Communist, July 1949, p.107).

The Polit Bureau which subjects the Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat to microscopic examination and attacks almost every basic formulation it has made and the points it has raised-of course often the correct ones too-has curiously enough not a word to say against this gross reformist formulation. That it has kept silent on this and acquiesced in it, is not accidental.

The Polit Bureau, instead of attacking this dangerous reformist formulation of the Andhra Secretariat concentrates its fire on the other, correct part of the Secretariat’s formulation in which it is stated that American imperialism’s striving for world markets and world domination “has got tremendous bearing on the course of the present day world”, etc.

This idea of intensification of inter-capitalist or inter-imperialist contradictions is subjected to ridicule, calling it "supposed to have tremendous bearing," a "shame-faced theory of class collaboration", "reliance on and basic reliance at that on the increased competition among the bourgeoisie", and as an "attempt to tie the proletariat to the apron strings of the bourgeoisie", etc.

In this connection it must be said that the accusing statement of the Polit Bureau that the Andhra Secretariat is taking up the position of "exclusion of the contradictions between the people and imperialism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" and "reliance on and basic reliance at that on the inter-capitalist contradictions", etc., (Emphasis ours), is completely incorrect and devoid of facts and only an over simplification in its polemical zeal to put the opposition in the wrong and score a point for their line of argument.

The Polit Bureau as a matter of fact is so touchy at the very mention of inner-capitalist contradictions or antagonisms, to characterise them as contradictions, that it only uses the term "differences", etc., which do not fully reveal the seriousness of the steadily intensifying conflicts and their objective basis. In the very next sentence it chooses to nullify even the significance of this term "difference" by shoving in another phrase that "whatever differences that might exist among different sections of the bourgeoisie, etc" (Emphasis ours).

Thus it refused to base itself on the analysis and thesis of Imperialism by Lenin. Nay, it works out the above quoted erroneous formulation of Varga to its logical end and is guilty of revising the basic tenets of Lenin's IMPERIALISM.

Our self-critical examination and discussion on this aspect will be however incomplete without quoting in full the relevant passages from Lenin's IMPERIALISM. Then only every-one of us will be able to understand how the revision has taken place and how to combat it. This revision is in the nature of, and owes its origin to, the discredited theory of "ULTRA-IMPERIALISM" by Kautsky-though Kautsky made it to draw different conclusions of his own.

To quote Lenin:

"International cartels show to point capitalist monopolies have developed and they *reveal the object* of the struggle between the various capitalist groups. This last circumstance is the most important; it alone shows us the historic - economic significance of events; for the forms of struggle may and do constantly change in accordance with varying, relatively particular and temporary causes, but the *essence* of the struggle, its class *content cannot* change while classes exist. It is easy to understand, for example, that it is in the interests of the German bourgeoisie, whose theoretical arguments have now been adopted by Kautsky (we will deal with this later) to obscure the *content* of the present economic struggle (the division of the world) and to emphasise this or that *form* of struggle, .....". (Lenin's Selected Works, Moscow Two volume edition. Vol. I.P. 684, para 1, 1947, edition. Emphasis Lenin's).

"In order to understand what takes place, it is necessary to know what questions are settled by this change of forces. The question as to whether these changes

are “purely” economic or *non-economic* (example military) is a secondary one, which does not in the least affect the fundamental view on the latest epoch of capitalism. To substitute for the question of *content* of the struggle and agreements between capitalist combines the question of the form of these struggles and agreements (today peaceful, tomorrow warlike, the next day war-like again) is to sink to the role of sophist”, (Ibid, P. 644, emphasis Lenin’s).

“We ask, is it ‘conceivable’ assuming that the capitalist system remains intact—and this is precisely the assumption that Kautsky does make—that such alliance would be more than temporary, that they would eliminate friction, conflicts and struggles in all and every possible form?” (Ibid, P. 718, para 2).

“Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German “Marxist”, Kautsky, “inter-imperialist” or “ultra-imperialist” alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing *all* the imperialist powers, are inevitably nothing more than a “truce” in periods of wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars; the one is the condition for the other, giving rise to alternate forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle out of *one and the same* basis of imperialist connections and the relations between world economies and world politics.”(Ibid, Pp.718-19, Emphasis Lenin’s)

This is how one has to understand the contradictions of the era of Imperialism and not in the way the Polit Bureau does.

The Secretary of the Andhra Provincial Committee, after a round of discussion of the Polit Bureau documents in the Andhra Secretariat, and on the appearance of some articles in the international Marxist press, addressed a letter to the Polit Bureau bringing this error to its notice. Here are the relevant passages from the letter:

“While I was with you it was only the Chinese documents which were making distinction between Big Business and small bourgeois sections. But, after I came here, a number of articles were published in the organ of the Information Bureau of Nine Parties.... American Political Affairs, the New Times, even our central organ, which go to show that it is not only the Chinese Party but several other parties also are making such a distinction. This also confused all of us including myself. Though all the Secretariat comrades are not of the same opinion with regard to the question whether it is permissible to make such distinction among bourgeois class in India, they agree on one point. That is, the interpretation we have given to Zhdanov’s Report on this point is not in common with that of Communist Parties of several other countries and Cominform.

“.... I only mean this that the interpretation which we have given to Zhdanov on this point that in no country in the world can any section of the bourgeoisie be neutralised or won over is not accepted by several other Communist Parties.” (Ram’s letter to General Secretary, dated February, 28, 1949. Emphasis ours).

It must be made very clear that we do not uphold all the points raised in this letter as correct ones in their entirety. Nonetheless, the salient point in discussion here has been brought to the notice of the Polit Bureau as early as May, 1949) in fact it was written on February, 28, 1949).

The Polit Bureau had neither considered it worth discussing all these months, nor even as late as February 1950, when it sat to discuss self-critically its entire political line after the appearance of the editorial article in the organ of the Cominform Bureau, was this taken note of.

One does not find even a single word of reference to this colossal blunder, to this crime of revisionism in the Polit Bureau document (No.14, to the ranks date 24<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1950) wherein it says it "attempts to place mistakes of the Polit Bureau..." before the ranks. It is exactly on this aspect that Lenin warns that "the attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the Party is and how it in practice fulfils its obligations towards its class and the toiling masses." Is the Polit Bureau's attitude in this respect in line with this? Undoubtedly not.

Does not the claim of the Polit Bureau to have read and understood Zhdanov's report become false when once it chooses to pooh-pooh and nullify the significance of the striving of American Imperialism for the monopoly of world markets and the consequent intensification of the inner-imperialist and inner-capitalist contradictions? What does Zhdanov's Report drive at? In fact, it is a clarion call to mobilise all the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist democratic forces the world over to resist the aggressive designs of American Imperialism. See the few following quotations from Zhdanov's Report.

"Thus the new policy of the United States is designed to consolidate its monopoly position and reduce its capitalist partners to a state of subordination and dependence on America." (Zhdanov's Report, Moscow Edition P.14).

"With an eye to the impending economic crisis, the United States is in a hurry to find new monopoly spheres of capital investment and markets for its goods. American economic "assistance" pursues the broad aim of bringing Europe into bondage of American capital. The more drastic the economic situation of a country is the harsher are the terms which the American monopolists endeavor to dictate to it.

"But economic control logically leads to political subjugation to American imperialism." (Ibid, P.28).

Zhdanov while drawing attention to the fact that American imperialism is more and more assuming the role of fascist aggressor in its nature observes thus:

"The frankly expansionist programme of the United States is therefore highly reminiscent of the reckless programme, which failed so ignominiously of the fascist aggressors, who, as we know, also made a bid for world supremacy.

"Just as the Hitlerites, when they were making their preparations for political aggression, adopted the camouflage of anti-Communism in order to make it possible

to oppress and enslave all peoples, and primarily and chiefly their own people, America's present ruling circles mask their expansionist policy, and even their offensive against the vital interests of the weaker imperialist rival, Great Britain, by fictitious considerations of defence against Communism," (Ibid, page 15).

What conclusions has be drawn from all this? Not that inner-capitalist and inner-imperialist contradictions dwindle into insignificance in the post-Second World War period, but their intensification. To quote:

"It should be noted that the American variant of the Western Bloc is bound to encounter serious resistance even in countries already so dependent on the United States as Britain and France. The prospect of the restoration of German Imperialism, as an effective force capable of opposing democracy and Communism in Europe, cannot be very alluring either to Britain or France. **Here we have one of the major contradictions within the Anglo-American-French bloc.**" (Ibid, P. 37, Emphasis ours).

This needs no further elaboration.

Further, look at the special task Zhdanov formulates for the Communist Parties of Great Britain, France and Italy, etc. :

A special task devolves on fraternal communist Parties of France, Italy, Great Britain and other countries. They must take up the standard in **defence of the national independence and sovereignty of their countries**. If the Communist Parties firmly stick to their position, if they do not allow themselves to be intimidated and blackmailed, if they act as courageous sentinels of enduring peace and popular democracy, of **the national sovereignty, liberty and independence of their countries**, if, in their struggle against the attempts to economically and politically enthrall their countries, they are able to **take the lead of all the forces prepared to uphold the national and independence** no plans for the enthralment of Europe can possibly succeed. (Ibid.P.47).

Such are the tasks for countries like Great Britain and France that high-light the significance of the American expansionism. But, the Polit Bureau ridicules this as "supposed to have a tremendous bearing on the course of the present day world." when the Andhra Secretariat makes the following formulaion:

"The crisis of world imperialism can be best seen when we observe the present Truman's American expansionism. American imperialism faced with the unheard of crisis, has bent upon not only keeping colonies and semi-colonies under its domination but steadily advancing step by step to reduce other independent capitalist states as its colonies. The parasitic feature of rapidly devouring the weaker sections of its own species has got tremendous bearing on the course of the present day world. Monopoly capitalism today has been so naked an enemy not only of socialist democracy but also of "bourgeois democracy". It is out not only to destroy the toiling and working masses but also devour a section of its own class, the small bourgeoisie. Thus, in the present day inter-national background, we find imperialism in its last stages caught in the grip of a crisis so deep, so, extensive and unheard of." (Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat. P. 5, para 3. Also quoted in the Tactical line, cycloed copy, P.31).

The aggressive designs of American Imperialism are of such an alarming nature as to endanger the independence and national sovereignty of countries such as Britain, France, too, which by themselves are imperialist states. Then, is it not patent that it applies with greater force to India—essentially a colony—and the task of national liberation becomes all the more significant for our revolutionary struggle? It is unquestionably so. It is this already existing grip of British Imperialism on India and the increasing penetration of American capital that signify the essentially colonial status of India. Precisely because of this position a possibility of a broad anti-imperialist united front comprising of workers, all peasantry and even the middle bourgeoisie exists. But, the Polit Bureau refuses to see this truth, and, mark you, it does this in the name of Zhdanov.

**“THEORY” OF COLLABORATIONIST  
BOURGEOISIE ADVANCING  
VIS-A- VIS IMPERIALISM  
USING MOUNTBATTEN AWARD**

We have seen so far how the Polit Bureau hopelessly bungled on the analysis of the international situation, how it thoroughly distorted the formulations of Zhdanov and nullified the significance of the world contradictions, simplifying them to a single contradiction of the world bourgeoisie versus the proletariat.

Now in this chapter we will proceed to discuss how the Polit Bureau revises the understanding of the Mountbatten Award as given in the Political Thesis and headlong plunges into the position of clean ignoring and bypassing the national liberation aspect of our struggle; how the logic of the Polit Bureau does not end here and goes further to summarily reject the accepted Leninist-Stalinist principle of fundamental distinction between the colonial and semi-colonial countries on the one hand and the independent, capitalist, imperialist countries on the other.

Let us see how the Political Thesis adopted by the Second Party Congress analyses the Mountbatten Award and the consequent tasks.

“The Mountbatten Plan partitioned India....The partition is a ready made weapon to organise riots and sidetrack the revolutionary movement by war appeals. It is one of the biggest attacks on the unity and the integrity of the democratic movement and is also used to weaken the bourgeoisie of both the States vis-à-vis Imperialism.

“Secondly, the plan keeps the princes, ago old friends of the imperial order, intact and enhances their bargaining power, enabling the national leaders to parade their accession as a great triumph, for the princes are supposed to be independent. “Thirdly, the leading economic strings are still in the hands of the imperialists....

“What the Mountbatten Plan has given to the people is not real but fake independence. Through this award British imperialism partitioned India on communal lines and gave to the bourgeoisie an important share of State power, subservient to itself.

“Britain’s domination has not ended but the form of domination changed. The bourgeoisie was so long kept out of state power and in opposition to it; now it is granted a share of State power in order to disrupt and drown the national democratic revolution in blood.

“The Mountbatten Award does not really signify a retreat of imperialism but its cunning counter-offensive against the rising forces of the Indian people”. (Political Thesis, PPH, Ltd, pp 39 and 40).

And, as regards the new corresponding task, it said:

“The existing correlation of forces, in which every step forward of the popular struggle is to be taken **not only in opposition to imperialism but in opposition to the bourgeoisie also**, clearly shows that the old phase of the bourgeois-democratic revolution is over, a phase in which the bourgeoisie is in the anti-imperialist camp.”(Ibid. P.74)

Every aspect of analysis in this is absolutely correct, except the usage of the ambiguous term “bourgeoisie” with regard to collaboration, which may mean either Big Bourgeoisie or the entire bourgeoisie, as the Polit Bureau subsequently chose to interpret.

Has the Polit Bureau stuck to this basic analysis? That it evidently did not can be proved from the following quotations from the Tactical Line and other Polit Bureau documents:

“But imperialism forgot one important and vital factor in its calculations—the people-whom the bourgeoisie alone could utilise. In actual life, therefore, the bourgeoisie acting within the framework of the Mountbatten compromising plan **have been able to bargain hard and advance its own interests and swing the Princes to its side from being reserve of imperialism.**” (Tactical Line, cycloed copy, p.8, para 3).

“What is necessary to understand is that the bourgeoisie through accession, etc., have not only compromised with the feudal elements **but have advanced their own position relatively—both to imperialism and the feudal Princes;** and that they have made the feudal Princes their own satellites—in the combine.”(Ibid, p.8, para 6).

“Through this they have succeeded in tying the Princes to them and facing imperialism with a united bloc. **The bourgeoisie have not only improved their position in relation to feudal elements but also in relation to imperialism.**”(Ibid, p.8 last para).

“The Bourgeoisie and their Government have come out not only as mere compromisers and collaborators; **they have come out as the spearhead of the counter-revolutionary forces** the main force which alone, because of its mass influence can defend the capitalist order, create disruption among the masses, and organise terror.” (Ibid, p.7 para 5).

**The Indian bourgeoisie is the most fighting partner in the bourgeois-feudal-imperialist combine.** In relation to the people it is the strongest of the three and today when the main immediate task of the combine is to stem the tide of

revolution, the Indian bourgeoisie comes forward as the *leading member of the combine*.” (Ibid, P.7, para 6).

‘It is so because the Congress Government and the bourgeoisie are not MERE PUPPETS but because IN REALITY they are ACTIVE PARTNERS AND THE LEADING FORCES IN THE COMBINE.’ (Ibid, P.7 para 8. Emphasis in all the above quotations ours).

Thus the Polit Bureau at one stroke turned upside down the whole analysis of the Mountbatten Award as made out in the Thesis. Whereas in the Political Thesis the Award is characterised as “not really signifying the retreat of imperialism but its cunning counter-offensive,” in the Tactical Line the collaborationist “bourgeoisie, acting within the framework of the Mountbatten Plan, have been able to bargain and advance its own interests” vis-à-vis imperialism.

While in the Political Thesis the collaborationist bourgeoisie is described as the “junior partner”, which has shared power, in the imperialist-feudal-bourgeois combine, in the Tactical Line they have become the most fighting active partners and leading force in the combine.

Thus, it is the Polit Bureau which revised the Political Thesis and not the Andhra Secretariat as is alleged by the Polit Bureau. It is the Polit Bureau with its discovery of the discredited theory (that the collaborationist bourgeoisie has advanced its position bargaining within the framework of the Mountbatten Plan) “that has taken the Party back to the “Mountbatten Resolution” —(This resolution characterised the Mountbatten Award as national advance—Andhra Secretariat)— and repudiated the line adopted by the Second Congress”, and not the Andhra Secretariat as the Polit Bureau alleges.

Finally, it shifted its position from the earlier formulation where we have to conduct fight “not only in opposition to imperialism but in opposition to the bourgeoisie also” to the new position of fight “not only in opposition to the bourgeoisie but in opposition to imperialism also.” The former roles of Imperialism and the collaborationist bourgeoisie as indicated in the Thesis are reversed in the Tactical Line.

Further, Imperialism is said to have forgotten one point, i.e. the people, and hoped to keep the Princes as its reserves. This discovery of “forgetfulness” of imperialists is simply amusing to any student of Marxism. Are the British Imperialists, who are the most experienced and cunning lot among the world imperialists, so naïve as to forget this and dream of keeping the Princes as their “independent reserves” for long as against the collaborationist bourgeoisie? It is sheer commonsense that once the Indian collaborationist bourgeoisie is given a share in the State power and is allowed to handle the State machine, with huge armies at its disposal, it is simply unimaginable for the princely hirelings to think that they can survive without the direct assistance and support of, and without collaborating with the new Indian Government. Imperialism is neither so naïve as to forget the patent fact; nor, for the matter of that, has it forgotten it at all. The conspiracy of the imperialists which culminated in the Mountbatten Award had been, besides weakening the Indian liberation movement by partitioning India, to leave as many

thorns as possible in the side of the new Indian Government, so that it is further weakened to such an extent as to extract total surrender to imperialist dictators. Such thorns have been the numerous "princely states" that are left formally independent throughout India.

Let us take the most typical of them, i.e. Kashmir and Hyderabad. In both these cases Imperialists successfully utilised and are utilising the weakness of the Indian collaborators to compel them to object surrender on every major issue-national and international. It is this surrender which is to be observed on the issue of the Sterling Balances: the alignment on the various questions in the UNO and open subservience to the imperialists, acquiescence in the Atlantic Pact, the issue of the Atom Bomb; the tying down of India to the war chariot of the British Commonwealth, of sending Gurkhas to Malay, on the question of the South African Indians, and the political economic military collaboration with imperialists against South East Asian colonial liberation struggles; dropping of the question of nationalisation of industries, of giving constitutional guarantees for protection of foreign capital in the country, etc., etc.

Instead of observing all this surrender of the Indian collaborationist Government, of position after position to the Imperialists, the Polit Bureau sees in all this only "bargaining hard" and "advancing its interests" vis-à-vis imperialism! Instead of seeing the steadily tightening grip of the tentacles of the British Imperialist Octopus, and of the American imperialists in addition, the Polit Bureau sees only that "the bourgeoisie have not only improved their position in relation to feudal elements but also in relation to imperialism"!

It is not difficult to see what political conclusions can be drawn from such analysis and formulations. It is to counteract the strategy suggested by those who argue on the basis that "August 15 Independence" has not changed basically the colonial position of India, etc., and to advance a strategy under the assumption that India is practically "decolonised" after August 15, 1947.

After delivering a long lecture and advancing all types of ingeneous arguments and having relegated successfully Imperialism and its enslaving role into the background, the Polit Bureau comes forth with the following:

Under the caption "Dependence and slavery to Imperialism" (this caption which is found in the cycloed copy of the Tactical Line, is deleted in print in the issue of the COMMUNIST, No.4 of 1949), it writes:

"Firstly, menaced by the rising tide of Communism in Asia and Europe, panicky that the same developments are taking place here (Sardar Patel's repeated warnings about South East Asia) the bourgeoisie and its Government seek to meet this national and international danger by allying themselves, i.e. seeking the protection of the imperialist powers through treaties, etc.....

"Secondly, the Indian capitalists are dependent in yet another way. For industrial development there are two paths—the path of socialist development, the path of national freedom and democracy .....But the capitalists want the other path—the path of building Indian economy not in co-operation with USSR but with Imperialists.

This means capitalist development is determined by the war needs of imperialist powers and not by the interests of the people. It means begging for capitalist goods from imperialists who are not prepared to send them unless you sell your foreign policy and defence to them, and also agree to accept them as economic partners.....

“Thus the price of defending capitalist order, of co-operating with imperialism means complete domination of internal economic life and foreign relations and defence by world imperialists—loss of sovereignty.

“It is thus dependence and slavery to imperialism is brought about; it is thus imperialists begin to dominate political and economic life—and not in the old way. It is thus the bourgeoisie is formally independent; that **THERE COMES INTO EXISTENCE A FORMALLY INDEPENDENT NATIONAL STATE** yet continue to be enslaved.”(Tactical Line, cycloed copy, P.9 Emphasis ours).

First of all we would like to ask the Polit Bureau—do these two causes they have advanced, viz., seeking imperialist protection for fear of people’s revolution and dependence on imperialism for capital goods, really reveal the present real status of India or hide it? Is it not in a way arguing equating the satellite nature of India with that of any independent, capitalist country like France, etc., which is also dependent on American Marshall “Aid”? Is it not exactly basing on this pseudo and sham analysis that the Polit Bureau subsequently landed in refusing to make any differentiation between the revolution of colonial and semi-colonial countries and independent, capitalist, imperialist countries?

The following quotations reveal how the analysis made by the Polit Bureau conceals the full and real face of imperialism in India.

Lenin says in his “Preliminary Draft Thesis on the National and Colonial Question” for the Second Congress of the Communist International:

“Sixth, that it is necessary constantly to explain and expose among the broadest masses of the toilers of all countries, and **particularly of the backward countries**, the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers in creating under the guise of **politically independent states**, states which are **wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily**; under modern international conditions there is no salvation for dependent and weak nations except in a union of Soviet Republics.” (Lenin’s Selected works, Moscow, two volume edition, Vol.II.P658—Emphasis ours).

The Polit Bureau chose not to explain and expose constantly among the broadest masses the deception of the imperialist powers, as enjoined by Lenin, but the reverse of it. It was only busy “discovering” points to show collaborationist bourgeoisie could make “advances” and make imperialism “retreat”.

It is based on the above rich analysis of Lenin that Soviet writers like Zhukov, Alexeyev, and others, analysed the “August 15 independence” of India conferred on us by British Labour Imperialists.

“The satisfaction expressed by Churchill regarding the British plan for India, in the opinion of many objective observers, is clear proof of the fact that the new

**British plan of “quitting India” essentially made it possible for Britain to preserve her decisive political, economic military position in India....**

“.....They (the British Imperialists) also considered it safer and more advantageous to give a new form to their domination over India. Moreover, the actual division of India into different constituent parts must facilitate the process of administration of the vast country with various kinds of indirect measures, by utilising complex levers of its external influence.....

“An extremely sharp estimation of the British tactics in India was given by various Egyptian circles who emphasised in their comments that the British Imperialists had great experience in inventing means to maintain their dominating position in foreign countries. The very fact of the division of India under the flag of granting Dominion Status to Hindusthan and Pakistan and the indefiniteness of the status of the princes is evaluated by the Egyption press as a proof of the fact that the Britishers are not seriously thinking of quitting India.” (“On the Colonial Question” – Lenin, Stalin, Zhukov – PPH, Pp.25 and 26)

“This means that it (i.e., British Imperialism) must lock to new forms of mutual relationship with the colonies – **forms which would make provision for nominal, fictitious “independence” of the colonial countries, while essentially maintaining the British dominion. Quit the colonies, but in such a way that actually you can remain there**—that indeed is the task which the British imperialists have set themselves. And of course, only in this way we can explain the whole range of reforms which the Britishers are introducing in India.” ( Ibid. P. 28, Emphasis in all the above is ours.)

Alexeyev writes in greater detail on the same subject in his article wherein he gives a comprehensive scientific estimate of the present Indian situation, which article was issued by the Central Committee as an Information Document, as early as September 1948.

Here are the relevant extracts from this article:

“According to the calculations of the Labour Party Leadership the incentive for Britishers to “quit” India was to give Britain possibility to maintain her rule in India..... “It is not without reason during the debate on the bill in the British House of Commons and the House of Lords, the leaders of the Conservative party greeted the Government’s plan as one which came to the rescue of British Imperialism and the Labour Government as the loyal defender of the interests of the British Empire..... “British capital fully and completely as in-past occupies a commanding position in the economy of Hindusthan and Pakistan. A powerful lever of the colonial exploitation of India was the banking system. All the big banks in India, with the exception of two, are managed by British monopolists. Thus they are holding in their hands the largest amount of capital, which they can invest in industries, Railways, Ports, etc. More than half of jute and tea industry in Hindusthan, one-third of iron and steel industry, the whole mineral output, rubber plantations, etc., belong to British capital....

“One of the levers of British colonial domination in India are the mixed Anglo-India joint stock companies. By means of mixed companies which occupy important position in trade as well as in industry, the interests of the Indian capitalists are closely bound up with those of the British capitalist, with of course the dominating role belonging to the latter....

“The largest part of foreign trade is in British hands. The Indian newspaper “Free Press Journal” wrote in January, 1948, “the foreign monopolies are continuing to control largest part of Indian economy and particularly the foreign trade..... 80% of the whole foreign and internal trade is concentrated in the hands of 200 foreign firms”.(P.6, paras 4,5,6).

Comrade Alexeyev further describing how the vital political and military strings are in the hands of British Imperialist circles, concludes thus:

“Thus Britain retains in her hands economic as well as political and military levers in India in order to maintain her colonial domination in both the ‘Dominions’” (P.7 para 5:Emphasis throughout ours)

The political conclusions drawn from the above analysis, which are quite at variance with those of the Polit Bureau, as we have shown above in our quotations from the Polit Bureau documents, are:

“The basic tasks facing the Indian National Liberation Movement have not been solved. India practically continues to remain as colony, her division into several feudal regions has not been done away with, the national question has not been solved, and the position of the broadest strata – not only workers, peasants, but also intelligentsia, petty bourgeoisie – has not changed indeed.

“Upto 1947 the Big Indian Bourgeoisie was not in power and therefore tried to get masses on to its side in order with their help to secure concession from British Imperialism. But as soon as the British Imperialism granted “dominion” status to India, it openly went over to the camp of imperialism and reaction.

“The National Liberation Movement in India aims at liberating the country from the British domination and liquidating all feudal survivals which the British Imperialism has been supporting. The Mountbatten Plan has maintained the colonial position of India. Thus the country has not achieved independance.”(Ibid P.7 Para 6,7,8 Emphasis ours).

Does all this rich analysis find a place in the Polit Bureau documents? Of course not.

Instead of making an objective analysis of the situation – at least by making use of these documents, instead of pointing out the continued basically colonial nature of India and driving home this point as it ought to, the Polite Bureau only finds that India has become a “National State” a “satellite State”! Instead of seeing the crying and basic causes that continue to keep India in the grip of Imperialism, the Polit Bureau only sees two other causes- the collaborationist bourgeoisie’s fear of the rising popular revolution and their need for capital goods- causes that only scratch the surface of the problem, causes that fail to present the full, complete picture; worse, causes that taken by themselves in reality only hide and screen the

concrete factor of British Imperialism, the leading counter revolutionary force in the combine, in the forefront, naturally relegates the anti-imperialist aspect of our struggle to a general plane- a world-wide plane – with high-sounding phrases like “not from this or that imperialism only”, etc.

Thus, the anti-British imperialist aspect of our struggle is brushed aside as of no special significance to the present stage of our struggle. Thus, the national liberationist aspect of our struggle is clean ignored criminally. Thus, the Polit Bureau succeeded in essence in equating colonial and semi-colonial India with any independent, capitalist, imperialist country in the world to-day(e.g. France, etc.), which for fear of class revolution in their countries and for financial help depend upon American imperialism and become its satellites. Thus, the Polit Bureau, in its polemical zeal to combat the supposed deviation that “nothing has changed”, landed itself in the position that “everything has changed”, but for the general tie-up of the Indian reactionary Government to World imperialism – a position of Indian collaborationist bourgeoisie “advancing its interests” by “hard bargaining” with imperialism within the “framework of Mountbatten plan”, a position that is tantamount to the discredited “decolonisation thesis”.

It is no surprise that once the Polit Bureau got bogged in this position it obliterated the differentiation between the revolutions of colonial and semi-colonial countries and of independent, capitalist, imperialist countries—differentiation which is an accepted Marxist dictum.

In this connection it is necessary to show how the Andhra Secretariat, in its Note, had brought forth this point before the Polit Bureau and how the Polit Bureau had rejected it. Let us quote from the Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat:

“Secondly, Russia was an independent feudal military state with peculiar features of industrial growth..... Compared with what is described above India in its real sense is not independent and essentially it remains a colony, though after August 15, with bourgeois collaboration, it can be defined as a semi colony. In a word, Russia is more near to advanced capitalist countries, whereas present day India is a rotten colonial base.”(Pp.5-6).

“The bourgeois democratic revolution is, in the main, yet to be completed. Our country is not an independent, capitalist state but only a semi-colony. Hence, our revolution is, in the main, an agrarian revolution, not the agrarian revolution of the old type under bourgeois leadership; but agrarian revolution of a new type under proletarian leadership. Hence correctly classified as New Democratic Revolution.”(Ibid P.17).

The national and international background for October Revolution is totally and radically different from that of our present revolution. Hence, the drawing of parallel or attempts at borrowing of strategy verbatim are wrong, misleading and disruptive.”(Ibid. p17)

“Thus, we see a completely different national and international set-up is present today when compared with October Revolution, warranting us a completely re-orientated approach in defining the present stage and strategy of our revolution. It

is a wonder how comrades can gloss over the difference between the **independent bourgeois state and semi-colonial state**. Is it not surprising not to find any difference between a “new class” taking hold of state power after the February revolution and a new class **sharing power with imperialism**, smashing nothing but got everything of the old machine intact? Is it not fantastic to argue that the slogan of **democratic revolution** advanced in our Political Thesis is nothing different from the slogan of **Socialist dictatorship of proletariat and poor peasantry** on the eve of October Revolution? So, the comparison of the present stage of our revolution with the stage of October Revolution is not only wrong but misleading in very many respects. This deviation must be at once corrected or else we fail to effectively advance towards democratic revolution.”(Ibid.p. 6)

We must remember here that the Secretariat had to advance the above arguments against those comrades who sought to nullify the difference between the present stage of our revolution and the October revolution, by talking loosely that the Nehru Government is a Kerensky Government, etc.

To be clear, it must be stated that we do not uphold one and all the above arguments of the Andhra Secretariat as entirely correct. The main point, however, is the stress on the differentiation of the revolution in an independent country and in a colonial country, which is sufficiently made.

The Polit Bureau, instead of utilising the strong point made therein, seizes upon some some-what wrong arguments and some incorrect ones too, and attacks the entire thing, conveniently bypasses the crucial point, and advances, the following formulations.

“Sometimes the Andhra Secretariat argues as if Russia was an industrially developed country—i.e., in a category quite different from present-day India—and therefore the experience of Russia did not apply so much to India. This is of course wrong.... “Secondly, it is wrong to regard or put forward Russia as an advanced industrial country, qualitatively in a different category than India...

It should be understood, that **whatever differences that might be between industrial development of India and Russia before the Russian Revolution, they are not of a qualitative character and that the entire experience of the Russian Revolution is fully valid in the case of India also.**” (Tactical Line, cycloed copy P.29 para 2,3,4. Emphasis ours).

The Polit Bureau has said enough to nullify the differentiation between India and Czarist Russia, to equate what is a colonial country with what is an independent, imperialist country. By bringing in here the “clever” phrase “experience of Russian Revolution”, the polit Bureau neither can escape its guilt of equating the status of the two, i.e. the present day India and Czarist Russia, nor can it succeed in its totally unwarranted suggestion that the Andhra Secretariat is against imbibing the “experience of Russian Revolution.” As a matter of fact, the issue of the controversy has been whether it is permissible to ignore the differentiation between the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries on the one hand and in independent and imperialist countries on the other, and whether it is correct to compare the present

stage of Indian revolution to the October stage and borrow the strategy verbatim. The Polit Bureau after delivering severe admonitions to the Andhra Secretariat for having attempted such differentiation goes headlong to quote a passage from the History of the CPSU (B) to “prove” that pre-revolutionary Russia was as backward as India is today.

The passage referred to in the Tactical Line is:

“The October Revolution was confronted by an enemy so comparatively weak, so badly organised, and so politically inexperienced as the Russian bourgeoisie. **Economically still weak, and completely dependent on government contracts, the Russian bourgeoisie lacked sufficient political self-reliance and initiative to find a way out of the situation.**” (History of the CPSU(B), Moscow Edition, P.212, Emphasis Polit Bureau’s).

The conclusion drawn by the Polit Bureau from citing this passage is wrong in two respects. Firstly, pre-revolutionary Russia may be spoken as “backward” when compared with the advanced West, but it is wrong to say that it was as backward as India is. Secondly, this equating is being done to fight against those who advance arguments for differentiation, thus strengthening the former arguments which nullified the differentiation. Here is a passage from Stalin, characterising this type of deviation as Trotskyist and nothing else:

“What is the fundamental position from which the Comintern and the Communist Parties generally approach the problems of the revolutionary movement in colonial and dependent countries?

“It is a strict differentiation between revolution in imperialist countries, countries that oppress other peoples, and revolution in colonial and dependant countries, countries that suffer from the imperialist oppression of other states. Revolution in imperialist countries is one thing; in those countries the bourgeoisie is the oppressor of other peoples; it is counter-revolutionary in all stages of the revolution; the national element, as an element in the struggle for emancipation, is absent in these countries. Revolution in colonial and dependent countries is another thing: in these countries the oppression exercised by the imperialism of other states is one of the factors of revolution; the oppression cannot but affect the national bourgeoisie also; the national bourgeoisie, at a certain stage and for a certain period, may support the revolutionary movements of its country against imperialism, and the national element, as an element in the struggle for emancipation, is a revolutionary factor. Not to make this differentiation, not to understand this difference and to identify revolution in imperialist countries with revolution in colonial countries, is to depart from the road of Marxism, from the road of Leninism, and adopt the road of those who support the Second International.

This is what Lenin said on the subject in his report on the national and colonial question at the Second Congress of the Comintern:

“What is the **MOST IMPORTANT AND FUNDAMENTAL** idea of our theses? It is the **DISTINCTION** between oppressed and **OPPRESSOR** peoples. We emphasise this distinction, unlike the Second International and bourgeois democrats.”

The fundamental mistake of the opposition is that they do not understand and will not admit this difference between the one type of revolution and the other type of revolution.

“The fundamental mistake of the opposition is that they identify the 1905 Revolution in Russia, an imperialist country, which oppressed other peoples, with the revolution in China, an oppressed Country, a semi - colonial country which is forced to resist the imperialist oppression of other states.

“With us in Russia, in 1905, the revolution was directed against the bourgeoisie, against the liberal bourgeoisie, inspite of the fact that it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Why? Because the liberal bourgeoisie of an imperialist country is bound to be counter revolutionary. And that is why the Bolsheviks at that time did not and could not consider temporary blocs and agreements with the liberal bourgeoisie. On these grounds, the opposition assert that the same attitude should be adopted in China in all stages of the revolutionary movement, and that temporary agreements and blocs with the national bourgeoisie in China are impermissible at all times and under all circumstances. But the opposition forget that only people who do not understand and will not admit that there is a difference between revolution in oppressed countries and revolution in oppressor countries can talk like this, that only people forsaking Leninism and joining the followers of the Second International can talk like this.” (Stalin’s Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, Lawrence and Wishart Edition, pp. 232, 233, 234. Emphasis throughout Stalin’s) We have discussed above the nature and gravity of the mistakes in the documents of the Polit Bureau – how they, starting with relegating the aspect of Imperialist oppression and enslavement into the background, ended with clean bypassing the national liberationist aspect of our struggle and nullifying the distinction between revolution in independent, imperialist countries and revolution in colonial and dependent countries. It is no wonder that once one commits the blunder of ignoring the fact that imperialism grips India “octopus-like”, he cannot but drift further and commit the rest of the consequent errors which in their nature are very serious and grave.

This mistake of underrating the significance of imperialist grip had been brought to the notice of the Polit Bureau as early as May, 1949, in a letter by Comrade Ram. Comrade Ram writes:

“(b) Secondly, it is said in the Thesis that Imperialism is the leading force in the combine and that the bourgeoisie “is granted a share in the state power” not *full* power (P.40) and that the combine is described as a “new line-up of imperialism, princes, landlords and the bourgeoisie” (note the order). “In a new state, therefore, the national bourgeoisie shares power with imperialism, *with the latter still dominating indirectly.*” (p.49). Now, the Tactical Line says that the Indian bourgeoisie is the “fighting partner and leading force in the combine”(p.7), that “the bourgeoisie have not only improved their position in relation to feudal elements, but also *in relation to imperialism*” and that “in the bargaining between imperialism and the bourgeoisie, *the feudal princes act as the allies of the bourgeoisie*, i.e.

as their satellites" (P.8). Of course in the end it is also said that "the bourgeoisie is tied to the imperialists." Taking the thing as a whole, the impression is that the bourgeoisie has strengthened its position "in relation to imperialism", and has transferred itself from a secondary force into a leading force in the combine, acting within the framework of compromise when the leading economic and political strings are kept in the hands of imperialism. This is a very big political departure from the Thesis, which has to be recognised." (Ram's letter to the Polit Bureau, dated 2nd May 1949, page2, Para last but one, Emphasis Ram's. Page numbers in brackets above refer to Political Thesis and the Tactical Line).

Again explaining the discussion on the point elsewhere in the same letter, he writes: "(f) Has the-Indian Bourgeoisie strengthened itself in relation to imperialism? The secretariat comrades (Nag could not Participate in discussion on this point) feel that the formulation in the document Tactical Line that "bourgeoisie have not only improved their position in relation to feudal elements, but also in relation to imperialism" is wrong, though it is qualified later by saying that "it is still tied to imperialism". This leads to the wrong understanding of underestimating the daily tightening grip of not only British imperialism but of American monopolists also, (it is to be noted that India has already taken a loan of 90 million dollars and is going to take more - Mathai's Budget Speech), and consequent blunting of the edge of exposure of the aggressive designs of Anglo-American imperialists to make India their reactionary war base." (Ibid, emphasis ours).

Besides, this, a number of articles by Soviet and other Communist writers had appeared in the press, where this aspect of imperialist grip on India is specially stressed. Then, why did the Polit Bureau refuse to reconsider its position and stick to its guns till the time of the editorial in the organ of the Cominform Bureau?

Why does the Polit Bureau even after being pulled up by the Cominform Bureau try to explain it away in its latest document as though it is a small error which crept in while "combating the reformists, who maintained nothing has changed?"

Let us quote from its own statement:

"In combating the reformists, who maintained that nothing has changed as a result of the Mountbatten Award, resolution of the Polit Bureau correctly pointed out that the Nehru-Patel Government representing the interests of the capitalists and landlords has gone over to imperialism, but we failed to underline the fact that in this sham independence, which we correctly unmasked, the interests of British imperialism remained "sacred and inviolable" and that "the Mountbattens had departed but British imperialism remains and octopus-like grips India in its bloody tentacles". (Polit Bureau's statement No.14, to all Party members, dated 22-2-50,p.4).

Well, they "combated the reformists"! Very well, they "correctly unmasked" the sham independence ! Only, a small mistake of "failure to underline" the grip of imperialist has 'led to two serious errors' ! Anyway we are asked to believe so. In this connection it is also necessary to clear another point that has arisen here. Is it a fact that some one has said that nothing has changed subsequent to the

Mountbatten Award? In the entire document of Tactical Line the Polit Bureau cites no other instance except on that is alleged to have been said by the Andhra Secretariat. Have the Andhra Secretariat said so? Now here have they said so. It was only in one connection the following was stated by the Andhra Secretariat, "whereas in the present day India, by the Mountbatten Award and subsequent so-called national government, *nothing has been smashed of the imperialist-feudal state machinery*. But simply got political power shared by the dominant bourgeoisie. It is not the entire capitalist class that gets benefited by this compromise but only the big business houses, that have entered into deals with the British capitalists. Not to speak of the toiling masses, the middle bourgeoisie will also be devoured as the economic crisis deepens." (From the Andhra Secretariat's Draft note as quoted by Tactical Line ,P.35, Emphasis ours).

First of all, what is exactly said here is "nothing has been *smashed*", and not "nothing has *been changed*." This distortion, though it looks small, a mere little change of word, is a dangerous one.

Secondly, the statement "nothing has been *smashed*" in the given context is perfectly correct.

It is unimaginable how the Polit Bureau out of this could create the ghost of the formulation "nothing has been *changed*" and conduct a "heroic" fight, and land itself into the position that "everything has changed", i.e. the British imperialists, grip on, and the colonial status of India, etc.

Is it not audacious on the part of the Polit Bureau to thrust this formulation in the mouth of the Andhra Secretariat? Is it not a fact that Andhra Secretariat was complimented openly in the second party congress for having fought against the reformist politics and stand of those who took the position of "nothing has been changed"? Is it not by recognising this contribution of Andhra Secretariat that Comrade B.T.Ranadive, while introducing the panel for the Central Committee in the Second Congress, had remarked: "I have nothing to add about the Andhra comrades. My only grievance is that they have not fought enough and more doggedly"? And, is it not simply unimaginable that the Andhra Secretariat, which has been consistently voicing its opposition since 1944 to the reformist policies and practice of our old Central Committee could plunge headlong into the grossest reformist formulation that "nothing has changed", hardly one month after the Second Congress (The Andhra Secretariat Draft Note was pre-prepared in April, 1948)! Yet, the Polit Bureau chooses to characterise the Andhra Secretariat so. Something is very seriously wrong somewhere. It is not only a failure to subject one's own mistakes to ruthless self-criticism, but also a very dangerous way of reading and interpreting inner-party documents prepared by others. The Central Committee must take note of this. As the great Lenin says:

"Not he is wise who makes no mistakes. There are no such men nor can there be. He is wise who makes not very serious mistakes and who knows how to correct them easily and quickly."

The pity is that our Polit Bureau has made very serious mistakes and yet does not know how to correct them.

## STAGE-STRATEGY AND THE SLOGAN OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

We have already pointed out in the introduction to this draft how the Political Thesis has been conveniently vague and confusing with regard to the stage of our revolution. The Thesis says, "It means that the People's Democratic Revolution has to be achieved for the completion of the tasks of democratic revolution and the simultaneous building up of Socialism." (P.74)

That this conception of the precise stage and strategy is not merely vague but wrong can be proved by the following statements of the authors of the Draft Thesis, statements made both during and after the Second Congress.

".....It has been characterised in this document that the struggle for democratic revolution gets inter-twined with the struggle for socialism and **there can be no two stages of revolution**. It is the same type as in Yugoslavia. That is our aim. That is, there is no conception that the bourgeois democratic revolution must be built first and then the socialist revolution and in between something else will happen. **It is one single revolution, based upon the broad class alliance of the workers, peasants, the toiling middle class and the progressive intelligentsia.** That constitutes the class alliance of this revolution which begins by ending all the old remnants of the old feudal order and **straightforwardly goes forward the building up and establishment of socialism**". (Comrade Bhowani Sen's speech in the Second Party Congress, printed in the pamphlet "Opening Reports by Comrade B.T.Ranadive and Comrade Bhowani Sen on the draft Political Thesis, P.38, para 5, PPH, Emphasis ours).

"On behalf of the Central Committee it was made clear that a **people's democratic state itself meant the dictatorship of the proletariat**. It was also stated that in the present phase of the general crisis of capitalism after the Second World War, a people's democratic state represents a specific form of class alliance led by the proletariat and becomes the instrument of completing not only the people's democratic revolution but also carrying it forward to the achievement of socialism." (Review of the Second Congress, PPH, P.28).

Is it not ideological bankruptcy to say that "there can be no two stages of revolution"? Is it permissible to say categorically "that a people's democratic state itself meant the dictatorship of the proletariat", without understanding the different stages and their different peculiarities? Is it any wonder that certain comrades start arguing on the basis of this that our revolution is basically socialist, though as a by-product it has to fulfill a lot of democratic tasks? Is it not exactly against such arguments the Andhra Secretariat is compelled to fight? Is it not in this connection that the Andhra Secretariat quoted extensively from Mao, from his pamphlet NEW DEMOCRACY, wherein Mao had to fight out "all in one stroke" slogan-mongers in the Chinese Communist Party? Was it not against this attempt of the Andhra Secretariat the Polit Bureau took up cudgels against the Andhra Secretariat and Mao?

Before we elaborate all these points let us take up the question of confusing the stages. Does Marxism-Leninism allow this muddling up of the stages? Let us see what Lenin and Stalin had said on this.

“But as a matter of fact when he (i.e., Lenin) criticised the tactics of the Mensheviks, he at the same time exposed the tactics of international opportunism; and when he substantiated the Marxist tactics in the period of bourgeois revolution and **drew the distinction between bourgeois revolution and socialist revolution**, he at the same time formulated the fundamental principles of the Marxist tactics in the period of transition from the bourgeois revolution to the socialist revolution.” (History of the C.P.S.U.(B), Moscow Edition, P.65, para 6. Emphasis ours).

In the book “Two Tactics” there are innumerable statements of Lenin insisting on the distinction between the two stages of revolution, i.e. Democratic and Socialist. Let us quote some of them.

“To confuse the petty bourgeois struggle for a complete democratic revolution with the proletarian struggle for Socialist revolution spells political bankruptcy for a Socialist. Marx’s warning to this effect is quite justified. But it is for this very reason that the slogan “revolutionary communes” is erroneous, because the very mistake committed by the communes that have existed in history is that they **confused the democratic revolution with the Socialist revolution**. (Lenin’s Selected Works, Two Volume Edition, Moscow, Vol.I, P.435. Emphasis ours).

“On the other hand, **two totally dissimilar** questions are confounded, viz., the question of our participation in one of the stages of the DEMOCRATIC revolution and the question of the SOCIALIST revolution. Indeed, the “conquest of power” by Social Democracy is a Socialist revolution, nor can it be anything else if we use these words in their direct and usually accepted sense. If, however, we are to understand these words to mean the conquest of power for a democratic revolution and not for a Socialist revolution, then what is the point in talking not only about participation in a provisional revolutionary government but also about the “conquest of power” IN GENERAL. Obviously our “Conferencers” were not very clear themselves as to what they should talk about: the democratic or the Socialist revolution.” (Ibid, P.354, Capital emphasis Lenin’s, Emphasis ours).

“He will not be able to tell him that this was the name given to a workers’ government that once existed, which was unable to and could not at that time distinguish between the elements of democratic revolution and those of a Socialist revolution, which confused the tasks of fighting for Socialism..... Does this not reveal the very mistake which they unsuccessfully tried to accuse us of having committed, i.e. confusing a democratic revolution with a Socialist revolution, between which none of the “communes” could differentiate?” (Ibid. P.392 para 2).

“We all draw a distinction between bourgeois revolution and Socialist revolution, **we will absolutely insist on the necessity of drawing a strict line between them; but can it be denied that in history individual, particular elements of one revolution and the other become interwoven?** Have there not been a number of Socialist movements and attempts at establishing Socialism in the period of democratic revolution in Europe? And will not the future Socialist revolution in Europe still have to do a great deal that has been left undone in the field of democracy?” (Ibid, Pp.404-405, Emphasis ours).

Stalin while fighting the deviations of the opposition in the CPSU(B), when they were found distorting the directions of the Communist International and Lenin regarding the Chinese Revolution, observed:

“Now as to the stages of the Chinese Revolution. The opposition have got themselves so entangled that they are denying that there are any stages whatsoever in the development of the Chinese Revolution. But were there ever revolutions without certain stages of development? Did not our revolution have its stages of development? Take Lenin’s “April Thesis” and you will see that Lenin discerned two stages in our revolution: the first stage was the bourgeois democratic revolution, with the agrarian movement as its main axis; the second stage was the October revolution with the seizure of power by the proletariat as its main axis. What are the stages in the Chinese revolution? In my opinion there should be three: the first stage was the revolution of the general national UNITED front, the Canton period, when the revolution was striking chiefly at foreign imperialism, and the national bourgeoisie supported the revolutionary movement; the second stage is the bourgeois democratic revolution, after the national troops reached the Yangtse river, when the national bourgeoisie deserted the revolution and the agrarian movement grew into a mighty revolution of tens of millions of peasants (the Chinese revolution is at present in the second stage of its development); the third stage is the Soviet revolution, which has not yet come about, but which will come about. Whoever does not understand that there are no revolutions without definite stages of development, whoever does not understand that there are three stages in the development of the Chinese revolution, understands nothing either of Marxism or of the Chinese question.” (Stalin’s Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, Lawrence and Wishart, P.235, emphasis Stalin’s).

These quotations cited from Lenin and Stalin amply go to prove that the position taken by our Polit Bureau, expressed through the extract from Comrade Bhowani Sen’s speech referred to above, is definitely wrong and constitutes fundamental departures from Marxism-Leninism.

Firstly, the Polit Bureau ignores and brushes aside Lenin’s dictum “We all draw a distinction between bourgeois revolution and Socialist revolution, we will absolutely insist on the necessity of drawing a strict line between them.....” This is the first departure.

Secondly, by making such an over-simplified statement as that “there are no two stages of revolution”, etc., it attempts to dispense with the necessity of stages in our revolution. This is the second fundamental departure.

Thirdly, by stating “That constitutes the class alliance of this revolution (workers, peasants, etc.), which begins by ending all the remnants of old feudal order and straightforwardly goes towards the building of and establishment of Socialism”, it attempts to dispense with the necessity of two separate class alliances for the two stages of the revolution. In a word, it visualises the same class alliance both for democratic and Socialist stages. This constitutes, in our opinion, another fundamental departure from the Leninist-Stalinist conception of democratic revolution passing into Socialist revolution.

Let us see what Lenin says on this point.

“First with the “whole” of the peasantry against the monarchy, against the landlords, against the mediaeval regime (and to that extent, the revolution remains bourgeois, bourgeois democratic). Then with the poorest peasants, with the semi-proletarians, with all the exploited, against capitalism including the rural rich, the kulaks, the profiteers and to that extent the revolution become a Socialist one.” (Problems of Leninism, Moscow edition, P35, para, 3).

Or, the same in other words of Lenin:

“At the head of the whole people, and particularly of the peasantry- for complete freedom for consistent democratic revolution, for a republic! At the head of all the toilers and the exploited-for Socialism ?” (Lenin’s selected works, Moscow Two Volume edition , 1947, Vol I,p.415).

Such is the Leninist conception of stages and alliances.

But, as we have already observed ,the Polit Bureau made a departure from all this which has a number of serious consequences.

Firstly, it leads to the failure to understand in concrete the classes and sections which are interested in democracy and to utilise the reserves in full in the onward march of the struggle of the proletariat for proletarian dictatorship and Socialism.

Further, it lands in the deviation , as some are already suffering from , that in the “present world set up” and in accordance with that , in our country , the classes and sections which are interested in Socialism are the only classes that are interested in democracy. That is to say , the class alliance that is necessary for , and is capable of , effecting Socialist revolution is one capable of fighting for People’s Democratic revolution and none else.

Secondly , it leads to the dangerous illusion that all the classes and sections in the alliance for the People’s democratic revolution would continue to be allies for the stage of Socialist transformation also . This would screen new class struggle that would open up with the end of the first stage of People’s democratic revolution and the beginning of Socialist transformation and hence would take the proletariat unawares.

It is against this Lenin warns thus:

“The success of the present uprising, the victory of democratic revolution will but clear the way for a genuine and decisive struggle for Socialism on the basis of a democratic republic. In this struggle the peasantry as a landowning class will play the same treacherous, vacillating part as is being played at present by the bourgeoisie in the struggle for democracy. To forget this is to forget Socialism, to deceive oneself and others as to the real interests and tasks of the proletariat.” (Lenin’s Selected Works, Moscow Two Volume edition. 1947, Vol. I,P. 431).

Is not the significance of this warning all the greater in our case where besides all the peasantry even some sections of bourgeoisie also may remain in the People’s Democratic alliance?

In other words, the hegemony of the proletariat in the People’s Democratic revolution is wrongly considered to be enough to build complete Socialism without steadily advancing to the full dictatorship of the proletariat.

Now let us come to another equally significant formulation made in the Review of the Second Congress that “ a people’s Democratic state itself meant the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

Does not this loose formulation lead to wrong conclusions, particularly in relation to the slogan we have advanced for the present stage of our revolution in India, i.e. the People’s Democratic revolution? Does not this give scope for certain elements to argue that what we are immediately striving for is dictatorship of the proletariat? Is it not a fact basing on such slip-shod formulation that some began to equate the present stage of our revolution to the stage of October Revolution? That it is so can be seen from the following:

“In a nutshell, my position is that the present stage of the Indian Revolution corresponds broadly to the second stage of the Russian Revolution, i.e. after February Revolution; but leading to October... But, yet the present stage of the Indian Revolution corresponds to the second stage of Russian Revolution.” (From Nag’s note to the Polit Bureau on the Andhra Secretariat’s Draft Note, pp 1-2)

Leaving aside fuller discussion of this issue for a while, which we will take up subsequently let us assert in brief the meaning of the concept of People’s Democracy.

The concept of People’s Democracy implies basically two things: Firstly, the proletarian hegemony, and secondly, its transitional character of passing through different stage to realise the full dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is also necessary to recognise the fact of the distinctive features which distinguish the people’s democracies of Central and Eastern Europe from the people’s democracies of colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Further, the concept of people’s democracy does not preclude the possibility of alliance with certain sections of bourgeoisie at certain stage, whereas in the Leninist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat and its party does not and cannot share power with any other class.

How clumsy it would look to equate loosely people’s democratic state with that of the dictatorship of the proletariat as was done in the above quoted passage of the Polit Bureau can be seen from the following observation of Stalin:

“The hegemony of the proletariat was the embryo of, and the transitional stage to, the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Problems of Leninism, Moscow Edition.P.51).

It was against the background of the confusion created by the Polit Bureau and confronted with the acute stage of the Telangana struggle and its problems like the constitution and composition of the village committees, etc.—where by then itself in nearly 2500 villages people’s administration was set up—that the Andhra Secretariat was called upon to discuss anew this question of stage and strategy. Thus it is evident that it is not in the nature either of mere academic interest or of general enthusiasm for abstract discussion that the problem was taken up again soon after the Second Party Congress.

It is also evident, as is already shown, that confining to the letter of the Thesis, which is vague, ambiguous, etc., it is difficult to clarify the issue.

The Andhra Secretariat took up the position against the slogan of October stage thus: "India like China is semi-colonial and semi feudal in character. Like that of Chinese feudal warlords, our states and feudal princes remain to be liquidated as sores on the face of our country. Like the Chinese bourgeoisie of 1927, Indian bourgeoisie has, at the present, almost started a civil war by its cruel attack on all democratic forces of the country, headed by the working class and the Communist Party. The Indian bourgeoisie, afraid of the growing revolutionary forces, went under the wings of foreign imperialism to obey its dictates. There in China the fruits of the revolution were harvested by national bourgeoisie, whereas in India the fruits of sixty years of national movement have been harvested by the Indian bourgeoisie, by sharing political power with imperialism. Here, as in China, the bourgeoisie has left intact the feudal allies, which it wants to utilise in the course of its counter-revolution.

"The offensive launched by the Nehru Government against the Communist Party of India is part of the international offensive started by world imperialism. It is an offensive by which it ranges itself against all progressive and democratic forces of the world. To put it bluntly, this offensive is practically nothing but a cruel civil war let loose by the imperialist- bourgeois-feudal combine against working class, peasants, and other toiling masses....

"This is the picture present before us which says that India is essentially a colonial country in all its social, political and economic aspects. Hence, the stage of our revolution is also essentially bourgeois-democratic; but it is not a bourgeois democratic revolution of the old type; but of a new type led by the proletariat and correctly called New Democratic Revolution. This is also expressed in the term People's Democratic Revolution. **The present stage of our revolution essentially, though not exactly, is similar to that of the present stage of Chinese revolution, the stage that is opened since 1927 bourgeois offensive against communists and working class.** Though Chinese comrades have fought for more than 20 years and grown in quality and quantity, the stage remains yet the same to be fulfilled further. We, in India, have, almost like that of Chinese Democratic Forces in the post-1927 period, entered into a definite stage. Of course, the present radically changed international background will greatly help us and ease our task when compared to Chinese brethren who had a prolonged period of twenty years and more of tortuous civil war, and yet have to complete it victoriously." (Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat, p.10).

How does the Polit Bureau read and clarify this?

The Tactical Line says: "Both Nageswararao and the Secretariat have turned Marxism upside down....The Secretariat decided **it is the stage of February revolution**, since it does not want to fight the rich peasant-nothing has changed – only big business gone over, new democratic revolution carried as only anti-feudal, etc. Nageswararao imagines another set of relations." (Tactical Line, cycloed copy, p.40 para 2. Emphasis ours).

The Polit Bureau does not stop here. It ridicules the entire thing and brands "both make a mockery of Marxism", who have "turned Marxism upside-down".

Now, coming to the issue, is it factually correct as the Polit Bureau asserts that the "Secretariat decided it is the stage of February Revolution"? Do not the passages from the Andhra Secretariat's Draft Note, quoted Just above prove just the opposite? How shall we characterise this except as wanton distortion on the part of the Polit Bureau? Yet it did it and circulated it among the entire Party ranks and the public in India and also abroad.

Coming to the question of the present stage and strategy, the Andhra Secretariat insisted upon adopting the line of the pamphlet "New Democracy" by Mao, with necessary modifications if any. The Secretariat quoted in its document extensively from Mao in support of its line. (The Andhra Secretariat's Draft Note consisted of hardly 18 pages half-foolscap and out of these nearly five pages were occupied by quotations from Mao).

How does the Polit Bureau sum up the stand of the Andhra Secretariat? Let us quote from the Tactical Line.

Firstly, by a ridiculous shifting a position. We have seen just above how the Andhra secretariat is alleged to have said, the present stage of our revolution is the February stage. Wonderfully enough, in the same breath it is stated that the secretariat has said it is a new democratic sage!

Secondly, is it a fact that, as the Polit bureau alleges, "the class content however is not defined". meaning there by that the content of the class alliance of new democratic revolution is not defined? The following quotations from the **Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat** are a crying proof how baseless the polit bureau allegation is:

"The first stage of the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries – though according to its social nature- is fundamentally still a bourgeois - democratic one of which the above requirements still basically call for a clearance of the way of capitalist development – yet despite this, the revolution is no longer the old wholesale bourgeois revolution for the building up of a capitalist society and a state of bourgeois dictatorship type; but a new type of revolution wholly or partly led by the proletariat, the first stage of which aims at setting up of a New Democratic Society, a new state of the combined dictatorship of all revolutionary classes. The fundamental character of this Revolution will never vary until the arrival of the stage of socialist revolution through during its progress, it may pass through several minor stages in accordance with the possible changes in the attitude of enemies and alliances." (Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat, P.7 emphasis ours).

Continuing further the note says:

"To put it more concretely, let us quote Comrade Mao's analysis where he discusses the classes in the Democratic Front.

"Who form the revolutionary democratic groups?

"The workers are of course the most thorough revolutionary democrats. Besides the *workers* the *peasants* form the largest revolutionary democratic group.

**“All peasants with the exception of these rich farmers unable to shake off their tails of feudalism, are taken by the slogan of “land to the tiller”.**

**“The lower middle class in cities and towns** is another revolutionary democratic group because the development of agricultural productivity made possible by the policy of land to the tiller, benefits them.

**“The upper middle class forms a vacillating group.** It favours Land to the tiller because it too wants a market. But, at the same time, they fear the policy because they own land.

“Who are the sworn enemies of Revolution?

“Those who are resolutely opposed to the policy are the only groups within the Kuomintang who represent the class of big landlords and Big Business and compradors.”

Comrade Mao further elaborating on this issue in his latest report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has formulated clearly in describing the enemies of the Chinese Revolution, and says.

“The monopoly capital merged with state capital becomes state monopoly capitalism. This monopoly capitalism intimately merged with foreign imperialism and domestic landlord class and old type rich peasant becomes compradore feudal state monopoly capitalism. This is the economic foundation of Chiang’s reactionary regime. This state monopoly capitalism not only oppresses the workers and the peasants but also oppresses the petty bourgeoisie and injures the middle bourgeoisie.

“The petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie oppressed and injured by this class and its state power, although they too are bourgeoisie, may however participate in the New Democratic Revolution or maintain neutrality. They have no connections or comparatively fewer connections with imperialism. They are real national bourgeoisie. Wherever the state power of New Democracy exists, these classes must firmly and unhesitatingly be protected.

“Petty bourgeoisie mentioned here refers to the small scale industrial and commercial capitalists who hire workers and shop employees.

“The existence and development of middle capitalist elements here, under these conditions, are not all dangerous. The same applies to the new rich peasant economy which will necessarily come into being in the rural areas after the agrarian revolution.

“The New Democratic Revolution is to eliminate only feudalism and monopoly capitalism, only the landlord class and bureaucratic bourgeoisie (Big bourgeoisie) not capitalism in general and not middle bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.”

“Again, Comrade Mao, in the same report positively asserts the strategy of New Democratic Revolution in more definite and more concrete terms.

**“Our line is to rely on poor peasants and solidly unite with the middle peasants** (not as some of our comrades say ‘neutralise them’!) to destroy feudal and semi-feudal exploitation system of the landlord class and the old type rich peasants.

“In the demarcation of class composition, care must be taken not to commit the mistake of assigning those who are really middle peasants to the rich peasant category.

“All these are concrete policies that must be adopted by our Party in carrying out the strategic task of solidly uniting the middle peasants.”

“In another passage, the same is further elaborated thus:

“The basic principles must be noted here. Firstly, it is necessary to satisfy the demands of poor peasants and farm labourers – this is the important task of our agrarian reform. Secondly, it is necessary to resolutely **unite middle peasants** and not injure the basic principles, and the task of our agrarian reform will surely be triumphantly completed. In accordance with the principle of equal distribution, the surplus land and the portion of the properties of the old type rich peasants should be taken over for distribution. Because, Chinese rich peasants, in general, are of heavy feudal and semi-feudal exploiting nature—rich peasants at the same time collect rents and engage in usury and their conditions of hiring labour are semi-feudal.

“....There should in general be differentiation between the rich peasants and the landlords.” (From Draft Note by the Andhra Secretariat, Pp.11-13, Emphasis ours)

Talking of the class alliance in India, the Draft Note says:

“By the compromise with the imperialism it is not the entire capitalist class which gets benefited, but only the few big business (elements) which have got into economic deals with British financiers. Let alone the toiling masses, the middle bourgeoisie and the rich peasantry, who have no feudal tails, will also be ground down, by the imperialist-feudal-big business combine.

“This is the basis for the widest possible front against the above anti-national and anti-people combine. The front must be based firmly on the workers, poor peasants and agricultural labourers with middle peasants and town petty bourgeoisie as allies. The middle bourgeoisie and rich peasants (without feudal tails) who vacillate between the people and the anti-national combine, have to be neutralised as a class. However, certain sections of the rich peasantry may participate in the revolution, though vacillating, in the areas where feudal landlords are all-powerful, dominating over rich peasants also, for example Telangana and Rayalaseema.”(Ibid, P.14)

Do not these series of quotations cited above clearly, sharply and concretely define the class content of the New Democratic stage? Yet, all this does not make any sense to our Polit Bureau. Otherwise, how can they accuse us and assert that “class content is not however defined”? It is for the readers to understand and the Polit Bureau to explain. Still more amazing is the fact that in the very next sentences and in the very same breath, the Polit Bureau say it is defined, but the objection, as they say, “in so far as the New Democracy is defined it is done so from opportunist quotation from Mao.....” It goes without saying that this does not hold water in the face of the preponderant evidence that the Andhra Secretariat’s Draft Note has quoted everything and left nothing of all Mao has said concerning the stage and strategy in his book “New Democracy” and the cited Report.

But then, we ask the Polit Bureau one question. Instead of utilising and quoting the passages that clearly define and state the class content of New Democratic stage, and that were given extensively in the Andhra Secretariat Draft Note, why does the Polit Bureau choose to quote just a mutilated phrase of four words (viz. "dictatorship of many classes") and accuse the Secretariat of the crime of opportunist quotation from Mao? Whose opportunism is it? Indeed, the boot is on the other leg!

After having hurled a lot of statements against the formulations in the Andhra Secretariat's Draft concerning stage and strategy, such as "the Secretariat decided that it is the stage of February", that it "is supposed to be New Democratic", that its "class content however is not defined", and that in so far as it is defined "it is done from opportunist quotation of Mao", etc., the Polit Bureau rejected the position of the Andhra Secretariat, and issued the document "People's Democracy" afresh.

Before we go into detailed examination of this document, we have to point out one thing: that it does not settle accounts with the erroneous formulations made earlier on the issue, those made in Bhowani Sen's speech, and in the Review of the Congress, both earlier referred to ; i.e. the document nowhere states whether it continues the earlier pronouncements or makes a departure from them. Thus, the Party ranks are left in doubt.

The document, On People's Democracy, starts on a good premise that democratic and Socialist stages are two links in one chain – the Leninist conception. The document cites very illuminating and pertinent quotations from Lenin and Stalin on the issue. But, by pretending to apply these principles to the concrete situation, both in the world of today and India, the Polit Bureau completely departed from the Leninist concept, two links in one chain, and landed in the original position of one stage revolution.

It worked itself up to this position with phrases like "inter-linking", "inter-twining", "inter-weaving", "inter-lacing", "delayed democratic revolution ripening into Socialist revolution", "extreme nearness to socialist revolution" that brings about the proletarian revolution", and arriving at the conclusion that "it(i.e. the stage of revolution) is mixed", meaning that the present stage of our-revolution is a combination of both February and October (i.e. democratic and Socialist) stages of the Russian revolution.

This is what the Polit Bureau documents say on this point:

"It is this mixing, this combination, that gives us People's Democratic Revolution in our country. Is the present phase of the Indian Revolution comparable with the February or October Revolution in Russia? It is neither. It is mixed." (On People's Democracy, PPH,P.9)

Again, in the document Tactical Line, it says:

"It will be found that the stage of revolution in which we are partly shares the characteristics of both stages of the Russian Revolution."(Cycloed copy, P.16).

Thus, at one stroke, the inter-linking conception becomes "mixed" conception, i.e. back to the old mutton.

The Polit Bureau may point out to the following quotation and try to refute the above:

It is not October – because, though we are eliminating the political rule of the bourgeoisie, we are not able to raise the slogan of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat immediately—because the intermediate strata, parties, classes have not yet exhausted their full possibilities, and, therefore, a bloc with them cannot be ruled out." (On People's Democracy, PPH, P.9).

We are of opinion that this is formal. It does neither reveal the mind of the Polit Bureau, correctly nor is it the conclusion that emerges from the entire logic of the Polit Bureau, worked out in this and the other documents of the Polit Bureau. A volume of evidence can be cited to substantiate our contention.

Now let us examine it in detail.

Firstly, the document says: "One warning is necessary. No one can say whether in the course of struggle we will not march straight to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It becomes a question of the strength of the Proletariat, its hegemony, its capacity to lead the toilers, how quickly in the process of struggle the non-proletarian toiling sections shed their illusions, etc. No dogmatic assertion can be made. But for the present we can only work on the strength of the correlation of forces as it exists." (On People's Democracy, PPH, P.10. para 2).

What does this convey? Does it not convey a wishful thought of skipping the democratic stage by a miracle? Even in the case of Russian Revolution was it not a fact that the Bolsheviks could advance to the slogan of dictatorship of workers and peasants was realised, though, of course, not in the way the Bolshevik Party had visualised but in a different way, in the form of dual power?

Here is what Lenin says:

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry has already been realized, but in an extremely original form, and with a number of highly important modifications." (Marx-Engels-Marxism, Moscow Edition, 1947, P.335).

Does it not reveal that the Bolsheviks could advance to the slogan of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, only after realizing the democratic stage, and not "straight" as our Polit Bureau wishfully thinks?

The warning of the Polit Bureau only goes to strengthen the "mixed" conception and its confusion.

Secondly, the document says:

"What place does fight against imperialism occupy in the struggle? Here again it is to be carried out at a different level. The bourgeoisie has secured a National State, linked with world capitalism – and, therefore, a satellite state. The struggle for real independence means taking the country out of the orbit of world capitalist order,

into Socialist front, the Socialist system. Freedom and independence now mean freedom from world capitalist order – not from this or that imperialism only. Thus, again, the task of fighting for real freedom is linked with the defeat of capital at home and abroad and breaking away from the capitalist system. (On People's Democracy, PPH, P.9 para 2).

Do not the phrases the fight “is to be carried on a different level”, “freedom from world capitalist order – not from this or that imperialism only” water down the anti-imperialist, national-liberationist, democratic character of the revolution, which stand in one measure or other has its own influence on the character of the stage of the revolution? Is it pardonable on the part of the Polit Bureau to clean ignore mentioning even a word in the concrete of British imperialism, and talk in diffused, general way like “different level”, “world capitalist order”, “world capitalist order”, etc.? Is it not in tune with the ultra-left phrase-mongers who advance the slogan of Socialist revolution, clean skipping the democratic stage? We feel it is.

Thirdly, is it not a fact that, when the Andhra Secretariat quoted Mao in its Draft Note, in order to refute the “all in one stroke” theorists, the Polit Bureau denounced it as erecting a Chinese Wall, etc. etc.?

Here is the passage from Mao, quoted by the Andhra Secretariat, and taken exception to by the Polit Bureau:

“Though it goes without saying that the first step of the revolution which we are contemplating today will, one day, inevitably develop into second step, i.e. Socialism and only in this realm of Socialism can China become prosperous: yet, the present is no time to practise it. Socialism is out of the question before the tasks of the present revolution, the tasks of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, are fulfilled. The Chinese revolution can only be achieved in two stages: (a) New Democracy: (b) Socialism. And we should point out that the period over which the first step will expand will be a considerably long one. We are not idealists. We cannot place ideals over and above present-day life.

“It is correct then to-day that this stage of which, the first should form the ground work of the second, must not be interrupted by a stage of bourgeois dictatorship. This alone is the proper Marxist method of understanding the course of development of our Revolution. It is to suffer from worst illusions to assent to the suggestion that the democratic stage of the Revolution has not its own specific tasks and time-table and it is possible to accomplish in one stage, the task which belongs to an entirely different stage; for instance, to try to accomplish the task of socialist stage simultaneously with that of the democratic. Such is the face of this “all in one stroke” which is pure idealism. It is not the proper way in which any revolutionary could think. It is known to everybody that both in the field of ultimate forms of social organisation and in the matter of practical working programme, the Communist Party has developed its outlook. That is, it has got a maximum and minimum programme. The New Democracies of the present and Socialism of the future are its two component parts to be carried out under the guidance of the whole ideology

of Communism." (Mao Tse-tung as quoted by the Andhra Secretariat in its Draft note. Pp. 8-9. Emphasis ours).

How did the Polit Bureau attack this clarification of Mao on the Leninist principle of insistence on and distinction of stages? It called it "erecting a Chinese wall." It poohpoohed the whole thing saying:

"The position taken by Andhra Secretariat and substantiated by loose quotations from Mao, amounts to equating People's Democratic Revolution to an anti-feudal revolution i.e. to a revolution of the ordinary bourgeois type." (Tactical Line, cycloed copy, P.45, para 1).

The Polit Bureau does this despite the fact that the Andhra Secretariat states specifically that "No Chinese Wall can be erected between the New Democratic and Socialist stages of the revolution. The toilers having once achieved power under the leadership of the proletariat, will proceed to Socialism 'peacefully' and without the necessity of another insurrection." (Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat, P.13).

The Polit Bureau does this despite the fact Mao himself categorically states that "It is correct then to say that this stage of which, the first should form the ground work of the second, must not be interrupted by a stage of bourgeois dictatorship. This alone is the proper Marxist method of understanding the course of development of our Revolution." (Emphasis ours)

Does not the rejection of all this by the Polit Bureau amount to the position of "all in one stroke" theories. i.e., in our case, the "mixed", one stage, theories? We hold so.

Lastly, has not the Polit Bureau taken up the position that the present stage of our revolution is a struggle which constitutes the fight against entire capital, including the rich peasantry? Is not this position characterised by Lenin as indicative of Socialist stage, thus:

"Then, with the poorest peasants, with semi - proletarians with all the exploited, against capitalism, including the rural rich, the kulaks, the profiteers, and to that extent the revolution becomes a socialist one"?

The Polit Bureau says everything that strictly concerns the Socialist stage and Socialist strategy and yet calls it People's Democratic stage and strategy! Is it not sheer self-deception? Does not the position of the Polit Bureau coincide with those who advance the slogan of Socialist Revolution, however much it may say "It is not October because....."etc.?

We think it does.

We have discussed enough to show how even the Polit Bureau's document, On People's Democracy, instead of clearing the confusion has only added to it; how, instead of correcting the previous erroneous formulations on this issue (Bhowani sen's speech) etc., it has only continued it, despite the fact that it is supposed to be a clarification anew.

However, we feel that the discussion on this topic will be far from complete without going into the allegation that Mao, by his definition of the New Democratic Dictatorship as the “united dictatorship of all anti-imperialist classes,” etc., has confused the precise slogan of Dictatorship of Workers and Peasants. There are very many suggestions in the Polit Bureau’s document, *Tactical Line* to this effect. But, in the covering note to the documents of the Polit Bureau, which was written (dated December 1948) by Comrade Ram with the approval of the Polit Bureau, this attack on Mao was much more clear and open.

Ram’s covering note says:

“There is nothing more that Mao has added “to the armoury of Marxism” in the matter of theoretical formulations, than what Lenin, Stalin or the Communist International has already said about the colonial revolutions; but on the other hand, he has confused the precise and pregnant formulations made by the above mentioned, by his loose and at times wrong formulations about New Democracy and in other documents.”

“(2) The Provincial Committee Secretariat draft talks about Russia being “more near to advanced capitalist country” than India attaining the status of a “semi-colony” after the bourgeois compromise. Hence, it draws the conclusion that the lessons of the Russian Revolution do not so much apply to us at the present stage of our revolution as that of the Chinese Revolution. It takes the loose and some erroneous formulations of Mao like “Dictatorship of the revolutionary classes,” “New Democratic revolution being mainly against feudalism”, “the middle bourgeoisie to be neutralised”, etc., and mechanically applies to our revolution.” (Ibid, emphasis in both above quotations ours).

All this is said to prove only one thing, i.e. the slogan of Dictatorship of workers and Peasants is Leninst and clarification of it as “United dictatorship of all anti-imperialist classes” is anti-Leninist and reformist. Is it a fact? A closer examination of the issue, how Lenin arrived at this slogan and what it implies, will prove that it is not a fact.

Lenin arrived at this slogan, Dictatorship of Workers and Peasants, basing on the slogan of Marx, who, analysing the democratic revolution of 1848 in Germany, advanced the slogan of People’s Dictatorship. Lenin explains in his “Two Tactics” this aspect in a sufficiently elaborate manner. To quote from Lenin:

“In Marx’s opinion, the National Assembly should have ‘eliminated from the regime actually existing in Germany everything that contradicted the principle of sovereignty of the people’, then it should have ‘consolidated the revolutionary ground on which it rested in order to make the sovereignty of the people, won by revolution, secure against all attacks.’

“Thus, the tasks which Marx set before the revolutionary movement or dictatorship in 1848 amounted in substance above all to a democratic revolution, viz., defence against counter-revolution and the actual elimination of everything that militated against the sovereignty of the people. And this is no other than a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship.

"To proceed: which classes, in Marx's opinion, could and should have achieved this task (actually to exercise to the end the principle of sovereignty of the people and to beat off the attacks of counter-revolution)? Marx speaks of the "people". But we know he always ruthlessly combated the petty bourgeois illusions about the unity of the "people" and about the absence of a class struggle within the people. In using the word "people", Marx did not thereby gloss over class differences, but united definite elements capable of carrying the revolution to completion." (Lenin's Selected Works, Moscow Two Volume Edition, 1947, Vol.1, pp 428-429, Emphasis ours).

"With corresponding allowances for concrete national peculiarities and the substitution of serfdom for feudalism, all the propositions are fully applicable to Russia in 1905. There is no doubt that by learning from the experience of Germany, as elucidated by Marx, we cannot arrive at any other slogan for a decisive victory of the revolution than the slogan calling for revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. There is no doubt that the main components of the "people", whom Marx in 1848 contrasted with the resisting reactionaries and the treacherous bourgeoisie, are the proletariat and the peasantry." (Ibid, p.431. emphasis ours).

What does emerge from the above quotations that mainly concern the question and discussion here?

First, the concept of the "people" does not gloss over the class differences, but only speaks of definite elements in a definite stage who are capable of carrying the revolution to completion.

Second, the "main components of the 'people'" spoken of here are workers and peasants.

Has Mao, in defining the class alliance of the revolution in the New Democratic stage as the "united dictatorship of all anti-imperialist classes", been guilty of ignoring any basic aspects as stated above? In our opinion, no such guilt exists on his part. On the other hand, he has concretised the "people" in the particular stage, in detail. Has he overlooked the fact that the main components of the "people" are workers and peasants? See what he says, below:

"Who form the revolutionary democratic groups?"

"The workers are of course the most thorough revolutionary democrats. Besides the workers, the peasants form the largest revolutionary democratic group." (From Mao as quoted by the Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat p. 11).

It is clear that Mao describes workers and peasants as the main component parts of the people.

Is it the Marxist way of understanding the slogan of Dictatorship of workers and Peasants to mean that it comprises only of workers and peasants, to the exclusion of other revolutionary sections, etc., when in reality it means workers and peasants

as the main components and not the only components ? Is it not to understand it mechanically?

For example, Stalin says, concerning the Chinese revolution, after the betrayal of the Kuomintang big bourgeoisie:

“Efforts must particularly be made to have the struggle in town directed against the big bourgeoisie, and especially against the imperialists, so that the Chinese petty bourgeoisie should as far as possible be kept within the united front against the common enemy.”

Does the Polit Bureau feel that the slogan of Dictatorship of Workers and Peasants advanced for China by the Communist International in its Colonial Thesis, contradicts the above strategy advanced by Stalin?

Is not then the definition of New Democratic strategy by Mao as “united dictatorship of all anti-imperialist classes” consistent with Lenin-Stalin teachings and Communist International? Undoubtedly, it is so. It is our Polit Bureau that departs from it and not Mao.

In this context it is necessary to point out another aspect of the problem. The Polit Bureau is inclined to forget a formulation the Thesis itself has made in this connection.

“It will be a People’s Democratic State based on the alliance of anti-imperialist classes workers, peasants and the oppressed petty bourgeoisie...” (Political Thesis, PPH p. 74).

Again, speaking of the new class alliance, the Thesis says: ..... it is necessary to marshal the forces of the revolutionary people in a new way, that is, to forge a new alliance of all the classes for whom the success of the democratic revolution is vital.” etc. (Ibid, p.75, emphasis in both above, ours).

Why does the Polit Bureau go hammer and tongs at Mao for having said “united dictatorship of all anti-imperialist classes” when the Thesis itself says “alliance of anti-imperialist classes....”etc.? How has it been permissible to “water down” the “precise and pregnant” slogan of Dictatorship of Workers and Peasants by adding “oppressed petty bourgeoisie” also in our Thesis? How has it become “loose”, “erroneous”, etc., in case of Mao when he added the middle bourgeoisie also? Evidently, the grouse of our Polit Bureau against Mao is that his objective analysis of the stage and the classes does not agree with the sectarian, pseudo-class analysis made by our Polit Bureau. How else are we to explain this attack on this aspect?

Then coming to the concept “people”. Did Mao gloss over the class differences among the people? Not in the least.

See how Mao defines “people” in the particular stage.

“Who are the “people”? At the present stage of China, the people are the working class, the class of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Under the leadership of the working class and Communist Party, these classes united in order to form their own state and to elect their own government in order to establish over the lackeys of imperialism...” (Mag Tse-

Tung, "Dictatorship of People's Democracy", from "For a lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy", July 15, 1949).

It is thus very clear that Mao's formulations on this are neither "erroneous" nor "loose", but completely correct. Only, the Polit Bureau's understanding and interpretation of the formulations in question is mechanical, dogmatic and sectarian.

We think it necessary here to explain the concept "People's Democracy".

In this connection, one must keep in mind three fundamental points when one wants to understand the concept "People's Democracy".

What are these three fundamental points?

1. In its class content, People's Democracy implies hegemony of the proletariat in one measure or other, according to the stages and the maturity of the revolutionary forces.

Zhukov in 'Problems of National and Colonial Struggle after the Second World War" puts it thus:

"The leading role of the proletariat in the anti-Imperialist struggle....have lent the national liberation movement the character of a struggle not for bourgeois democracy but for People's Democracy". (Colonial People's Struggle for Liberation.PPH edition.P.8).

2. In its class content and the measure of proletarian hegemony exercised, People's Democracy passes through different stages of development.

In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, in the earlier stages of People's Democracy, the Communist and Workers' Parties shared the Government not only with their wavering allies but also with thoroughly bourgeois parties. At this stage, the People's Democratic State in these countries was a united dictatorship of all anti-Fascist classes led by the working class, i.e. a block which excluded only the "top bourgeoisie and landlords who had compromised with German Fascism"(Zhdanov). Zhdanov characterized them at this stage thus: "Where a bloc of the labouring classes of the population headed by the working class constitutes the leading force."

In the colonies and semi-colonies, the class content of the dictatorship of People's Democracy at the early stage is, according to Mao:

"The working class, the class of peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie (i.e. middle bourgeoisie –Andhra Secretariat) under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party. These classes united in order to form their own State and to elect their own Government."

But as People's Democracy develops, i.e., as the revolution advances, and with the progressive strengthening of proletarian hegemony in the State and exclusion of the bourgeois groups and parties, the class content also undergoes a radical change so that at this later stage People's Democracy effectively fulfils the functions of dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is how Hilary Mine(member of the Polit Bureau of the Polish United Worker's Party) describes this process of development concretely in the case of the Central and Eastern countries of Europe:

"The concrete setting of internal and international circumstances often called for an atleast partial sharing of the government, on the part of the Communist and Workers' Parties, not only with their wavering allies but also with bourgeois parties. Hence, the apparatus of bourgeois power was not broken fully or in all its sectors—and hence, the relatively slow process of a long and stubborn class struggle, the discrediting and shattering of hostile political organisations, the overcoming of the vacillations of political allies, the forging—through the united front-of the organic unity of the working class; in the process of extending the foundations of a new system among the masses of the nation, the activisation of these masses in the ever growing conviction that the new system is their system: in the process of fortifying the apparatus of the new State power and purging it from bourgeois trash, deeping the social transformations, extending the front of the class struggle and directing the fire of this struggle not only against the large capitalists and landowners, but also against the village rich; in the process of a long series of difficult but victorious class battles – the new States of People's Democracy fulfil the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in an ever greater scope and with ever greater effectiveness." ("People's Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" by Hilary Mine. World News, and views Vol.30, No 17, dated April 29, 1950, P.199).

Throughout all these stages of development (i.e. from the earliest stage when it is a united dictatorship of all anti-imperialist or anti-fascist classes to the stage when it becomes crystalised as dictatorship of the proletariat it is called People's Democratic States because the form remains essentially the state namely, People's Democratic form, as distinct from the Soviet form. But from this to confuse or mix up the earlier stages with the later stages and to equate People's Democracy mechanically at all stages with the Dictatorship of the proletariat would mean throwing overboard the fundamental teachings of Leninism - Stalinism as well as historical experience.

3. As request form, the People's Democratic State, both in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as in the colonies and semi-colonies is Republican-democratic in form, as discuss from the Soviet form. Even at the latter stage when it fulfils the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat (as at present in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe) the form of the People's Democratic State is different from the Soviet form which built Socialism in the Soviet Union during 1922-1935.

"The transaction from capitalism to Communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but their essence will inevitably be the same - the dictatorship of the proletariat", says Lenin. (Lenin: On State ad Revoulution.)

The Democratic Republican form of the State in which the functions of the delictatorship of the proletariat are exercised effectively to-day in the People's

Democracies of Central and Eastern Europe is a brilliant confirmation of this far-sighted formulation of Lenin.

On the question of form comrades inside our Party have not generally disputed the above i.e. how the People's Democratic State throughout all its stages of development has its own form—the Republican democratic form—as distinct from the Soviet form and how even at the latter stages the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat are exercised only through this form. It is true the understanding is not complete or deep enough, there are gaps in it to be filled up. But there is agreement on the basic facts above-stated and these facts are not contested, (though their understanding on them still remains incomplete). That is why we do not propose to enter into any further detailed discussion here on the question of form.

On the question of class content of People's Democracy there is confusion and controversy inside our Party; and this controversy has a vital bearing on the question of present stage and strategy of our revolution in India since our slogan is People's Democratic Revolution. That is why it is necessary to go into a detailed discussion on the question of content of People's Democracy.

Before entering into such a discussion, however, it is necessary to draw comrades' attention to one fact. It is that the specific deviation that has cropped up inside our Party has come from a different end, from the type of deviation that occurred in the Communist and Workers' Parties of the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, which the leadership of those Parties (Beirut, Dimitrov, ad others), had to settle account with.

In the Communist Parties of the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe as can be seen from the discussions and self-criticism which were carried through inside those Parties in 1948 and 1949, the main danger became the right wing and bourgeois-nationalist deviation which sought to counterpose People's Democracy to Dictatorship of the Proletariat, to present the road of People's Democracy as a "third" road between Socialism and capitalism and to oppose the road of People's Democracy to the Soviet road. In order to overcome and smash this deviation, the leaders of these Parties (Beirut, Dimitrov, and others) had to come forward and enunciate towards the end of 1948 and beginning of 1949 how People's Democracy at this stage fulfils effectively in essence the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, that their type of State is nothing but a variant of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Inside our Party, however, the specific type of deviation, that has cropped up on this question and that needs to be fought and overcome is the left-sectarian deviation. What does this deviation do?

1. It seeks to mechanically equate People's Democracy to dictatorship of the proletariat without regard to its stages of development in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.
2. It seeks to ignore the "essentially distinctive features which distinguish People's Democracy in the colonial and dependent countries who are liberating themselves

from the imperialist yoke from People's Democracies in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe." (Zhukov). It ignores the fact that the extent of the bourgeois-democratic tasks confronting People's Democracy in the colonies and semi-colonies oppressed by Imperialism, will be considerably greater than in the other less backward and more developed countries to whom colonial oppression has been unknown or almost unknown.

3. From all the above, it draws the left sectarian conclusion that in our country, at the present stage, our slogan must be Socialist Re-Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat on the ground that our immediate slogan too is People's Democratic Republic.

It is in order to overcome and smash this deviation—which leads to the most dangerous left-sectarian and left-adventurist practice—that the discussion below has to be concretely undertaken by us. Comrades must therefore try to understand the issue from this angle from the angle of the theoretical and practical problems thrown up by our movement at the present stage—and ~ from the angle of an abstract academic discussion on People's Democracy in general.

The two types of deviation above-mentioned—one that occurred in some of the People's Democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, the other that has occurred inside our Party—are exactly similar to the ones against which Dimitrov warned in his report at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. Dimitrov gave this warning regarding the United Front governments that were visualised to be brought into existence in order to fight the growing menace of fascism. In appreciating it, one fact must be borne in mind by us. That is, it would be wrong on our part to mechanically equate the United Front Governments of which Dimitrov spoke in that particular context to the People's Democratic States that came into existence in Europe after the defeat of Fascism at the hands of the Red Army, the types of deviation are basically of the same nature which Dimitrov then warned against.

This is how Dimitrov put the issue:

"Fifteen years ago Lenin called upon us to focus all our attention on "searching out forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution." It may be put in a number of countries the united front government will prove to be one of the most important transitional forms. The "Left" doctrinaires always evaded this precept of Lenin's. Like the limited propagandists that they were, they spoke only of "aims", without ever worrying about "forms of transition". The Right opportunists, on the other hand, tried to establish a special "Democratic intermediate stage" lying between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the purpose of instilling into the workers the illusion of a peaceful parliamentary procession from one dictatorship to the other." This fictitious "intermediate stage" they also called the "transitional form", and even quoted Lenin on the subject! But this piece of swindling was not difficult to expose: for Lenin spoke of the form of transition and approach to the "Proletarian revolution", i.e. to

the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, and not of some transitional form between the bourgeois and the proletarian dictatorship." (G. Dimitrov: The Working Class Against Fascism. from the Report of the Seventh World Congress, Modern Books, London, 1936, P.63).

Bearing this in mind, let us now go into the matter in detail.

### 1. The Transitional Character of People's Democracy

Some comrades have a typical way of arguing things to prove their contention that People's Democracy at the first stage is equal to the dictatorship of the proletariat. They quote the following passage of Lenin in their support:

"The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but in essence they are all the same: in one way or another, in the final analysis, all these states are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The transition from capitalism to communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but their essence will inevitably be the same; the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Lenin's Selected Works, Moscow Two Volume Edition, 1947, Vol.II.P.164 Emphasis Lenin's)

From this they build a syllogism thus:

All transitional forms from capitalism to Communism are essentially dictatorship of the proletariat:

People's Democracy is a transitional form from capitalism to Communism. Hence it is essentially a dictatorship of the proletariat.

This may be good formal logic, but not correct Marxism.

One could as well recall here what Lenin said in another connection and context, reprimanding the "lefts" saying that they go on repeating "simple, routine and, at a first glance, incontrovertible truths, such as: 'Three is more than two', but politics is more like algebra than arithmetic; but still more like higher mathematics than elementary mathematics." etc. (Lenin, Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder).

At the outset one must understand the precise context in which Lenin was speaking the above (i.e. the quotation given at the end of the previous page and beginning of this page regarding the state forms during the period of transition from capitalism to communism). In his pamphlet, State and Revolution, Lenin was answering the Kautskyite distortion and repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was in this context Lenin made the observation in question. He was taking cudgels against those who confuse the forms of state and the content of state. This point he has dealt with more thoroughly and in greater detail in his pamphlet "Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky".

"What he specifically stresses here is one remarkable formulation made by Marx, i.e.

"What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular, historic phases in the development of production...; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes

and to a classless society.”” (Lenin’s Selected Works, Moscow Two Volume Edition, 1947, Marx as quoted by Lenin, Vol.II,P.163).

Lenin fought the revisionists and reinstated the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat as part of the essence of the Marxist doctrine of the state. He concluded that to build Socialism ad Communism without the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible and unthinkable.

It must be noted, Lenin was also visualising different forms of the proletarian dictatorship. It is in keeping with this alone that he describes the proletarian dictatorship in Russia as “ the Soviets are the Russian form of the proletarian dictatorship” and as one of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is to ram home this point, i.e. not to confuse the content and the form of the proletarian dictatorship that Lenin makes the observation in question, i.e. “The transition from capitalism to communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms but their essence will inevitabley be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an instrument to effect transition of class society into classless society, should not be mechanically equated as to mean that all the transitional stages to the dictatorship of the proletariat are by themselves the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is because of this wrong equation and interpretation that the comrades referred to above are taknig up the position that all the transitional stages such as People’s Democratic Dictatorship, Democratic Dictatorship of Workers and Peasants, etc., are nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat in essence. And thus, following from this, in our case, it is attempted to apply and advance the slogan of Socialist revolution, at the present stage in India on the ground that our slogan too is People’s Democratic Republic

But, the entire historical experience and the teachings of Lenin and Stalin speak against this vulgarisation.

Are we to suppose that straight starting from Marx’s slogan of People’s Dictatorship, during the German democratic revolution in 1848, the slogan of Democratic Dictatorship of Workers and Peasants and the slogan of the Dictatorship of Workers and Poor peasants, given by the Bolsheviks, the slogan of People’s Democratic Republics, advanced in the Eastern European countries in the earlier stages, and the slogan of New Democratic Republic, advanced in China by Mao—are all one and same., and are only diffrent names for the dictatorship of the proletariat? It is nothing but laughter-provoking.

What is the Marxist-Leninist definition of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

Stalin, in his book, Problems of Leninism, says:

“The class which took political power into its hands did so knowing that it took power alone. That is a part of the concept dictatorship of the proletariat. This concept has meaning only when the single class knows that it alone is taking power into its hands, and does not deceive itself or others with the talk about ‘popular

government elected by all, sanctified, by the whole people", " (Problems of Leninism Moscow, P.133)

Explaining further that it is a special form of class alliance, Stalin says, "This special form of class alliance consists in that the guiding force of this alliance is the proletariat. This special form of class alliance consists in that the leader in the state, the leader in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is One party, the party of the proletariat the party of the Communists, which does not and cannot share that leadership with other parties."(Ibid. P. 133).

Now, is it not evident that in the above decribed transitional states, such as the Dictatorship of workers and Peasants, People's Democracy of the first stage, etc., the proletariat and its party, at one stage or other, in one measure or other, had to share the political leadership with other classes and parties? If so how can one over-simplify them as to equate them with the concept dictatorship of the proletariat? It is definitely wrong.

Once these comrades are dislodged from this position they will shift their position slightly and will begin to argue that the People's Democratic Dictatorship is in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat. Is this correct? This also is an over-simplification and, in certain respects, incorrect too. When can it be called in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat? For example, Stalin explains the significance of the slogan the Dictatorship of Workers and Poor Peasants, advanced on the eve of October, thus:

"We marched towards October under the slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, and in October. we put it into effect formally in as much as we had a bloc with the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and shared leadership with them although actually the dictatorship of the proletariat already existed, since we Bolsheviks constituted the majority." (Problems of Leninism, Moscow, P.184, emphasis ours).

This is what is characterized as "actually" the dictatorship of the proletariat, even though the Party of the proletariat shared power with Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. Why? The vital factor here is the party of the proletariat, i.e. Communist Party, is already a majority in the State. This can be termed "in essence" the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is correct to assert that all the People's Democratic republic that have come into existence in the East European countries are in essence dictatorship of the proletariat right from their inception? The facts speak against it. Besides sharing power with other parties, like the Socialists and sometimes petty bourgeois parties also, there were cases where the party of the proletariat, i.e. Communist Party, was a minority party in the Government. Yet, thanks to the liberating role of the Soviet and its direct assistance, the working class could forge ahead and unite under the banner of single united Marxist Parties, which enable them successfully to head the State. It is only when all the workers' parties united into single united Marxist parties, and became the unquestioned leaders and the majority in the governments, they could be unhesitatingly characterised as dictatorships of the proletariat in essence. It was

at this stage of development only that Marxist leaders in those countries could characterise them as definite forms of proletarian dictatorship in essence.

Chesnokov in his article on the subject which appeared in Problems of Philosophy sums up the matter thus:

However, it is possible for us to determine approximately when the dictatorship of the working class was consolidated in the various countries.

"In Czechoslovakia, the February events in 1948 when the working class and the peasantry defeated the attempts of reaction to take the movement backward was one such boundary line; in Rumania, it was the abolition of the monarchy ; in Bulgaria, the defeat of the "oppositionists" and in essence the counter revolutionary party and groups, particularly the Petkov group; in Hungary, the exposure of the counter-revolutionary elements in the Smallholders' Party, the ridding of this party of reactionary elements and the reconstruction of the National Front...etc."

Hilary Mino, in his article on People's Democracy and the Dictatorship of this Proletariat (World News and Views, Vol 30.No.17, April 29, 1950), says:

" in view of the long duration, complicated nature and difficulties of this process(i.e. the process of the crystallisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Democracies of Central and Eastern Europe—Andhra Secretariat), it is clear and understandable why the formulation of the People's Democracy as fulfilling effectively the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat—a formulation which called for the theoretical generalisation of the experiences of People's Democracy—was given by Comrades Dimitrov and Bierut at the end of 1948."

We think now the matters are clear. Not that every transitional stage of the People's Democratic State can be characterized the dictatorship of the proletariat or in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat. But, certain minimum pre-requisites are essential—unless one stoops to violate the basic tenets of Lenin-Stalin teachings.

This in brief is so far as the point about the concept People's Democracy, is concerned.

Now to the second fundamental point about the concept People's Democracy, i.e., proletarian hegemony:

The concept, People's Democracy necessarily and inevitably implies the hegemony of the proletariat. Without the hegemony of the proletariat, every participation of the Communist Party in the government cannot be characterised as People's Democracy. For example, in France and Italy the participation of the Communists in the respective governments for a time, has been observed by us all. But did we, or could one, call them People's Democracies? No, why? Unless some minimum conditions, strength and guarantee are there to exercise proletarian hegemony and steadily advance ahead to consolidate and transform that hegemony into the dictatorship of the proletariat, it will be wrong to call them so. No doubt the anti-fascist struggle and the partisan war that was conducted against Hitler occupation armies was, in both the cases of France and Italy, under the hegemony

of the working class and the Communist party. This hegemony could not be transformed into hegemony in the governments that came into existence after the defeat of Hitler. This is to be explained, besides several internal factors and weaknesses prevailing in these countries, by the presence of Anglo-American Imperialist armies as the 'liberators' and the advance of the real liberationist armies, the Red Army.

#### What is proletarian hegemony in the State?

In a nutshell, in the words of Stalin, "the hegemony of the proletariat was the embryo of and the transitional stage to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This pregnant formulation is missed by many when they speak of proletarian hegemony. What emerges from the above formulation? The following extremely rich ideas are expressed therein:

- i) The hegemony is the embryonic form of the dictatorship of the proletariat;
- ii) It is a transitional stage to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletariat and its party must be extremely conscious not only of its immense strength already expressed through the realisation of hegemony, but also of its stupendous tasks ahead in order to develop that embryo to its full, mature form and complete the transition without stopping the revolution halfway to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Does it not once again clearly show that every stage of the hegemony of the proletariat exercised in People's Democratic State cannot be mechanically equated to the dictatorship of the proletariat? Thus the earlier stages of hegemony embody the embryo and the latter and final is the "child". Embryo is not yet the 'child' This is the correct meaning of Stalin's formulation.

But, exactly this is the type of ridiculous mistake some of our comrades are sometimes falling into when they identify the concept of People's Democracy at the first stage—without regard to the stages of its development etc.,— with the dictatorship of the proletariat; and following from this formulate the present stage of our revolution in India as the stage of Socialist Revolution.

Besides these two fundamental points, the other points to be taken into account with respect to the concept People's Democracy are:

Thirdly, the concept "people" is neither homogenous nor unchanging (in its class content) That is, it is unlike the strictly and rigidly defined class terms like the proletariat, agricultural labour, etc. It is a heterogeneous and mixed concept, and changing (in its class content). Its class content changes depending on the alignment of the class forces, according to the different stages and phases of the development of the revolution. For example, during the anti-fascist war, in the fascist-occupied countries, all those classes and sections that were interested in the defeat of fascism and the defence of independence of their countries, were rallied into what were known as the National Front, Popular Front, Fatherland front, Anti Fascist Front, Peoples's Front etc. Undoubtedly, those fronts included sections of the bourgeoisie

besides the basic components of the people—workers and peasants. Thus, in this sense, and for that particular limited stage and period of the struggle alone, the term “People’s front” included sections of the bourgeoisie as part of the broad concept “people” comprising the front (though at a later stage, with the further accentuation of the struggle, the sections of the bourgeoisie betrayed and were thrown out of the front). That is how the concept “people” is not homogeneous and fixed and is subject to change.

(This question of the “people” also has been discussed elsewhere in the foregoing. We invite the readers’ attention to it).

Fourthly, it is also necessary to take into account “the essentially distinctive features which distinguish people’s democracy in the colonial and dependent countries who are liberating themselves from imperialist yoke, from people’s democracy in the countries of central and South Eastern Europe. The first and the main difference consists in the fact that in so far as in the colonies and the dependent countries, the cultural and economic development has been partially hampered and artificially stifled by imperialism, the extent of bourgeois democratic tasks confronting people’s democracy in these countries will be considerably greater than in the other less backward and more developed countries, to whom colonial oppression has been unknown or almost unknown.

“It is perfectly clear the people’s democratic revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries cannot but bear in the first place an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character. Hence, it follows that the people’s democratic revolution in colonies must in its development go through a number of consecutive stages and the period of transition to the solution of socialist tasks, to the construction of socialist economy, in these countries may be more prolonged than in the other countries of people’s democracy, which were not colonies.” (E. Zhukov, Problems of the National and Colonial Struggles after the Second World War, from the “Problems of Economics”, No,9, 1949).

Fifthly, the concept of People’s Democracy also, as we have seen of the concept of the “people”, is not a fixed, static concept.

“The regime of People’s democracy is constantly developing passing through a number of stages in its development. The alignment of class forces changes in the process of democratic development. During the first stage together with the representatives of peasants, workers and intellectuals, representatives of the bourgeoisie were permitted to participate in the administration of the state in as much as they loyally co-operated with the People’s Government. Subsequently, in the course of the democratic development, to the extent as to the Socialist nature of the new government grew increasingly apparent, temporary fellow-travellers dropped out.” (From F.Konstantinov on “Countries of People’s Democracy on Road to Socialism”, published in the daily bulletin, Tass-News and Views, Delhi, dated September 30, 1949. Emphasis ours).

Briefly, thus, it is not one stage and “all in one stroke” concept.

These are the fundamental and main characteristics of the concept People's Democracy, in brief.

Thus, the concept People's Democracy can be correctly and comprehensively understood only if we take into account the concept of the hegemony of the proletariat; its transitional character; the class understanding of the term "people"; the features that distinguish people's democracies in colonial and dependent countries from the central and East European people's democracies; the character of its constantly developing and passing through a number of stages finally getting crystallised as the dictatorship of the proletariat; and the people's democratic form of government in which it is exercised as distinct from the soviet form.

Missing any of these will land us into serious mistakes of stage, strategy and tactics.

In the light of these where lie the basic mistakes of the Polit Bureau on this issue?

Besides the other things we have earlier examined, two things stand out.

(i) The Polit Bureau has not understood its transitional character correctly.

It can be seen from the following:

"Kuusinen in his article 'Are You For or Against the Soviet Union?' described it as the intermediary stage to socialism. This also is important. The intermediary stage is the stage in which the class struggle is the sharpest, because the issue has yet to be finally decided. The bourgeoisie is thrown out of political power but not yet economically vanquished, etc." (On people's Democracy.PPH,P.11,emphasis ours).

The transitional character of people's Democracy as understood by our Polit Bureau is the stage in which the entire bourgeoisie is excluded from political power. It does not ask at what stage of its development this exclusion takes or has taken place, but concludes confidently as if at no stage the inclusion of certain sections of bourgeoisie does take place. It is neither true in the case of East European democracies, in their early stages, nor will it be so, more particularly, in our case.

The phrases the Polit Bureau uses such as "bourgeoisie is thrown out of political power, but not yet economically vanquished etc." actually speak of a different transitional stage, even after the proletarian dictatorship is established. The transitional stage under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a stage which begins to transform the class society into a classless society. In the particular context, which Kuusinen described as intermediary stage, he meant the stage leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat under which alone bourgeoisie can be economically vanquished and a complete classless society can be built.

Here is what Kuusinen actually says: "People's Democracy, it should not be forgotten, is an intermediate stage between the bourgeois State and the Socialist State, between Capitalism and Socialism. No country can remain long in that intermediate stage without moving either forward or backward. If it does not move towards Socialism, its development will be back to capitalism. But socialist

development is not automatic and spontaneous. Whether the country will really advance towards Socialism depends on the further development of the class struggle of the proletariat and proper direction of the country's policy under the determined guidance of the Communist Party." (O.Kuusinen: Are You For or Against the Soviet Union. PPH edition, Pp.5-6).

Precisely the lack of understanding and vulgarisation of the above has landed the Polit Bureau into the "mixed" stage single stage, etc., revolution.

(ii) The Polit Bureau has also failed to distinguish the distinctive features between people's democracy in colonial and dependent countries, who are liberating themselves from the imperialist yoke, and the people's democracy in the East European countries.

The Polit Bureau asserts that they have deduced from Zhdanov's report their formulations regarding the exclusion of the whole of the bourgeoisie from the People's Democratic power, etc. Leave aside the fact that they have interpreted Zhdanov's formulation on People's Democracy wrongly, but even to the extent they have adopted from Zhdanov has the least consideration been given to the above aspect- of distinguishing the distinctive features referred to above between people's democracy in colonial and dependent countries and the people's democracy in the East European countries?

No. On the other hand, when Mao has precisely taken these distinctive features into consideration and made his formulations on People's Democracy, the Polit Bureau violently attacks them.

Hence, once again, the same old sin- discussed in the foregoing-continues to haunt the Polit Bureau, i.e. brushing aside the distinction between revolution in colonial and dependent countries on one hand and revolution in independent, capitalist, imperialist countries on the other.

When the Polit Bureau goes extremely wrong on very many basic questions, such as Zhdanov's Report, Mountbatten Award, the agrarian class analysis and the stage of the revolution, it is inevitable that it gives a wrong strategy also.

Let us first of all show how the Andhra Secretariat Draft Note defines the strategy.

"Objective: To overthrow imperialist big business-feudal combine and completely wipe out all the features of feudalism, mediaevalism and colonial impress. Main force of the Revolution: Workers both rural and industrial. Immediate reserves: peasantry in general with the exception of those rich farmers who are unable to shake off their tails of feudalism, and poor and middle peasants in particular remain as immediate reserves throughout this stage of New Democratic Revolution. Direction of the main blow: Against the collaborationist bourgeoisie and its henchmen who have been duping the peasantry and are still trying to keep their grip on them, to betray the revolution. The proletariat must carry to completion the New

Democratic Revolution by allying itself with the mass of peasants in general and poor and middle peasants in particular in order to crush by force, the power of resistance of the Imperialist-Big Business-feudal combine and paralyse the instability of the middle bourgeoisie, upper middle class and a section of the rich peasantry. (Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat, P.11)

The Polit Bureau criticised and condemned all this as gross reformism.

The term "neutralisation" used in this context by the Andhra Secretariat in brushed aside as of no significances and equated with "collaboration" and "alliance", by the Polit Bureau. The argument goes thus: "No doubt, the documents talk generally of "neutralisation", in respect of an enemy who has to be openly fought and routed-neutralisation becomes the banner of collaboration with the enemy." (Tactical Line, cycloed copy, P.36, para last).

Is this a correct position?

The term "neutralisation" used by Lenin and Stalin in classics is not such as can be mechanically given a simple literary meaning fixed for all occasions. It has to be understood in its context of things, i.e. how it is used and in reference to what class and which stage, etc. The term "paralyse the instability", or "neutralise" is used by Lenin with regard to Russian bourgeoisie during the pre-February stage, in the sense of "causing it to recoil from the revolution." As the middle peasant's vacillations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the struggle for power are great and considerable, the proletariat should set itself the task of fighting for neutralising this stratum and not allow the class enemy to placate it and use it against the revolutionary proletariat. Though the proletariat in its struggle for Socialist revolution "cannot set to the task of winning them over" to the side of the proletariat, the possibility of this stratum swinging over to the side of the proletarian revolution under certain circumstances is not ruled out. For example, while advancing to October Socialist Revolution, according to the strategy worked out by the Bolshevik Party, it contains only "neutralisation" of the middle peasantry. But, actually, on the eve of October, the middle peasantry swung over to the side of the revolution. Here is what Comrade Stalin says on it: "As to the middle peasants, whose vacillations had retarded the development of the Revolution in the period from April to August, 1917, after the rout of Kornilov, they definitely began to swing towards the Bolshevik Party, joining forces with the poor peasant." (History of the CPSU (B), Moscow, P.202, para 5. Emphasis ours),

"The existence of this alliance (between the working class and the poor peasantry) determined the conduct of the middle peasants, who had long been vacillating and only on the eve of October uprising wholeheartedly swung over towards the Revolution." (Ibid, P.212, para2).

What is it we want to drive at here? It is that the term "neutralisation" used by the Andhra Secretariat as regards the middle bourgeoisie does not necessarily imply guaranteed alliance, though it neither precludes such possibility at some stage of the struggle nor dogmatically asserts that one should be prepared to commit categorically to such a possibility alone.

At the time of the Provincial (Andhra) Party Conference (January, 1948) an amendment “neutralising or winning over the middle bourgeoisie at a stage”, etc., was moved to the Draft Political Thesis, based on the December, 1947, Report of Mao to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The amendment was accepted by the Conference, excepting one or two delegates. Though it was passed by the Provincial Conference, the Andhra Secretariat took up the position only of “neutralisation” in their Draft Note, as it thought that was the correct position.

The documents of the Polit Bureau violently attacked this line. They characterised it as “an advocacy of alliance in one form or another with sections of the exploiting bourgeoisie”, as an attempt “to tie down the working class to the apron strings of the bourgeoisie”, a “shamefaced apology to ally with some other sections of the bourgeoisie”, “right reformism in its crassets form” and an attempt to take the Party back to the same Joshian line or pre-Second Party congress etc.

What are the “arguments” the Polit Bureau advances? Though they run to pages, we quote here only a few passages:

“The Andhra Secretariat, because it denies the existence of two camps, bases itself on the increased conflict among the bourgeoisie and thus makes out a case for collaboration with one section of the bourgeoisie when all sections are united in organising a world front of capital against labour.” (Tactical Line, cycloed copy, P.34).

“The middle bourgeoisie since they are not supposed to gain by this collaboration are presumably to be collaborated with or at least “neutralised”, i.e. which in the context it is being used means not fight. (Ibid. p.35)

“This is once more & shamefaced apology to ally with some other sections of the bourgeoisie than say Tata and Birla, but sections which fundamentally follow the same policy. The thesis now here makes such a formulation but the Andhra secretariat makes with the realisation that they are taking a stand which is nothing but the rejection of the political Thesis”. (I bid, p.35).

“The Andhra Secretariat is making out a case that some sections of the bourgeoisie are still playing an oppositional role otherwise there is no meaning in emphasising the so called conflict of the middle bourgeoisie with collaboration”. (I bid, p.35).

“It logically follows from this that it is not only “big business” but the entire bourgeoisie that is interested in defending the new state - collaborationist state. Why? Because all of them realise that they have unlimited opportunities to exploit the people, that any conflict between the people and themselves will be solved under the state in their own interests”. (I bid, p.36)

“It is obvious that even if some sections of the bourgeoisie do not get enough benefit, or let us say not much out of the present state, etc., can they think in terms of an alternative, of altogether a new type? Can they really take a challenging stand to the present collaborationist state? They dare not. (I bid. p.36)

"The Andhra Secretariat hopes to base its strategy on the differences among the capitalists, when all of them are united in spite of the differences against their enemy the working class. The working class no doubt takes advantage of whatever differences that might exist among different sections of the bourgeoisie, not to rely on any section but to discredit and expose both". (I bid, p.36)

This is as far as the question of the middle bourgeoisie is concerned.

Now a few lines as regards the question of the rich peasant.

"Starting with the talk of neutralisation, when the rich peasant is to be fought as one of the enemies, the document immediately talks about the possibility of securing the rich peasant as ally in Telangana where feudalism is strong. From neutrality you straight come to alliance under the pretext that rich peasants in areas where feudalism is strong can play an active anti feudal role in the struggle for democratic revolution. Once more an absurd reliance on conflicts and differences among the exploiting classes and not seeing their common interests in exploiting the masses. How can rich peasants, even in feudal area, really play an anti feudal role when the entire bourgeoisie wants to compromise and enter into an alliance against the masses? When their leader the industrial bourgeoisie have signed a new alliance with feudalism and when consistently fighting against feudal elements creates danger for the rich peasants also at the hands of the masses? How can all this happen when the class antagonism between the exploiters and the exploited has reached such higher proportions". (I bid, P.38)

When the Andhra Secretariat cites the anti feudal role of the rich peasant with facts from the experience of Telangana, the polit Bureau asserts, "The documents say that this has been proved in Telangana. In reality no such proof exists"! (I bid. P.38) Indeed, a wonderful way of asserting against facts!

When the Andhra secretariat makes a distinction between capitalist landlord and the rich peasant, the polit Bureau has to say this: "Thus through this definition an attempt is made to repudiate the logical conclusions of the line by just defining certain sections as land lords distinguish them from rich peasants. There is no reason for this distinction but it has to be made otherwise the Secretariat realizes the whole policy reveals as openly collaborationist with the most ruthless exploiters." (I bid P.40)

Where does all this lead the polit Bureau to? To the following strategy:

"If we are to define our strategy in Leninist terms we should have to describe it as follows:

"Objective: overthrow of bourgeois government heading imperialist-bourgeois-feudal combine, completely wiping out the survivals of mediaevalism and going to the transitional economy through nationalisation, etc. The main force of the revolution: the proletariat. Immediate reserves agrarian workers, poor peasants, middle peasants (also oppressed sections of the petty bourgeoisie in towns). Direction of the main blow: isolation of the ruling bourgeois circles from their masses as well

as the isolation of bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties and groups (Socialist party, etc.,) Plan for the disposition of the peasantry, firmly relying on the agrarian workers and poor peasants. "The proletariat must accomplish the people's democratic revolution by allying to itself the agricultural workers and poor peasants followed by the middle peasants in order to isolate the bourgeoisie and crush their resistance by force." (Ibid, p.16)

"It is easy to see which classes will actively participate in it. Just because of the sharpened antagonism between bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the bourgeoisie and other sections it is only the proletariat that will lead it consistently. Its firm ally will be the proletarians of the rural areas and next to that the poor peasant. The middle peasant vacillates, but has to be won over. The petty bourgeois vacillates, but the section which is turning more and more towards Socialism will be won over; the other sections will vacillate more, and be split. It is the same with intellectuals. (on people's Democracy, pp11-12).

Thus the polit Bureau comes out with a strategy supposed to be worked out in strict conformity with Marxism Leninism: while the Andhra Secretariat is alleged to have turned Marxism upside down and advanced a "crassest" reformist line !

Not having satisfied itself with making a mockery of Marxism by violating every basic tenet of Marxism Leninism, the polit Bureau goes on to invoke the names of Zhdanov and Kuusinen in this context also.

To quote:

"Zhdanov , in his report .....describes the People Democratic Government as a bloc headed by the working class-a bloc of peasants , people's , etc., I.e. one in which the bourgeoisie has no place . He says that the bloc has introduced nationalisation , gone beyond bourgeois democracy , etc.- meaning towards Socialism." (On people's Democracy , PPH, p. 11, Emphasis ours).

At another place in the document, Tactical line , while attacking the Andhra Secretariat for having quoted Mao-which it characterised as "Mao's old outlook on New Democracy" the polit Bureau deduced from Zhdanov's Report at the Nine Parties'Conference, a conclusion which pits Zhdanov's report against Mao's formulation. It is stated thus: "A very precise class character of People's Democracy is given there - a characterisation which excludes the bourgeoisie from power. But all this does not find place in the document". (Tactical Line, cycloed copy, p. 41, emphasis ours).

It is correct to say that Zhdanov has said what the Polit Bureau ascribes in the above? Is it pardonable for such misinterpretation and distortions to be made in support of one's own left-deviationist line?

The following quotations from Zhdanov's report will lay bare the truth.

In the course of struggle, the pro-fascist elements, the collaborators with Hitler, the most influential of the big capitalists, large landowners, high officials and monarchist officers-were exposed as betrayers of the national interests. In the

Danubian countries liberation from German fascist slavery was accompanied by the removal from power of the top bourgeoisie and landlords who had compromised with German fascism.....etc." (Zhdanov's, Report , Moscow publication, p.9. emphasis ours).

Is it not evident that what Zhdanov has pointed out is exclusion from power of the top bourgeoisie, and landlords, etc., and not as our Polit Bureau says, the entire bourgeoisie, including the rich peasant?

At another place describing the class content of the people's Democratic State, Zhdanov, says : "where a bloc of the labouring classes of the population, headed by the working class constitutes the leading force." (Ibid. p.10, para 1, emphasis ours).

Thus according to Zhdanov " the bloc of laboring classes" is the "leading force" in the People's Democratic State. If one were to understand it as it ought to be, plain as it is, the term "leading force" implies that there are other sections also 'in the People's Democratic Government. But, for our Polit Bureau, the term "leading force" mysteriously, perhaps conveniently, disappears and only the bloc of labouring classes to the exclusion of all the exploiting elements, remains. The Polit Bureau substituted "the whole of the bourgeoisie" for Zhdanov's "top bourgeoisie" ! What a small oversight !

We think it is impermissible to put in the mouth of Zhdanov the idea of total exclusion of the bourgeoisie as an entire class from the earlier stages of People's Democratic Government. It is neither factually correct nor historically true.

Starting from persons like Dr.Benes and Masaryk in Czechoslovakia to Nagy and Co. in Hungary, who were participants in the People's Democratic Governments still at the time of the Nine Parties' conference-were not all of them representatives of the bourgeoisie ? It is needless to labour the point further.

Again, as early as May 1949, Comrade Ram, in his letter to the Polit Bureau brings this point, in particular, to the notice of the Polit Bureau. The letter says: "while I was with you, it was only the Chinese documents which were making distinction between big business and small bourgeois sections. But, after I came here, a number of articles have been published in the organ of the Cominform Bureau, American Political Affairs, the New Times, even our Central organ.....the interpretation we have given to Zhdanov's report on this point, is not in consonance with that of communist Parties of several other countries and the Cominform."

Then the letter goes on to cite relevant extracts from eight Marxist sources, on this point.

Here are the eight points which Ram's letter gives:

"(1) FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!" of July 1, 1948 publishes Mao's report where he makes such a distinction. Here is the relevant passage:

"The new democratic revolution can and must be no other revolution than the revolution of the great masses of the people led by the proletariat, against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. That is to say, that this revolution can have

no other class and political party as the leader, but can only and must have the proletariat and Chinese Communist Party acting as the leader. That is to say the united front made up of the people taking part in this revolution is very broad comprising of workers, peasants, independent labourers, professional people, Intelligentsia, liberal bourgeoisie, and enlightened gentry split off from the landlord class..... the enemies which this revolution is to overthrow are only and must be imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism.'

"(2) CHINA DIGEST, NO.4, vol . 5, publishes an article by an important Chinese Communist leader, Liu Shao-chi where he makes such a distinction not only for China, but for all colonial and semi-colonial countries and warns Communist parties of these countries that it would be a mistake not to utilise it.

'Of course, in other colonial and semi-colonial countries like India, Burma..... it is like wise necessary for the Communists in order to defend the interests of their own nations to adopt firm policies against the national betrayal that section of bourgeois reactionaries (mainly big bourgeois reactionaries) which has already capitulated to imperialism. Other wise, they would be mistaken. On the other hand, the Communists should establish anti-imperialist cooperation with the national bourgeoisie who still oppose imperialism and do not oppose the anti-Imperialist Struggle of the masses of the people. Should the Communists fail to establish this kind of cooperation, in earnest, but on the contrary either oppose or refuse of this kind of cooperation, that would also be an extremely great mistake. This cooperation must be established in earnest even though it be unreliable, temporary and vacillating".

"(3) R.Palme Dutta's article in the organ of the Cominform Bureau (numbers of October 15 and November1) on "STRUGGLE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM" SPEAKS ONLY OF " dominant sections of colonial bourgeoisie" having moved from a previously vacillating partial oppositional role to a full counter - revolutionary role and bloc with imperialism. (November 1Cominform bureau organ).

"Though he is not positive like the Chinese comrades about "Cooperation" with another bourgeois section which is in opposition to imperialism, the thread of his article is the same thing. Otherwise, there is no meaning in making such a distinction at all.

"(4) General Secretary of the Communist party of Japan, an advanced industrial country, also speaks in the same strain: "conditions in Japan now favour building a broad people's front representing workers, farmers, middle class groups and even small and medium industrialists." (P.A., Vol.VII, No.32 Article on Japanese Elections).

"(5) Member of the Executive Committe of Communist Party of Cuba speaks of the same thing for Latin-American colonies:

"The Brazilian people have just scored an important victory in defeating the treasonable attempt of Dictator Dutra to surrender the national petroleum oil

resources to Standard Oil. Wherever the proletariat has the Maturity Necessary to head the fight for national anti-imperialist unity, there we see developing an alliance of workers, peasants, the middle class and Sections of the Bourgeoisie.' (political Affairs, December 1948, P. 1099).

"(6) In the same issue, the Secretary of the American Communist party, in his article on American elections, speaks of Wallace to be progressive and says the "progressive party will grow" as a mass people's party, as a united front of anti-war and anti-monopoly party". Who is Wallace? Is he a petty bourgeoisie No. He himself told he is a pure and simple businessman.....

"(7) Last of all comes Com. Dyakovs article on our country itself which says "All this confirms the opinion of the democratic press that although the Congress leaders claim to represent all the people of India, actually they voice the interests of only the big bourgeoisie, chiefly of the Gujarati and Marwari. These having made a deal with British imperialism and bowed to the bankers of wall-Street, have no desire to share the market with the weaker bourgeoisie of the other Indian Nationalities. Furthur more the formation of National provinces will necessarily imply the abolition of the feudal states. In the provinces, where the big bourgeoisie is weak, the predominant role in the local organs of Government would be played by elements more democratic than the Centre. But, this would not be in the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie.' (New Times, No.3, 1949).

"(8) Prof. A. Schneerson writes in his article, 'The General Crisis of Capitalism is becoming more acute', which appeared in Tass (Delhi) Daily bulletin, dated January 5, 1949, Vol. VIII, No.4, that,

'In the colonies themselves the various classes have taken up new different positions. In the major colonial and semi-colonial countries the big native bourgeoisie, frightened by the future development of the democratic movement and the growth of the working class, resulting from the industrial development, switched over to the camp of imperialism and ceased to play a revolutionary and progressive role in the colonies. The working class took over the banner of the national liberation movement and the task of the rallying of the popular masses for the struggle against Imperialism. Of course even today it would be incorrect to think that temporary agreements of the revolutionary forces with one or another stratum of the petty or middle bourgeoisie and in some colonies, at a definite stage, even with certain groups of big national bourgeoisie are precluded. But whatever the case, the radical demarcation of the class forces in the colonies today consists in that the working class is at the head of the national liberation struggle'."

All this makes no impression on the Polit Bureau. It refuses to revise its own understanding. It doggedly sticks to its own guns. Mao's article, DICTATORSHIP OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, even when published in the organ of the Cominform Bureau, fails to evoke any reaction on the part of the Polit Bureau. Even Liu Shao-chi's opening speech at the Peking Conference, though published in the organ of Cominform Bureau, leaves the Polit Bureau, unruffled.

This dogmatic attitude of the Polit Bureau continues right up to the moment of the editorial article in the organ of Cominform Bureau (27<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1950) and only after its appearance and the sharp correction it contains on the line of the Communist Party of India, does the Polit Bureau begin to think-though still on the wrong lines.

Let us see what the editorial of the organ of the Cominform Bureau says:

“A sham independence was bestowed on India. But the interests of British Imperialism remain ‘sacred and inviolable’. The Mountbattens have departed but British Imperialism remains and octopus like grips India in its bloody tentacles.

“In these conditions, the task of the Indian Communists, drawing on the experience of the national liberation movement in China and other countries, is, naturally, to strengthen the alliance of the working class with all the peasantry, to fight for the introduction of the urgently needed agrarian reform and on the basis of common struggle for freedom and national independence of their country, against the Anglo-American imperialists oppressing it and against the reactionary big bourgeoisie and feudal princes collaborating with them-to unite all classes, parties groups and organisations willing to defend the national independence and freedom of India.”

Thus, we have two alternative lines the line of the Cominform Bureau and the line of the Polit Bureau.

Let us make a contrast of them.

1. According to the Cominform Bureau, in the sham independence of India, the “interests of British Imperialism remain ‘sacred and inviolable’.” But according to our Polit Bureau, it is the collaborationist bourgeoisie that is able to “bargain hard” and “advance its class interests within the frame work of the Mountbatten Plan,” against imperialism.
2. According to the Cominform Bureau, it is the Anglo-American imperialism that is the spear head of the counter-revolutionary combine. But, according to the Polit Bureau, it is the national bourgeoisie.
3. Who has collaborated with Imperialism ? According to the Cominform Bureau, it is the “reactionary big bourgeoisie and feudal princes”. But, according to the Polit Bureau, no such distinction, big or small exists; it is the entire bourgeoisie, including the rich peasant.
4. According to the Cominform Bureau, the working class must ally with “all the peasantry”, i.e., including the rich peasant. But, according to the Polit Bureau, rich peasant is the “spearhead of counter-revolution in the country side” and is to be “fought and routed”.
5. Who is the vacillating ally? According to the line of the Cominform Bureau - as the Polit Bureau itself now interprets it- it is the middle bourgeoisie. But, according to the Polit Bureau line- in its documents- it is the middle peasant.

Thus we see that the strategy advanced by our Polit Bureau has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and its concrete application to the conditions of India.

It is not clear that if anything is near to the line of the Cominform Bureau, it is the line advanced by the Andhra Secretariat in its Draft Note, which has been characterized by the Polit Bureau as grossly reformist? The truth is, not that the line of the Andhra Secretariat is gross reformism, but that the strategical line advanced by the Polit Bureau is crude leftism and sectarianism.

Such are the facts.

Is it not audacious on the part of the Polit Bureau to characterise its blunders, even as late as February, 1950, in its latest document (for all Party Members), and to try to explain away its Himalayan blunders as "lagging behind" in actual achievements, and a small slip that occurred "in combating reformism" etc.? Is it conceivable that with such a crude sectarian line one could combat reformism? In the particular context, what the Polit Bureau fought was not reformism, indeed, but the honest attempts of the Andhra Secretariat to grapple with realities basing on Marxism-Leninism. Such is the real face of things.

How are we to account for these blunders of the Polit Bureau? To what are they to be traced to?

Besides committing a series of blunders—such as, the erroneous and mechanical interpretation of Zhdanov's formulations the opportunist interpretation of the Mountbatten Award, the clean bypassing of the national-liberationist character of the Indian revolution and the pseudo-class analysis it made—besides these, the main link for this blundering is to be found in and traced to the signal failure to distinguish between the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries and those of independent, capitalist, imperialist countries. From this naturally follows the mechanical deduction of the class roles.

Let us quote an illuminating passage from Comrade Stalin which drives home the point:

"The fundamental mistake of the opposition (i.e. the Trotskyite Zinovievite opposition) is that they do not understand and will not admit this difference between the one type of revolution and the other type of revolution.

"The fundamental mistake of the opposition is that they identify the 1905 Revolution in Russia, an imperialist country, which oppressed other people, with the revolution in China, an oppressed country, a semi-colonial country, which is forced to resist the imperialist oppression of other states.

"With us, in Russia, in 1905, the revolution was directed against the bourgeoisie, against the liberal bourgeoisie in spite of the fact that it was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Why? Because the liberal bourgeoisie of an imperialist country is bound to be counter-revolutionary. And that is why the Bolsheviks at that time did not and could not consider temporary blocs and agreements with the liberal bourgeoisie. On these grounds, the opposition assert that the same attitude should be adopted in China in all stages of revolutionary movement, and that temporary agreements and blocs with national bourgeoisie in China are impermissible at all times and under all circumstances. But the opposition forget that only people who do not understand and will not admit that there is a difference between revolution

in oppressed countries and revolution in oppressor countries can talk like this, that only people who are forsaking Leninism and joining the followers of the Second International can talk like this-

‘This is what Lenin said as to the permissibility of temporary agreements and blocs with bourgeois liberation movement in colonial countries:

“The Communist International must join in a temporary alliance with the bourgeois democrats of the colonies and backward countries, but not merge with them, and must unconditionally preserve the independence of the proletarian movement even if it is in a quite incipient form.”

“.....We, as Communists, should, and will, support the bourgeois liberation movements in the colonial countries only when these movements are truly revolutionary movements, and when their representatives will not hamper us in educating and organising the peasantry and the masses of the exploited in the revolutionary spirit.”

“How does it “happen” that Lenin, who fulminated against agreements with the bourgeoisie in Russia regarded such agreements and blocs as permissible in China? Perhaps Lenin made a mistake? Perhaps he turned from revolutionary tactics to opportunist tactics? Of course not. It “happened” because Lenin understood the difference between revolution in an oppressed country and revolution in an oppressor country. It “happened” because Lenin understood that at a certain stage of its development the national bourgeoisie in the colonial countries may support the revolutionary movement of its country against foreign imperialism. This is what the opposition do not want to understand; and they do not want to understand it because they are breaking with the revolutionary tactics of Lenin, because they are breaking with the revolutionary tactics of Leninism.

‘Have you observed how carefully the leaders of the opposition in their speeches evaded these directions of Lenin’s, how they feared to refer to them in spite of the fact that Comrade Bukharin in his report bluntly confronted them with these directions of Lenin’s? Why then do they evade these well-known directions given by Lenin on tactics in relation to the colonial and dependent countries? Why do they fear these directions? Because Lenin’s directions on tactics refute the whole ideological and political position of Trotskyism on the problems of the Chinese revolution.” (J.V.Stalin: Marxism and the National and Colonial question, Lawrence and Wishart).

Further, Stalin says, in his address to the Students of the University of the Toilers of the East, referring to the tasks of the Communist Party of India:

“But the Communist Party can and must enter into an open bloc with the revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie in order, after having isolated the compromising national bourgeoisie, to lead the vast masses of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, in the fight against imperialism.” (Ibid, p. 218.).

What does Stalin mean by the revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie, here? Evidently, he is discussing this point in connection with the compromising Indian big bourgeoisie and its collaboration with imperialism. This analysis of Stalin's, made as early as 1925, still holds good in its basic essentials. Of course, after this analysis, a great many changes have taken place, i.e. the rise of fascism and the consequent changes in the strategy, tactics of Communist International, which are expressed through the resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, etc. If until now the Indian big bourgeoisie in spite of a whole chain of betrayals and capitulation before Imperialism (every time the mass movement rose to a pitch when it threatened to go out of its control and endanger its narrow class interests as during 1918-1922, during 1930-1932, etc.,) represented some opposition to Imperialism, then at the present time it has completely and openly gone over to Imperialism and its collaboration is final, with the acceptance of the Mountbatten Award. The "revolutionary wing of the bourgeoisie" of whom Stalin was speaking then is evidently the middle bourgeoisie about whom the Soviet and Chinese writers speak of today.

Yet, the pity is, our Polit Bureau, even as late as February 1950, publishes this speech of Stalin with a misleading introductory note, as though in justification of ITS sectarian line but clean misses to spotlight the above passage that has a direct bearing on our strategy today. Mind you, this is after the Pecking Conference of Trade Unions of Asian and Australian countries is held and after the appearance of Liu Shao-chi's opening speech therein and of the summary of the Manifesto published in the organ of the Cominform Bureau, which, in their nature are more than enough to make the Polit Bureau re-think seriously on these issues.

#### IV. AGRARIAN QUESTION:

Thus, we see the signal failure of the Polit Bureau even to utilise the international documents. It cannot be otherwise when one is sunk neck-deep in left deviation.

The document on the Agrarian Question by the Polit Bureau is one that by its nature constitutes one of the most important documents. Its importance lies in two ways. Firstly, the peasant question is a vital question for the proletariat in its struggle for power. Not only that. In the specific case of India, because of its colonial and semi-colonial character, its importance is all the greater and in certain respects it becomes the main question. The correctness or otherwise of the analysis on the agrarian question has a profound bearing on the entire course of our revolution. Secondly, the importance of a critical examination of this document becomes all the more significant in view of the fundamental departures it makes both from the position of the Political Thesis and the documents of the Communist International.

The document of the Polit Bureau, on the Agrarian Question in India, starts with a basic departure from the analysis made in the Political Thesis, which is based on the analysis of the Colonial Thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International.

This basic departure is made in the following words of the Polit Bureau: "The Political Thesis of the Second Party Congress contains no fundamental re-estimate of the class relations in the agrarian area It could not re-estimate the agrarian situation and had to content itself with giving the general call for struggle. How the Party resolution moved within the old framework could be seen from the following.....etc." (On the Agrarian Question, PPH, p.5).

Pursuing the same idea the document says: ".....the analysis remains rooted in the old and fails to take proper account of the changed class relations in the agrarian areas. It does not take into account the development of capitalist relations, of the rise of new contradictions, new antagonistic classes as a basic contradiction and fails to develop the strategy of a correct class combination for the day-to-day struggle of the rural toilers as well as for the struggle for People's Democracy." (Ibid, pp. 7-8).

The document of the Polit Bureau goes further and attempts at a basic revision of the formulations made in the Colonial Thesis of the Sixth World Congress, by declaring, after quoting these formulations: "This was two decades ago, before the great capitalist crisis, before the Second World War and the economic developments preceding it two decades before the full effects of the growth of Indian industry despite imperialist obstacles, growth of trade, commerce and towns which led to increased commodity production, production for market in villages, could be seen, etc." (Ibid, p.2).

What does the supposed "fundamental re-estimate" boil down to?

It is this: the Thesis of the Communist International twenty years ago sharply emphasised that pre-capitalist and feudal forms of exploitation and relations on land are dominant, though capitalist relations are steadily growing. But, now, after 20 years of mighty changes, it is the other way about. The capitalist relations have become dominant, though feudal exploitation in varied forms "still exists"!

Thus at one stroke the Polit Bureau attempts to revise the world Marxist understanding on the colonial-agrarian question.

What is the understanding given by the Communist International? It states in clear and unambiguous terms that as long as imperialist grip is there, as long as imperialists keep the colonies "as markets for their commodities, as sources of raw material and as spheres for the export of capital", the basic structure of colonial agrarian economy, i.e. "feudal and pre-capitalist forms of domination" will not change.

Further, it emphasises the fact that despite "The carrying through of the minimum constructive activity (railways, harbours, etc.)", the "peasant economy is thereby no means liberated from the oppression of its pre-capitalist features", and that "in final analysis, (all this) leads to an artificial retardation of the development of the productive forces in the colonies."

The Polit Bureau, by advancing arguments all and sundry, attempts at a basic revision of this world Marxist understanding by asserting that capitalist relations have become dominant instead of pre-capitalist relations !

What does this revision amount to?

It knowingly or unknowingly provides material for the discredited theory of "Decolonisation".

See how the polit Bureau argues out its position:

"In passing it should be noted that while the Sixth Congress Thesis sharply emphasised that pre-capitalist and feudal forms of exploitation and relations on land continued, yet it also took note of the fact that the situation would not be always so rigid and that changes might take place. It declared:

"The pitiful attempts at carrying through agrarian reforms without damaging the colonial regime are intended to facilitate the gradual conversion of semi-feudal land ownership into capitalist landlordism and in certain cases to establish a narrow stratum of kulak peasants". (On the Agrarian Question. PPH, P.9).

While showing the statistical figures of the growth of the agricultural labour class, the question "What is the significance of the rise of the agricultural workers?" is posed and answered thus:

The development of labour power into a commodity is a capitalist relation and is in contradiction with feudal relations, feudal land relations; in fact, it is the negation of such relations. It is only sign of the disintegration of feudal economy and the growth of capitalist relations within the womb of feudal society." (Ibid P.12, emphasis ours).

The growth of agricultural labour in village population into 30-50 percent of the total and adding to it the number of "poor peasants also who partly hire themselves out and also sell their labour power, they come to 70 to 80 percent of the village population which shows a reversal of old relations and the strength of capitalist relations." (Ibid, P.12, emphasis ours).

"The new exploitation has been added to the old one. But the point is that such an overwhelming mass is also subject to capitalist exploitation, capitalist relations; that the monopoly of feudal exploitation and relations is broken, that these relations are disintegrating and, as a result, new ones have developed." (Ibid, P.13. Emphasis ours).

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"This supposed "fundamental analysis of the peasant problem after that made in the Colonial Thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International" and the consequent political conclusions drawn from it have not only not enriched the formulations of Communist International, but on the contrary, have miserably failed to grasp the basic lines of the Communist International formulations and made

counter formulations of the Trotskyis type. This revision has also led to wrong formulations of strategy and tactics.

First of all let us see what the Thesis of the Communist International has said on the peasant question in colonies and semi-colonies, the development of capitalist relations in agriculture, and prevailing feudal forms, etc., and thus find out the real difference between Communist International and our Polit Bureau on the issue.

“Capitalism, which has included the colonial village into its system of taxation and trade apparatus, and which has overturned pre-capitalist relations (for instance, the destruction of the village commune), does not thereby liberate peasants from the yoke of pre-capitalist forms of bondage and exploitation, but only gives the latter a monetary expression (feudal services and rent in kind are partially replaced by money rent, while payment of taxes in kind is replaced by money taxes, and so on), which still more “increase the suffering of the peasantry.” (Thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, PPH, Pp. 16-17, emphasis ours)

“Agriculture in the colonies is compelled to a considerable degree to work for export, but peasant economy is thereby no means liberated from the oppression of its pre-capitalist features. As a general rule, it is converted to a “free” trading economy by means of the subordination of the pre-capitalist forms of production to the needs of the finance capital, the deepening of the pre-capitalist methods of exploitation, through subjection of the peasant economy to the yoke of rapidly developing trade and usury capital, the increase of tax burdens, etc.” (Ibid, P. 13, emphasis ours).

Thus, the Communist International analyses the penetration of capitalist relations into the countryside of colonies and semi-colonies and its effects.

Then, is it not absolutely incorrect to say, that the Communist International Thesis says only “feudal relations as dominant” and “also took note of the fact the situation would not be always so rigid and changes might take place”, etc. thereby suggesting that the Communist International had not taken into full consideration the growth of capitalist penetration and its effects? Is it not also incorrect to say that the Communist International expected that “situation would not be always so rigid and changes might take place”, etc. and from there to deduce that the basic formulations of the Communist International on the agrarian question in the colonies have altered in spite of the fact that the colonial and semi-colonial set-up continues to exist? The Thesis of the Communist International quite clearly and correctly saw the factor of penetration of capitalism into the colonial village and also drew proper conclusions from it. Whatever changes have taken place subsequent to the Thesis of the Communist International, are not of such a character as to alter the basic formulations made in it, as long as our country remains a colony and semi-colony.

The Thesis of the Communist International also very clearly pointed out the process of class differentiation of the peasantry. Here is what it says:

"The process of class differentiation of the peasantry in the colonies and semi-colonies which possess important relics of feudalism and precapitalist relationships , proceeds at a comparatively slow rate . Nevertheless, market relationships in these countries have developed to such a degree that the peasantry no longer represent a homogeneous mass, as far as their class relations are concerned . In the villages of china and India , in particular certain parts of these countries ,it is already possible to find exploiting elements derived from the peasantry , who exploit the peasants and village labourers through usury , trade, employment of hired labour , the sale or letting out of land on rent , the loaning of cattle or agricultural implements, etc." (Ibid, p, 30,emphasis ours)

Again, to show the growth of the agricultural labour class, the Thesis of the Communist International states thus:

"In India, China and Indonesia, the pauperisation of the peasantry has reached such a height that at the present time, the most characteristic figure in the village is the poor peasant, almost or entirely deprived of land and not infrequently suffering starvation." (Ibid, P.17, emphasis ours).

"The many millions of starving tenant-cultivators; petty peasants oppressed by want and groaning under all kinds of pre-capitalist and capitalist forms of exploitation, a considerable portion of them deprived of the possibility of cultivation on the lands that they rent, thrown out from the process of production and slowly dying from famine and disease, village agricultural labourers all these are the allies of the proletariat in the village." (Ibid, Pp,29-30, emphasis ours).

Emphasising the urgent task of the Communist Party of India to organise agricultural labour and cautioning to be vigilant not to allow the newly organised peasant unions to fall under the leadership of exploiting strata in the village, it says thus:

"The miners and engineering workers, the coolies working on the plantations and agricultural labourers in general, represent the least organised sections of the Indian proletariat and the communists need to devote the necessary attention to them". (Ibid, p.55, emphasis ours)

"It is essential to pay particular attention to make sure that the newly created peasant organizations do not fall under the influence of the exploiting strata in the village." (Ibid, p.56, emphasis ours).

In this connection, we would like to point out that the huge growth of agricultural proletariat in our country is noticed even by bourgeois economists like Radhakamal Mukherjee. In his book on Indian agriculture he gives the figures of agricultural labour as 40 to 50 percent of the rural population as early as in 1930 (Thesis of the Communist International came in 1928). It is we the members and leaders of the Communist Party of India who had woe fully failed to grasp the analysis of this growth made by the Communist International and ignored, neglected and refused to organise the agricultural labour, excepting in one province, i.e. Andhra, in spite of a number of reformist mistakes there also. Now after the second party congress,

in November-December, 1948, we wake up like Rip Van Winkle and see the growth of agricultural labour class; but we do so not to arrive at correct conclusions but with an audacity to revise the basic formulations of the Thesis of the Communist International, only to argue "that the Thesis of the Communist International saw the pre-capitalist and feudal relations dominant" and we discover that capitalist relations are dominant though feudal and pre-capitalist relations "still exist" !

Is this not another thrust into the Colonial Thesis of the communist international with the dagger of the infamous "Decolonisation Thesis"?

When one attempts to analyse the present colonial countryside of ours from the Marxian point of view, it will be naive and stupid to try to find out whether the "classical feudal set-up" is there or not. As a matter of fact, the "classical" form of it will not be found in the greater part of the earth today, when every inch of the land on the surface of the globe has been brought under the iron rule of monopoly capitalism and modern imperialism. All that can be said is, as the Thesis of the Communist International states that, colonies and semi-colonies - where democratic revolution has not yet been carried out and where no Decisive agrarian reforms can be carried out by the imperialists and collaborationist bourgeoisie put together, in this phase of world capitalism in decay-POSSESS IMPORTANT RELICS OF FEUDALISM AND PRE-CAPITALIST RELATIONSHIPS." It is from this aspect that the question of "anti-feudal" revolution or "agrarian revolution" or in the broad sense the "Democratic revolution" comes on the agenda before the proletariat and its party, in its struggle to advance to the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. Instead of understanding this position, it is foolish on our part to put the abstract mechanical question "whether feudal relations dominate or capitalist relations dominate in our countryside" and only to electically deduce from it that "capitalist relations dominate", and then to proceed that the present stage of our struggle is "mainly anti-capitalist" "though, of course, the still persisting feudal forms" need also to be liquidated, etc. Thus, the "colonial liberation" aspect, the "agrarian revolution" aspect, the aspect of liquidation of all feudal and pre-capitalist forms, gets brushed aside as of "minor" importance or of no importance in certain respects. And then, finally, we land into masterly confusion on the present stage of our revolution saying that it is a "mixed" one, "delayed democratic revolution ripening into Socialist Revolution", that the "two stages, democratic and Socialist, get mixed into one People's Democratic Revolution", etc., distorting the rich Leninist idea of "Democratic revolution passing into Socialist revolution" in support of such vulgarisation.

With these confused and wrong ideas one begins attacking all the clearheaded Marxist thinkers on this problem, starting right from Mao and the Communist Party of China down to any member of the central committee or any party member of our Party who raised discussion on this issue.

To understand precisely what pre-capitalist or feudal relations mean, it will be good to refer to Lenin.

"Let us, however, finish what we have to say about the bourgeois-democratic content of our revolution. Marxists must understand what this means. To explain we shall quote a few graphic examples.

"The bourgeois-democratic content of the revolution means that the social relations (system and institutions) of the country are purged of mediaevalism, serfdom, feudalism.

"What are the chief manifestations, survivals, remnants of serfdom in Russia upto 1917? The monarchy, the caste system, private land ownership and land tenure, the inferior status of women, religion, and national oppression. Take any of these 'Augean, stables', which, incidentally, were left largely uncleansed by all the more advanced states when they accomplished THEIR bourgeois - democratic revolutions one hundred and twenty- five, two hundred and fifty and more years ago (1649 in England); take any of these Augean stables, and you will see we have cleansed them thoroughly." (Linin's Selected Works, Moscow, Two Volume Edition, 1947, p. 748, Emphasis ours, capitals Lenin's emphasis).

Have not precisely the above - narrated pre- capitalist and feudal forms been pointed out by the Thesis of the Communist International as present in our colonial and semi - colonial countries? Do not the expressions in the Colonial Thesis and the programme of the Communist International such as "in the colonies and semi- colonies which possess important relics of feudalism and precapitalist relationships" and "with feudal mediaeval relationships, or "Asiatic mode of production" relationships prevailing in their economics and in their political super- structures" etc. mean that they are DOMINANT in the absolute sense of the term? Is it not wrong to interpret these changing relationships in the rural side as development of capitalist relations without understanding the significance of the formulations of the Communist International? Do the economic changes of the last twenty years expressed in terms of class realiations in our rural set - up i.e. the growth in the number of the agricultural labour and rich peasants,etc., warrant on our part, in the name of "new" and "fundamental analysis", statements to the effect that the present rural set- up "shows a reversal of old relations", in contrast to the Thesis of the Communist International?

We are of opinion that the analysis made by the Polit Bureau, in the name of discovering capitalist relations growing predominant, etc., is nothing but underestimating the significance of the anti-feudal struggle and of the agrarian revolution as the "axis of the colonial revolution".

The subsequent formulations in the document of the Polit Bureau On the Agrarian Question—such as "the development of capitalist relations does not as yet mean that feudalism is dead", "the rise of new capitalist methods of exploitation has only added to the exploitation without abolishing old burdens" "at the same time (we must) see the tenacity of feudal relations, which though they are disintegrating, yet continue to exist and oppress the majority of the people" and "that feudal relations are still tenaciously persisting and they are still strong" etc., are formal and only from a background music without any correct bearing on the main conclusions drawn from the previous "new" "fundamental analysis".

This can be seen from the other statements made in the document itself such as: "To conclude, feudalism is not dead despite development of capitalist relations" and "the main point however to understand is, that the capitalist relations have developed inside the feudal framework, that they are developing with great speed and that in future they will develop with still greater rapidity," etc.

To say that feudalism is not YET 'DEAD', that capitalist relations are "developing with great speed", and will "develop with still greater rapidity", etc. is in reality failing to grasp the significance of feudal and pre capitalist barriers in our country for social progress and advancement; it is to give a clean alibi to those who argue on the basis of "decolonisation" thesis that imperialism in the course of its own development completes the tasks of democratic revolution in colonies; and failure to understand that in the present period of final decay of world capitalism such development "with great speed" and "still greater rapidity", is sheer nonsense. It is an over estimation of the strength and potentiality of the present collaborationist set-up; and under-estimation of the significance of imperialist-feudal stranglehold on the country's economy today; and, as its counterpart and logical conclusion, follows the reformist political conclusion that the "National Government" under Mountbatten Award is a "step in advance". It is basing on such wrong logic that the Polit Bureau argues that though "August 15 Independence" is not independence for the people of India, it is "Independence" for the entire bourgeoisie of India for "unlimited exploitation" and expansion.

In support of this "theory" of development of capitalism in agriculture of our semi-colonial country "with great speed" and in "future with still greater rapidity", the argument of the Polit Bureau goes thus:

"To understand this, we must give up the fatuous idea that the bourgeoisie only wants to strengthen and protect feudalism, that it would not attack feudalism even to protect its own interests or advance them. When we say the bourgeoisie compromises with feudalism or strengthens it, the only Marxist meaning is that from the standpoint of consistent revolutionary policy or action, its actions are compromising, etc. It does not mean however that the bourgeoisie does not seek to compel feudalism to reform to its own advantage. All that we say is that the bourgeoisie in the period of declining capitalism cannot liquidate feudalism in a revolutionary way, but will save its interests of the declining period by only attacking to curb feudalism to suit its own interests." (on the Agrarian Question, PPH, pp.28-29, emphasis ours).

The collaborationist bourgeoisie is incapable only of "revolutionary liquidation of feudalism"; it is capable of "compelling" feudalism to "reform" itself, to suit its own advantage; it will "curb feudalism to suit its own interests"!

How wonderfully does the Polit Bureau fight reformism with such "Marxism" as this!

In world history, except in the French bourgeoisie-democratic revolution, nowhere was there revolutionary liquidation of feudalism by the bourgeoisie; English bourgeoisie

had compromised with feudalism in one measure or other. German bourgeoisie had compromised with feudal Junker landlord gang. These compromises were not in the declining period of world capitalism. They were done even in the heyday of world capitalism. When we say the bourgeoisie of our times, or, more precisely, the colonial and collaborationist bourgeoisie, "compromises with feudalism or strengthens it" the only "Marxist meaning" is "not simply" that the bourgeoisie by its very class nature is "not consistently revolutionary". It means something more, in the present-day world and in our semi colonial country in particular. Here is what the Thesis of the Communist International says on it:

"The poverty-stricken position of the peasantry denotes at the same time a crisis in the internal market for industry, which in its turn represents a powerful obstacle to the capitalist development of the country. Not only the national bourgeoisie of India, China, Egypt, etc., but also imperialism itself was sensible of this peasant misery as an obstacle in the path of the expansion of their exploitation; but the economic and political interests of both of them are so closely bound up with large ownership, as also with trading and usury capital in village, that they are not in a position to carry through an agrarian reform of any wide significance." (Colonial Thesis of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, p.18, emphasis ours).

"But just here is the weakest point of the colonial bourgeoisie. The unbearable exploitation of the colonial peasantry can only be put an end to by the way of agrarian revolution. The bourgeoisie of China, India and Egypt is by its immediate interests, so closely bound up with landlordism with usury capital and with the exploitation of the peasant masses in general, that it takes its stand out only against the agrarian revolution but also against every decisive agrarian reform. It is afraid, and not without foundation, that even the more open formulation of the agrarian question will stimulate and accelerate the growth of the process of revolutionary fermentation in the peasant masses. Thus the reformist bourgeoisie hardly dares to decide to approach practically the basic urgent question." (Ibid, p.26, emphasis ours).

Thus, whereas the Thesis of the Communist International Observes "powerful obstacles to the capitalist development" and "as an obstacle in the path of the expansion of their(bourgeois—Andhra Secretariat) exploitation", the documents of the Polit Bureau discover capitalism as "developing with great speed" and as "developing with still greater rapidity" in future in the rural economy!

While the Thesis of the Communist International states that the Indian bourgeoisie "are not in a position to carry through an agrarian reform of any wide significance", that "they are against even the mere open formulation of the agrarian question", that they "hardly dare" to decide to approach practically this basic urgent question, and that it is "just here (that is seen—Andhra Secretariat), the weakest point of the colonial bourgeoisie," the document of the Polit Bureau says that the collaborationist Indian bourgeoisie will be able to "Curb feudalism to suit its own interests" and "compel feudalism to reform to its own advantage".

The Thesis of the Communist International observes "the pitiful attempts (of the bourgeoisie -Andhra Secretariat) at carrying through of agrarian reforms without endangering the colonial regime", but our Polit Bureau finds bountiful agrarian reforms by the bourgeois that "emanicipates the bourgeoisie, clears the way for the development of bourgeoisie relations to the extent necessary."

The Thesis of the Communist International states that the Indian bourgeoisie "is by its immediate interests, so closely bound up with landlordism, with usury capital", that the "economic and political interests of both (Imperialism and national bourgeoisie —Andhra Secretariat) of them are so closely bound up with large ownership, as also with trading and usury capital in the village". The Polit Bureau calls this understanding as "wrong and mechanical understanding" on the ground that it "sees no contradiction between them and reduces the content of alliance to one of complete identity of economic interests." The Thesis of the Communist International emphasises the compromising nature of national bourgeoisie with feudal landowners for obvious reasons, but our Polit Bureau emphasises the contradictions between them as of great significance; and not only that, not to do this is silly according to the polit Bureau!

Who is silly? The Polit Bureau or the communist International and those that follow the teachings of the Communist International?

That the Polit Bureau, in its attempt at the "fundamental re-estimate of the class relations in agrarian areas", revises the basic formulations of the Communist International, despite all its avowals of loyalty to the latter. It is not a question of slightly going right or left; the position of the Polit Bureau has nothing in common with, and is a complete repudiation of, the understanding given by the Communist International.

From the above stated position, the Polit Bureau proceeds to evaluate the prospective land legislation of the Congress bourgeois governments in power. These Bills are characterised thus: "The bourgeois programme bears a strange resemblance to the programme of the Czarist Minister, Stolypin".(On the Agrarian Question, PPH, p.31).

"Whether the present landlord bills are withheld or proceeded with, the bourgeoisie will try to clear the road, an opening to the rich farmer through some means or another, either through amendment of tenancy act, or court or legal pressure against the landlord, or putting a provision in the Act that certain types of tenants will be allowed to buy the land at fair price determined by the Government, and one which the landlord cannot refuse, and fixing the price of land etc.,—steps will be taken to put its agrarian programme into practice." (Ibid. p.31, emphasis ours).

Here we do not set ourselves the task of analysing these so-called "land reform bills" of the Congress Government though we realise the importance of the task of such penetrating analysis to expose and fight them in the concrete.

Our main contention for the present is that the so-called land bills, whether they have a "strange resemblance" to the Stolypin reforms or to the Kuomintang

Government's pompous announcements of agrarian reform are basically only "empty nationalist phrases and gestures to keep the petty bourgeois (peasants in particular) masses under its influence." The open and consistent opposition of the Central Government even to the many proposed 'land reforms' of the provincial Governments which by themselves are in reality only "landlord bills" of the worst reactionary type, is a pointer in this respect to understand the real attitude of the collaborationist bourgeoisie to agrarian reforms of any significance. The proposed "Zamindari Abolition Bills" are already pigeonholed to a great extent and it would be a matter of time before they are thrown completely into the dustbins of the Government secretariats's offices, on the plea of Government's inability to pay the proposed "compensation" amounting to hundreds of millions of rupees to the zamindars and the landlords.

The report of the "Agrarian Enquiry Committee", under the presidency of Mr. Kumarappa with his Gandhian fads, is itself being opposed by all the bourgeois press as "utopian", "unpractical" and "dangerous" too. The landlord representatives like Omandur Ramaswami Ruddiar, the ex-premier of Madras, and N. G. Ranga, the president of the -Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, have already come out openly in the press against the Kumarappa Report attacking it tooth and nail. In fact these are the tendencies and the standpoint of the present collaborationist bourgeoisie on the "agrarian reforms" which are too often talked of and announced in the bourgeois press only to counteract the growing agrarian unrest in the country. As far as the Madras Government is concerned, the proposed "Zamindari Abolition Bill", which is wholeheartedly supported even by the Zamindari clique itself, is only a measure that is mainly intended to save the zamindars, who encounter agrarian revolts everyday, who miserably fail to collect the taxes on land, facing the bitter resistance from the peasants, and who run bankrupt and fail to pay peshkush to the Government.

If such is the reality, neither "phrase mongering and negative attitude which contents itself with saying that no change had been brought", etc., nor the great expectations that the bourgeoisie by hook or crook will be able to "compel feudalism to reform to its own advantage", "will curb feudalism to suit its own interests" and that "this process only emancipates the bourgeoisie, clears the way, for the bourgeois relations to the extent necessary", etc., will get us anywhere near the truth. The one is abstract denunciation and failure to expose the collaborationist bourgeoisie and its demagogery in concrete to the peasants masses; the other is over estimation of the contradictions between the collaborationist and the feudal, semi-feudal pre-capitalist interests, and failure to understand the weakness of the colonial bourgeoisie particularly in this phase of decaying capitalism all the world over, thus running into reformist conclusions.

It is appropriate to quote here Stalin's observation regarding China. "In China" Stalin says, "there is not yet any group or, government capable of carrying out reforms similar to Stolypin's which will serve as a lightning conductor for the ruling

group." (Stalin, "On Current Affairs: On China", quoted from the article "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution", China Digest, P.5 Vol. VII, No.7).

The estimation and evaluation by the Polit Bureau of the much advertised "agrarian reform" is wrong, and mainly based on the "pious wishes" and pompous bills of the congress bourgeoisie rather than on the real objective realities as such.

### Re: Rich Peasant

Now, let us proceed to discuss the question of the rich peasant.

First of all, rich peasant is placed by the Polit Bureau in the counter-revolutionary camp on the plea that the entire bourgeoisie has collaborated with imperialism, and the rich peasant, i.e. the peasant bourgeoisie, is also included in it.

Secondly, the Polit Bureau denies the antifeudal role of the rich peasant in democratic and agrarian revolution as absurd and meaningless.

Thirdly, the rich peasant is described as "the spearhead of counter-revolution in the rural side."

Fourthly, the Polit Bureau rejects the necessity of making distinction between the landlord and the rich peasant, and takes up cudgels against those that make such distinction.

Lastly, while the Political Thesis left a loophole by containing the slogan of KHAS lands of the rich peasant, the Polit Bureau in line with its whole bankrupt analysis, advanced to the logical end along the wrong path and put forward the slogan of confiscation of the land of the rich peasants along with that of the landlord.

Let us elaborate these points, one by one.

1. The Polit Bureau arrived at the role of the rich peasant in the People's Democratic Revolution in India, rather in a wonderfully ingenious way from Zhdanov's Report. Zhdanov's Report was supposed to mean, according to the Polit Bureau, that in the present International situation, nowhere in the world, in no country, at no stage of the revolution, can any section of the bourgeoisie including the rich peasant find a place in the revolutionary and democratic camp. Basing itself on this-its own-misinterpretation, it works up the following arguments-each outbeating the other in demagogic—"how can rich peasants, even in feudal areas, really play a anti-feudal role when the entire bourgeoisie wants to compromise and enter into an alliance against the masses; when their leader the industrial bourgeoisie have signed a new alliance with feudalism and when consistently fighting against the feudal elements creates danger for the rich peasants also at the hands of the masses? How can all this happen when the class antagonism between the exploiters and the exploited has reached such higher proportions?

Is it not amazing that such arguments flow from the pen of the Polit Bureau?

The statement that the entire bourgeoisie has collaborated, and hence, this means the collaboration of the rich peasant, as peasant bourgeois, also, is more an arbitrary assertion rather than an objective analysis.

The question is asked, how can the rich peasant go against his leader, the industrial bourgeoisie? The "leadership" in this case does not come so easily as our Polit

Bureau thinks. The anti-feudal and anti-imperialist interests of the rich peasant are not fulfilled by the supposed leader, with his collaboration with feudalism and imperialism. Hence, for a while, during certain stage, the proletariat can lead him and become the leader, unless it refuses to lead him in the revolution and makes a present of him to the reactionary combine.

Why has the Polit Bureau introduced the idea of "consistently fighting against feudal elements?" Has anybody ever said that the rich peasant would "consistently" fight the feudal elements? Does it mean that the Polit Bureau is laying a dictum that the proletariat should ally itself with only those classes and sections that 'consistently' fight along with it? Is it not a fact that in the era of Imperialism, the proletariat in its struggle for power at different stages and in different countries, has to ally itself with different classes and sections, some of whom are undoubtedly inconsistent by their very class nature?

To speak of "consistency" or otherwise without reference to stage and tasks has nothing to do with Marxism.

It is against such left phrase-mongering that Lenin delivers a stern admonition and lays down the following pregnant dictum:

"The more powerful enemy can be conquered only by exerting the utmost effort, and by necessarily, thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skillfully, taking advantage of every, even the smallest, "rift" among the enemies, of every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups of types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional."

And: "Those who do not understand this do not understand even a particle of Marxism or of scientific, modern Socialism in general." (Lenin's Selected Works, Moscow, Two Volume Edition, 1947, vol.II, pp.609-610).

This abundantly rich enunciation is more than enough to drive the point home.

On top of it all, the Polit Bureau puts the question "How can all this happen when the class antagonism between the exploiters and the exploited has reached such higher proportion?" What does it mean thereby? Is it not once again to bring in here its bankrupt understanding that in the present-day world only one contradiction, the contradiction between labour and capital, remains and that the rest of the contradictions lose all significance with regard to, and have no bearing on, the question of strategy and tactics, etc.—an understanding that runs like a red thread throughout the writings of the Polit Bureau?

The Polit Bureau also advances the following arguments to prove that the oppositional and anti-feudal role of the rich peasant in India is once for all finished:

"He (rich peasant) does not belong to feudal society. He arises out of the disintegration of feudal economy in face of developing commodity production and often represents the emancipated tenant of the landlord who is able to get out of

the shackles of the feudal landlord by the power of money, the power of the exchange relations over feudal relations". Further, it says, "Thanks to the power of money the power of developing commodity production, these well-to-do elements are able to escape mediaeval yoke and carry on capitalist exploitation." (on the Agrarian Question, PPH, p19-20)

Continuing the same idea of the rich peasant getting "emancipated" from the feudal yoke, the Polit Bureau promises that the collaborationist bourgeoisie "will try to clear the road, an opening, to the rich farmer through some means or another" will be made, etc., etc., (Ibid, p.31, emphasis ours).

Not a single one of the arguments and points made out by the Polit Bureau to place the rich peasant outside the Democratic Front, at this stage of the revolution, has anything to do with Marxism-Leninism. It is nothing but subjectivism and a shame-faced attempt at revision of all the accepted Marxist tenets on this question.

## 2. No anti-fudal role?

When the Andhra Secretariat, in its Draft Note, had cited from its own experience the revolutionary role of the rich peasant in the struggle against the Nizam's feudal autocracy, the Polit Bureau offers the following criticism:

"The documents say that this has been proved in Telangana. In reality no such proof exists. It must be remembered that what the documents say is not just some sympathy of rich peasants in partial struggles now and then in the initial stage which is quite conceivable, just as one factory owner may sometimes support financially, etc., the strikers of another rival factory -what it lays down is the vacillating support of the rich peasants in the political struggle—in the Democratic Revolution." (Tactical Line, cycloed edition, p.38)

Here the Polit Bureau does two things.

It denies what is a reality and a fact. Secondly, it denies the very anti-feudal character and role of the rich peasant. It is one thing if the Polit Bureau had said that we had failed to observe the principle of "March separately and strike together" and that while allowing the rich peasant to remain in our camp the task of keeping vigilant with regard to him, of exposing him, which had to be done simultaneously, had been ignored, etc. But, it is quite another thing, when it summarily rejects the fact altogether stating "The documents (Andhra documents) say that this has been proved in Telangana. In reality, no such proof exists." (emphasis ours).

So, let us first examine whether the rich peasant's participation in the anti-Nizam struggle is a fact or not.

The agrarian struggle in Telangana reached the stage of armed resistance as early as the beginning of 1946 itself, i.e. one and a half years before "August 15 Independence", and two and a half years before the counter-revolutionary intervention of the Indian Union armies, which culminated in the complete collaboration of the Nehru Government and the Nizam. If in the fight against the Nizam's autocracy and against the jagirdar, deshmukh and landlord Zoolum and

the heinous feudal exploiting methods, like begar, vetti, etc., the rich peasant was not interested in participating, we are at a loss to understand how the rich peasant was considered by Lenin and Stalin as an ally in the pre-February stage of the Russian revolution, when the strategic slogan was "Dictatorship of Workers and Peasants"—including the rich peasantry! The point however is that the Polit Bureau merely wants to assert away a fact, i.e. the rich peasant's participation in the anti-Nizam struggle, when in fact it was not only the rich peasant, but the entire bourgeoisie in Hyderabad State also, who were in opposition to the feudal Nizam, in one measure or other, when the comprise between the Nizam and the Nehru Government had not yet come off.

Is the rich peasant objectively interested in the struggle against feudalism? The Polit Bureau says "No".

The documents of the Polit Bureau, while on the one hand they rebuke those who "under-estimate" the contradictions (contradictions between the collaborationist bourgeoisie and feudal and semi-feudal elements!), "practically equating the bourgeoisie to the feudal elements" on the other, jump to the other end and call the conflicts between the rich peasantry and feudalism as rich peasant's "critical attitude to feudalism" since he is "not averse to curb the power" of the feudal landlord, "especially if it could be done by others", as "just sympathy of rich peasants in partial struggle now and then and in initial stage—which is quite conceivable just as one factory owner may sometimes support financially the strikers of another factory."

With this comparison of the conflict between rich peasant and feudal landlordism with the factional struggle between different factory owners, the Polit Bureau has reached the height of its bankruptcy.

Comrade Stalin in his letters to Yansky and Pokrovsky explains the implications of the following formulations of Lenin, when both of them began to confuse the question of Bolshevik strategy in the February and October stages of Russian Revolution.

"It is therefore clear that our constructive work in the rural districts has now gone beyond the limits to which it was confined when everything was subordinated to the fundamental demand of the struggle for power.

"This constructive work passed through two main phases."

"In October 1917, we seized power TOGETHER WITH THE PEASANTRY AS A WHOLE. This was a bourgeois revolution, in as much as the class war in rural districts had not yet developed," etc. (Lenin's Selected Works, Moscow Two Volume Edition, Vol.11, pp.456-457, emphasis author's)

"When we took power we relied on the support of the peasantry as a whole. At that time, the aim of all the peasants was identical—to fight the landlords." (Ibid, p.462).

Yansky and Pokrovsky, who failed to understand the "special conditions" and "complicated" combinations in the two stages of the Russian Revolution, began to argue that the strategy remained one and the same in both the February and October

Revolutions. Stalin, while pinning down their mistakes, discussed the nature of the support, opposition, etc., of the rich peasantry in October revolution. This is of immense use for the clarification of the issue in discussion.

“....and in as much as the October Revolution did complete the bourgeois revolution, it was bound to meet with the sympathy of all the peasants. All that is undeniable.” (Problems of Leninism, Moscow edition, p.181, emphasis ours).

“when the peasantry as a whole was faced with the danger of the restoration of the power of the landlords, and when the peasantry as a WHOLE was compelled to rally around the Soviet power in order to ensure the completion of bourgeois revolution and preserve the fruits of revolution.”(Ibid.p.181, capital emphasis author’s; emphasis ours).

“That we took power with a CERTAIN AMOUNT of the support from the peasantry as a whole is quite true. But you forget to add a “detail” namely that the peasantry AS A WHOLE supported us in October and after, only IN SOFAR as we carried the bourgeois revolution to completion.”(Ibid, p.194, emphasis author’s).

“Indeed, why did we succeed in securing the support of the peasantry as a whole in October and after October? Because we were in a position to carry the bourgeois revolution to completion.”(Ibid. p.195).

Do not these formulations of comrade Stalin indicate that the “rich peasantry” is also interested in the carrying out of the bourgeois democratic tasks? Or, as our Polit Bureau documents put it, is it that the rich peasantry is only “critical” of feudalism; “is not averse to curbing his power (landlord’s power –Andhra Secretariat) especially if it could be done by others”; “just as some sympathy of the rich peasants in partial struggles now and then and in initial stage-which is quite conceivable JUST AS ONE FACTORY OWNER MAY SOMETIMES SUPPORT FINANCIALLY ETC. STRIKERS OF ANOTHER RIVAL FACTORY”? (Capitals ours). We feel that the understanding of the Polit Bureau on this question is completely wrong.

The October Revolution was a proletarian Socialist revolution, inspite of the fact it had to complete a lot of bourgeois democratic tasks, in that its strategy aims at the overthrow of “entire capitalism including the rural rich, the kulaks and the profiteers”. The rich peasant in the main was considered as one of the enemies to be overthrown politically and as such, it was meaningless to talk of his position in the strategical alliance of the proletariat in that stage. That is why Stalin argued thus: “Does not the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat mean going beyond the framework of bourgeois revolution? How can you assert the kulaks (who of course are also peasants) could support the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the transfer of power to the proletariat? How can you deny that the decree of NATIONALISATION OF LAND, ABOLITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY. THE PROHIBITION OF THE PURCHASE AND SALE OF LAND inspite of the fact that it cannot be regarded as a Socialist decree, was put into effect by us in the midst of Struggle against the kulaks, and not in alliance with them? How can

you assert that the kulaks (who are also peasants) could support the decrees of the Soviet Government on the expropriation of mills, factories, railways, banks, etc., or the slogan of the proletariat in transforming the imperialist war into civil war? How can you assert that the fundamental (emphasis author's) thing in October was not these and similar acts, not the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of dictatorship of the proletariat, but the completion of bourgeois revolution?" (Ibid, p.180, Emphasis for "struggle against" and "fundamental" are author's: rest ours).

If the fundamental thing in the present revolution for India also is the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution is only "one of the main tasks" as in October Russian revolution, then the strategy is clear and the place of the rich peasant is no longer a complicated question for us. But as the Andhra Secretariat understood while writing its draft in discussion now, the FUNDAMENTAL thing in our revolution is the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution, though as Lenin said the "individual particular elements of the one revolution and the other become interwoven", i.e. in our specific case confiscation of the concerns owned by the imperialists and nationalisation of key industries, etc., would definitely overstep the bounds of the democratic revolution and "will grow into proletarian revolution". The aspect of national liberation and the "aspect of the anti-feudal and anti-landlord struggle" are not considered simply as "byproducts," of our present revolution. Undoubtedly, our revolution is basically democratic. The documents of the Polit Bureau instead of understanding the real issue in discussion, summarily dispose of the point as reformist and "collaborationist", etc.

We are prompted to ask a question. Why was the Russian rich peasant interested in the bourgeois democratic revolution and its general tasks even after the "Stolypin" reforms (incidentally it is to be noted that it was after the Stolypin reforms that the rich peasants in Russia could be our ally in the February revolution and had a "certain amount" of support in the October Revolution also), whereas the present land bills of the Congress governments which are said to bear "strange resemblance to Stolypin reforms", are considered by our Polit Bureau to be such as would "emancipate" the rich peasant from feudal and landlord fetters? Is there anything special in our country which makes the rich peasant an ally of feudal-land-lord reaction? Is it not evident from all the above that the rich peasant is objectively interested in the anti-feudal revolution?

At the meeting of the Central Committee of Hungarian Workers' Party held on March 5 and 6, Comrade Rakosi, The General Secretary of the Party, made the following observations: "Rakosi noted that the Hungarian Communist Party had followed the Lenin-Stalin teaching: after the liberation of the country, the Party together with the peasantry, including the kulak, fought against the feudal landowners. But once this task was completed, the kulaks turned against the Communists." (For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy, dated March 15, 1949).

This was possible under the People's Democratic Republic in which, according to the Polit Bureau, there was no place for the "bourgeoisie" at any stage and in a country like Hungary, which was described in the Programme of the Communist International as a "medium developed capitalist-one", where "numerous survivals of semi-feudal relationships in agriculture", etc., exist. Then, why in our country, which is semi-colonial, with feudal mediaeval relationships" or "Asiatic mode of production relationships" prevailing", does the Polit Bureau dismiss the fact of the rich peasant's participation even in the anti feudal struggle against the Nizam's autocracy, as a lie, saying "in reality no such proof exists"! Does the Polit Bureau proceed on the basis of actual class relations in our countryside or of the imaginary and clumsy theoretical analysis of its own?

Then again, the Colonial Thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International states the following:

"In the villages of China and India, in Particular, certain parts of these countries, it is already possible to find exploiting elements derived from the peasantry, who exploit the peasants and village labour through usury, trade, employment of hired labour, the sale or letting out of land on rent, the loaning of cattle or agricultural implements, etc. In general, it is possible that, in the first period of the struggle of the peasantry against the landlords, the proletariat may be able to carry with it the entire peasantry." (including the rich peasantry – Andhra Secretariat) (Thesis of the Communist International, P.30, emphasis ours).

Has the Polit Bureau taken serious note of this passage at all? Does the Polit Bureau think, the "first period" of struggle against the landlords is already completed in our country, while in fact not even country-wide beginning of it has been made? For the Polit Bureau, not only to have failed to take note of the anti-feudal role of the rich peasant, but also go to the extent of totally denying this classical concept – is it not a crime of the highest magnitude?

### 3. Rich Peasant, Spearhead of Reaction?

Not satisfied with having put the rich peasant outside the Democratic Front, with having denied him any anti-feudal and anti-imperialist role, the Polit Bureau goes further and makes him the spearhead of reaction in the countryside. Here is what the Polit Bureau says: "In all this, where does the rich peasant, peasant bourgeoisie stand? Does he vacillate? Can he be neutralised? No. He is one of the main enemies in the rural areas – in fact, the spearhead of bourgeois-feudal reaction in rural areas," (On the Peasant question, PPH, p.40)

Everywhere in the world revolutionary history, the rich peasantry became the "spearhead of the counter-revolution" only after feudalism and landlordism were liquidated, but, according to our Polit Bureau documents, it becomes the spearhead of counter-revolution during the stage of the agrarian democratic revolution itself!

Does the Polit Bureau bother to understand what they are talking and of which class they are thinking? Is it elementary Marxism to talk of rich peasants as "spearhead of counter revolution in the countryside" in the stage of basically

democratic revolution, as ours is necessarily at present? It is only bungling on the stage of the revolution and the class roles in the rural side that can land anybody into this ultra-leftism.

#### 4. No distinction between landlord and rich peasant?

The Polit Bureau finds fault with the Andhra Secretariat for having drawn, in their Draft Note, a distinction between the landlord, and the rich peasant. To quote: "Thus through this definition an attempt is made to repudiate the logical conclusions of the line by just defining certain sections landlords; distinguishing them from rich peasants. There is no reason for this distinction – but it has to be made; otherwise the Secretariat realises the whole policy reveals as openly collaborationist with the most ruthless exploiters." (tactical Line, cycloied copy, P.40 emphasis ours).

Has this lumping together, this identifying of the rich peasant with the landlord, anything to do with Leninist principles? In his classification of the peasantry in his Preliminary Draft Thesis on the Agrarian Question does not Lenin place the rich peasant in a category different from that of the landlord feudal and capitalist?

This is what Lenin says:

"However, expropriation even of the big peasants certainly cannot be made an immediate task of the victorious proletariat, for the material, in particular the technical conditions, as well as social conditions for the socialisation of such farms are still lacking. In individual, and probably exceptional cases, those parts of their land which they rent out in small plots, or which are particularly needed by the surrounding small peasant population will be confiscated; the small peasants will also be guaranteed, on certain terms, the free use of part of agricultural machines belonging to the rich peasants, etc. As a general rule, however, the proletarian state must allow the big peasants to retain their land, confiscating it only if they resist the power of the toilers and the exploited. The experience of the Russian proletarian revolution in which the fight against the big peasantry was complicated and protracted by a number of special conditions, nevertheless shows that, when taught a severe lesson for the slightest attempt at resistance, this stratum is capable of loyally fulfilling the requirements of the proletariat state, and even begins to be imbued, although very slowly, with respect for the government which protects all who work and is ruthless towards the idle rich." (Lenin's Selected Works, Moscow Two Volume Edition, Vol.II.P64, Emphasis ours).

Lenin, in his report to the VIII Congress of the CPSU(B) "On the Work in the rural districts" had occasion to make certain other generalisations on the same lines as described above. Lenin, while quoting Engels who said "perhaps it will not everywhere be necessary to suppress even the big peasantry by force", observes thus: "Even in regard to the rich peasants, we are not as decisive as we are in regard to bourgeoisie; we do not demand the absolute expropriation of the rich peasants and the kulaks. This distinction is made in our programme. We say that the resistance and the counter-revolutionary efforts of the rich peasants must be suppressed. This is not complete expropriation." (Ibid, P.458, emphasis ours).

Thus, it is necessary to make a distinction between the rich peasant and the landlord. It is axiomatic, generally in bourgeois democratic revolution, i.e. agrarian revolution, we confine ourselves to and mainly strike against all types of landlordism. That has been so with all the democratic revolutions so far in history. Even in Chinese People's democratic revolution, the rich peasant class that is liquidated is what is described as "the old type" rich peasantry, i.e. rich peasant with feudal tails, who is defined as heavily feudal-ridden and major part of whose exploitation is feudal, i.e. as given by the Communist Party of China as a special feature in China. Of course, we too have to find out if any such sections exist in our country also.

Secondly, Lenin, while insisting that "the revolutionary proletariat, must immediately and unreservedly confiscate all the land of the landlords", observes that "we do not demand the expropriation of the rich peasants and the kulaks." And even, in the stage, when we have to expropriate the rich peasant, we "do not demand absolute expropriation....."

Thirdly, Lenin lays down, even in the Socialist revolution, in regard to the rich peasants, "we are not as decisive as we are in regard to bourgeoisie."

To sum up: We must make distinction in regard to rich peasant not only as against the landlord, but even as against the bourgeoisie, even in the stage of the proletarian revolution. This is the Leninist position.

Lastly, unlike the landlord who does no manual labour and lives merely on parasitic exploitation, the rich peasant not only exploits labour, but also, does manual labour. This manual labour, as the Chinese documents define, is in the nature of "principal labour" not secondary or subsidiary.

This is why this distinction is made in the Bolshevik programme.

Why does the Polit Bureau set at nought all this Leninist teaching on this question and assert that "there is no reason for this distinction?" This distinction is necessary for both strategical and tactical approach to the rich peasantry in different stages of our revolution.

##### **5. Rich peasants' land to be confiscated along with the landlords?**

The slogan of "Khas lands of the rich peasant to be confiscated" is no doubt incorporated in the Political Thesis. But in connection with this one point needs to be mentioned here. Due to the fact that at the Party Congress hundreds of amendments came in from the delegates and all these could not be taken up at the Congress itself for lack of time, they were examined by an Amendments Committee. Regarding this particular point about the confiscation of the Khas lands of the rich peasant, this amendment was put forward by some delegates but the Amendments Committee recommended to the Central Committee and to the Drafting Commission to reject this amendment. Despite this, the Drafting Commission incorporated it in the final Thesis which emerged out of their hands.

Again after the controversy on the question of the rich peasant and the expropriation of his land is raised by the Andhra Secretariat, the Polit Bureau, in its subsequent

documents, advanced still further along the wrong path and issued the slogan of confiscation of the rich peasants' lands along with the landlord's.

First of all, let us examine what the term KHAS means. As far as we understand, this is used for "privately vulticated" part of the lands of Zemindars, mokhasadars, etc. But, if the same connotation is applied in the case of the rich peasant, particularly in Ryotwari areas, it amounts to confiscating all his land, because generally he possesses none other. We do not know how the position would be in other provinces in India as regards the application of this slogan. But anyway, this must be characterised as a slip.

One can understand the standpoint of the Polit Bureau if it were to say that "In individual, and probably exceptional, cases those parts of their (rich peasant – Andhra Secretariat) land which they rent out in small plots, or which are particularly needed by the surrounding small peasant population will be confiscated", or "confiscating it only if they resist the power of the toilers and the exploited." This would be the correct position even in case the presnet stage of our struggle is a struggle against the entire capital, including the rich peasant.

It can also be understood if the Polit Bureau were to advance the slogan on the lines of the Communist Party of China to liquidate the rich peasant with feudal tails, because, it would form part of our consistent struggle against feudalism.

But, the slogan of confiscation of KHAS lands, as advanced in the thesis and extended by the Polit Bureau in its Agrarian Question, to the entire land, has no theoretical basis, whatsoever, and is totally wrong.

#### **Re. Slogan 'Nationalisation of Land'**

The document of the Polit Bureau On the Agrarian Question remarks about the omission of this slogan in our earlier programme in the following manner: "Its dropping out of our programme was not accidental. It was the same opportunist concession to the rich and middle peasant psychology that has been noted earlier. It is obvious that a movement which mainly based itself on the middle peasant and would not offend the rich peasant, would always be afraid to push forward the slogan of nationalisation, afriad of the reactions of the property-holding followers."(p.33).

But, in doing so, does it take into consideration the experience before us, or at least put itself the question why many brother Communist Parties like the Communist Party of China and Parties in the East European People's Democracies have dropped this slogan from their programme and adopted other intermediary slogans and measures which in process lead to realise that slogan? It does neither.

Further, the information goes that the Chinese Communist Party's agrarian laws "not only permit private ownership but also free management and sale of land".

In East European Democracies this land question is dealt with differently. The position after full four years of their establishment is as follows: "The solution of the agrarian problem in the countries of People's Democracy SUBSTANTITALLY

DIFFERS from its solution in the Sovit Union.... In the countries of People's Democracy, however, private property on land exists at present, which represent additional possibilities for the development of capitalist elements in the villages." (Tass News and Views Bulltetin dated September 30, 1949, p.6, para2).

It is said: "The most wide spread form at present is the agricultural labour cooperatives usually built on the following principles. A peasant who joins an agricultural labour cooperative turns over his land to the cooperatives on a rent basis. Field work is done jointly and the income is distributed then among the members of the cooperative on the one hand according to the amount of labour contributed by each one to the cooperative and on the other, according to the land turned over to the cooperative, which is in common use but is regarded as the property of individual peasants." (Ibid, p.6).

These cooperatives "still SERIOUSLY differ form the collective farms in the Soviet Union which are established on nationalised land" and "the questions of nationalisation of the land will also be settled in as much as the land be in the perpetual use of the collective farm." It is not simply enough to note these facts but it is incumbent on our part to draw proper lessons out of them for our application here.

The document of the Polit Bureau "On the Agrarian Question" makes these following statements on the question of nationalisation of land. As far as our experience goes in our province they do not correspond to the realities at present. This slogan is said to be revolutionary slogan for ryotwari areas. "Actually, the ryotwari areas had no slogan of revolutionary transformation all these days,"

"Will it be a rallying slogan? Will it galvanise the rural masses? It will definitely do so. Because, the basic masses of the rural population on which we have to rely are the proletarian and the semi-proletarian elements—the agricultural labour and poor peasants who have been and are being rapidly expropriated because of private property in land."

The argument that "basic masses of the rural population on which we have to rely are the proletarian and the semi-proletarian elements" is nothing special to India. It holds good with all the countries of People's Democracies, including China.

While the document on one side says that this slogan of nationalisation of land does not go down the throats of the middle peasant easily "because he desperately clings to the illusions of small property holder", etc., it straight away jumps to the other side and argues that "the masses have seen that under present property relations, they have been expropriated" and that "life itself is proving to them that all private property—whether feudal or bourgeois—whether landlord or small-scale peasant property—leads to expropriation of the peasant—it means property of exploiting classes," etc.

Can unreal and imaginary estimation of the situation go further? We would like to ask the Polit Bureau in which part of the country this mass peasant consciousness is supposed to have reached such heights, that it is not only against feudal property relations but against even capitalist relations. i.e. small property relations too-at

present? Neither our past work in the rural side, nor reports reaching our hands from any part of the country can provide us with such "optimism".

Further, it is amazing to say that this slogan is a "galvanising" one in the ryotwari areas. It is exactly in these areas private property interests and instincts are developed stronger than in comparatively more feudal ridden areas, and that both the poor and the middle peasant sections violently react against this slogan. It is precisely because of this that the Programme of the Communist International gives the following warning "The complete abolition of private property in land, and the nationalisation of the land cannot be brought about immediately in the more developed capitalist countries, where THE PRINCIPLE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY IS DEEP ROOTED among a broad strata of the peasantry. In such countries, the nationalisation of all land can only be brought about gradually, by means of series of transitional measures", (p. 34, PPH, emphasis ours).

On one hand, in the name of a "new" and "fundamental re-estimate of class relations in agrarian areas" the Polit Bureau departs from the Colonial Thesis, revising every basic formulation of it, on the other, when the Polit Bureau goes to and in so far as it does borrow from the Thesis of the Communist International. i.e. the slogan of nationalisation of land, it does so opportunistically and mechanically. Why does the Polit Bureau do this? Is it because it suits its leftism? Why is the Polit Bureau not otherwise consistent even in its own line? On the one hand, it flies full length and declares that capitalist land relations dominate over feudal land relations in our country. On the other, it does not apply the Stalinist warning in regard to nationalisation of land to its own analysis!

Let us see what the warning of Stalin is: as stated by P. Yudin, in his review of the Eleventh Volume of the Works of J.V. Stalin, published in the COMMUNIST No.1 of 1950: "Comrade Stalin clearly foresaw the ways of solving the land problem in countries which would cast loose from the imperialist system. In reply to those who insisted upon the nationalisation of the land, especially in capitalistically developed countries, Comrade Stalin, in his speech on "The Programme of the Comintern", said:

"Those comrades are wrong who think that the more capitalistically developed a country is, the easier will it be to carry through the nationalisation of ALL the land there. On the contrary, the more capitalistically developed a country is, the more difficult will it be to carry through the nationalisation of ALL the land, because the traditions of private ownership of land are all the stronger there, and the more difficult will it be, consequently, to combat these traditions."

"Comrade Stalin, therefore, warned that nationalisation of the land must not be proclaimed at once, on the very first day of the proletarian revolution, because the peasantry, imbued as it is with the property instinct, will not be at once be able to digest this slogan. It is by this wise policy of Stalin that the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies are guiding themselves today, gradually preparing the labouring peasant for collective forms of agriculture and production." (Communist. Vol.3, No.1, p.43)

The idea of nationalisation is generally associated with the masses as complete expropriation of the rights of private property-as one that takes away their right of free use, sale, etc. Besides this, the bourgeois-imperialist scare-propaganda of anti-communism, which plays on the private property instincts of the small proprietors, has as added to the fears of these sections. It is for us to take this into serious consideration when we raise such slogan, so that we foil the attempts of the class enemy who is bent upon disrupting the toilers' front by driving a wedge between the small proprietors, and the proletariat. Any attempt on our part to outrun the consciousness of the masses will prove terribly disruptive.

The stand that "the basic masses of the rural population which we have to rely are the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements" and hence we need not worry to issue this slogan, does not lead us anywhere. The poor and middle peasant population put together at present will be more than 30-40 per cent of the rural population. The slogan that does not help us to win these sections for the democratic front and only scares them away for different reasons as stated above, only isolates the "basic classes" from the rest of the toilers, and helps the enemy to defeat the revolution.

If such is the case, would it not be imperative that we do not push this slogan as it is and instead follow the course adopted by other brother Communist Parties in the New Democracies and China?

#### **Re. the Role of the Middle peasant**

As far as the role of the middle peasant is concerned, the Polit Bureau documents take an anomalous position. Describing his vacillations in the People's Democratic revolution the document of the Polit Bureau says: "But at the same time, he vacillates because of his intermediary position, because of his social orientation to the peasant bourgeoisie", "Hence he continually vacillates not only in the struggle against the peasant bourgeoisie but also against the feudal landlords." (on the Peasant Question, PPH, p.25).

"There is no doubt that initially his vacillations will be very big; incited by the rich peasant, he may be hostile." (Ibid, p 35).

"The middle peasant vacillates most: firstly because his social orientation is towards the rich peasant against whom the People's Democratic alliance has to fight; secondly, he vacillates most because the struggle calls him to fight the bourgeois Government about whom he has vacillation. His vacillations, therefore become violent, especially when he realises that the Government is to be fought. His vacillations are of a quite different type when it was a question of anti-imperialist struggle and following the oppositional bourgeoisie-he vacillated or he was able to overcome his vacillations because of his anti-imperialist and antifeudal hatred. But today he vacillates most because when he is asked to fight the bourgeois Government and rich peasants he is called upon to fight all that which he aspires to be, his ideal so to say. His vacillations will be, therefore, of the most violent type." (Ibid, pp.39-40).

Mark you, these statements are made after delivering a long attack on the formulation "middle peasant is a firm ally in the revolution", alleged to have been made by the Andhra Secretariat in its Draft Note!

After all this is said, the Polit Bureau adds that "And yet he can be won over; there is an important place for him in the alliance because he is a victim of both feudal and capitalist exploitation, and the grim truth of life will teach him to ally himself with the fighting forces..... But any neglect of conscious efforts to win him over would prove fatal."(Ibid, p.40).

The positive assertion loses all its significance by profuse negative statements made against the middle peasant's role in the New Democratic revolution. And exactly this constitutes the anomaly.

Let us elaborate this point.

It is classical Leninist position that the middle peasant vacillates in the fight between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. His vacillations come precisely because he as a property owner swings over to the side of the bourgeoisie, and as a tiler swings over to the side of the proletariat. Hence, Lenin in his Preliminary Draft Thesis on the Agrarian Question, asks the Communist Parties to follow this dictum:

"The revolutionary proletariat cannot set itself the task—at least in the immediate future and in the initial period of the dictatorship of the proletariat—of winning over this stratum but must confine itself to the task of neutralising it, i.e., making it neutral in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." (Lenin's Selected Works, Moscow-Two Volume Edition, Vcl.II. p 648).

To be clear, this is stated in relation to the stage of the Socialist revolution.

What we set down to discuss is not about the middle peasant's role in the socialist stage and the proletarian revolution. It spells bankruptcy for a Marxist simply to paraphrase the above and apply it verbatim to the present stage of People's Democratic revolution. Why? Because the fight today is not a straight fight between proletarians and semi-proletarians on one side and all the bourgeoisie, including the rich peasants, on the other. The stranglehold of imperialism, the dominant feudal forms of exploitation, etc., are factors additional, which in their turn impose upon us special tasks, such as of national-liberation and agrarian revolution. Is it correct then to say that in all stages, i.e. general anti-imperialist, agrarian-democratic, and Socialist, his vacillations will be either of the same type or that he is to be characterised a vacillating ally? It is definitely incorrect.

The Polit Bureau has come to this anomalous and erroneous stand on the middle peasant, because of the following reasons:

Firstly, it has taken up the position that the present stage of our revolution is a revolution against the entire capital, including the rich peasant;

Secondly, it has bothered least to understand the imperialist stranglehold, and the necessity of fight against it. Similarly, by its pseudo-class analysis that capitalist relations have become dominant and feudal relations subsidiary, it has watered down the character of the revolution which is basically agrarian-democratic.

Lastly, while defining the role of the middle peasant, it throws out formulations such as "initially his vacillations will be very big; incited by the rich peasant he may be hostile"; "his vacillations are however bound to be great", "and the middle peasant vacillates most", etc., etc.

Once it begins to define its role in the present stage this way, it is meaningless to state that there is an "important place for him" in the Democratic Front, etc. The assertion becomes more formal than real.

It is exactly this position that strengthens the hands of those comrades who have advanced the slogan of neutralising the middle peasant in the present stage. Once the Polit Bureau characterised him as a vacillating ally, these comrades say, it is in substance conceding their position of neutralisation, and put the question: Is it not a fact that the Bolsheviks in their strategy for October revolution have only set task of neutralising the middle peasant and yet were able to win him over to the side of the revolution? If so, why should we also not set ourselves the slogan of neutralising this violent vacillator in our strategy? The Polit Bureau cannot have any answer to this-except accept it.

Thus, the enunciation of the Polit Bureau as regards the role of the middle peasant rather strengthens the deviation that the stage of the revolution is similar to the October revolution, and fails to drive home the actual role of the middle peasant and its importance in the People's Democratic revolution.

Under the caption "Middle Peasant, Not a 'Firm,' Ally", the Polit Bureau attacks the Andhra Secretariat, alleging that it had made the formulation "middle peasant is a firm ally in the revolution."

Not to give any room for doubt, let us quote from the Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat all the formulations made in this connection.

The following formulations are in fact quotations from Mao.

"Our line is to rely on poor peasants and solidly unite with the middle peasants (not as some of our comrades say 'neutralise' them) to destroy the feudal and semi-feudal exploitation system of the landlord class and the old type of rich peasants."

"All these are concrete policies that must be adopted by our Party in carrying out the strategic task of solidly uniting middle peasants."

"Secondly, it is necessary to resolutely unite middle peasants and not injure the basic principles and the task of our agrarian reform will surely triumphantly be completed." (All from p.12 of the Andhra Secretariat's Draft Note. Emphasis in the original).

And it is only at one place does the Andhra Secretariat make its independent formulation, thus:

"3) The middle peasant in this New Democratic Revolution is to be our ally. And it is our task to solidly unite with the middle peasant. It is wrong to think of neutralising him as in the stage of Socialist revolution." (Ibid, p.17).

Thus, it is clear that nowhere the Andhra Secretariat had formulated exactly in the terms quoted by the Polit Bureau. The term "firm ally" is supposed to imply that the Andhra Secretariat is guilty of equating the revolutionary role of the middle peasant with that of the poor peasant and agricultural labourer. In fact no such guilt exists. All the quotations cited above are only emphasising the necessity and determination of the proletariat and its Party to bring the middle peasant onto the side of the revolution.

The Polit Bureau by attacking this position, is the way it has, has reduced the role of the middle peasant to the position of a vacillating ally. i.e the position assigned by the Polit Bureau to the middle bourgeoisie after the Editorial of "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy" has appeared and the consequent correction. It such are the facts, and in the face of these, if the Polit Bureau still continues to these, if the Polit Bureau still continues to think that it has correctly defined the role of the middle peasant, is it not self-deception?

Last but not least, the manner in which the documents of the Polit Bureau have placed the role of agricultural labour is itself throughly wrong and leading only to utter disruption of the forces of agrarian revolution.

The Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat had pointed out the following:

"Regarding the demands of agricultural labour, the Secretariat is of the opinion, that it is wrong to import mechanically relations between a capitalist and an industrial worker into the village life where small peasant economy is dominant. It only disrupts the new democratic front, also does not get the demands of the agricultural labourers satisfied, because this mechanical outlook will drive the poor and the middle peasants into the fold of the rich peasant." (COMMUNIST.no.4 Vol.2 P.71).

The document of the Polit Bureau on Tactical Line went Hammer and tongs against these formulations and dubbed them "openly letting down the agricultural workers". The document of the Polit Bureau "On the Agrarian Question" put the demands of agricultural labour (living wages, limitation of hours of work, social insurance. and so on and so forth) on exactly the same par as the industrial working class. Comrades in some Provinces, following this, brought forward as slogans for agricultural workers' strikes, the demand of Rs. 80 living wage, Rs. 55 Dearness allowance, 8-hour day: etc., etc. (the basic demands put forward by the AITUC)

From this whole thing followed two consequences.

Firstly, this absurd and mechanical importation into village life of the relations between a capitalist and an industrial worker – wherever it was done on the lines the documents of the Polit Bureau demanded – signally failed in getting the real demands of the agricultural labourers satisfied and only disrupted the new democratic front, in the countryside, exactly as the Draft Note of the Andhra Secretariat had warned.

Secondly, the mechanical equating by the Polit Bureau of the Indian agricultural workers with the agricultural workers of the advanced capitalist countries; the failure to point out the special character of the agricultural workers in a colonial country' like India, namely, the fact that they are crushed down above all by all

sorts of feudal exploitation and only the agrarian revolution can ameliorate their condition by abolishing all feudal remnants and giving them land ; all this meant that the key role of agricultural labour in the agrarian revolution, in the struggle for abolition of landlordism and for land to the tiller, was totally underplayed; and instead the agricultural labourers' fight was mainly confined to only demands like wage, etc.

Thus, to sum up, all the slogans of the Polit Bureau on the agrarian front- characterisation of rich peasant as main spearhead of reaction and of middle peasant as "vacillating ally", the slogan of "nationalisation of land", the mechanical equating of the agricultural labour to the industrial working class etc. – form one complete left-sectarian disruptive system. Wherever comrades in the provinces applied these slogans faithfully, it only led to complete disruption of the forces of agrarian revolution – isolation of agricultural labour, scaring the poor and middle peasant into the arms of the rich peasant, strengthening the hands of the landlord and so on.

The enormity of the mistakes of the Polit Bureau on the agrarian front can be fully realised only when one takes into account the fact that the agrarian revolution is the axis of the colonial revolution.

No doubt strong remnants of our earlier period of deep-rooted reformism on the Kisan front were continuing to persist inside the Party after the Second Congress. These of course had to be fought out and corrected. But instead of doing this – and in the name of doing this – what the Polit Bureau did was to derail the whole discussion and present a thoroughly disruptive left-sectarian thesis.

But, in its latest document (Polit Bureau document for all Party Members No.14, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> Mar, 1950), all this self-critical analysis is missing, but it goes on in the strain that it has combatted reformism correctly, and only just erred by not emphasising the anti-feudal character of the revolution and a small mistake of wrongly lumping together the rich peasants with the landlords!

Is it not clear that the Communist Party of India if it were to chalk out a correct strategy can do so not by a simple correction here and a little amendment there in the document of the Polit Bureau. "On the Agrarian Question", but only by completely rejecting it and drafting a new Agrarian resolution?

## V

### **CHINESE PATH AND FORMS OF STRUGGLE**

Let us first recall what the Andhra Secretariat has said in its Draft Note in this connection.

"1. The offensive launched by Nehru Government against the Communist Party of India is a part of the international offensive started by world imperialism". It is an offensive by which it ranges itself against all progressive and democratic forces of the world. To put it bluntly, this offensive is nothing but a cruel civil war let loose by the imperialist-bourgeois-feudal combine against working class, peasants and other toiling masses. The stage has come wherein every day-to-day partial struggles

have to be fought arned and semi-armed. Armed resistance has been forced on to the agenda of Revolution by this offensive. Either we resist inch by inch the civil war and offensive let loose against us by all means at our disposal of the people or allow the bourgeoisie a free hand to crush the forces of revolution and end in the victory of counter-revolution.

“2. Keeping all this in view, in areas where we are a good proportion in the masses like certain parts of Andhra, Kerala, Bengal, etc., the time has come to think in terms of guerilla warfare (Chinese way) against military onslights of Nehru Government which is bent on mercilessly liquidating us. Unless with a clear perspective we plan out methods of resistance, and if we leave it to spontaneity, the future history, will charge us with gross betrayal of the Revolution.

“3. The liberation struggle in the form of Telangana is almost a pointer in the possible direction of forming two governments, which in process, must lead to general uprising and capture of power by the people. There are many more territories such as Telangana with a similar social-political-economic ad terrain conditions spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. They can and must be utilised as guerilla districts to begin with, which affords ample scope to develop them as liberation bases. For example, in Andhra alone areas like Rayalaseema, Telangana border areas like Munagala, Nuzvid, Chintalapudi and the agency belt, where agriculture is primitive and undeveloped, where landlordism is dominant, with poor peasant and wage labour forming overwhelming majority of population where already there is sufficiebt stir in the direction of agrarian revolt, present before us huge reserves of revolutionary possibilities. Backward communication system, topographic and terrain conditions are exceptionally suited for prolonged guerilla battles (Chinese way) which lead to establishment of liberation bases. It is with such a perspective we have to successfully plan out the future course of the revolution. Not to have such a clear perspective and allowing ourselves to drift into spontaneity is a crime against Revolution. “The era of contempt for perspective must end along with era of reformism” and a clear-cut reorientation and well-defined strategy must open along with the revolutionary perspective. The Chinese liberation struggle offers us a living example from which we have to adopt many invaluable lessons”. (Andhra Secretariat Draft Note, pp 10-11. The word “resistance bases” which occurs in the Draft has been subsequently corrected into “liberation bases”—Andhra Secretariat).

“4. Our revolution, in many respects, differs with the classical Russian Revolution: but to a great extent similar to that of Chines Revolution. This perspective is likely not that of general strike and armed uprising, leading to the liberation of the rural side; but the dogged resistance and prolonged civil war in the form of agrarian revolution, culminating in the capture of political power by the Democratic Front in the process of a bitter struggle for the New Democracy.

“5. The stage has come wherein even day-to-day struggle of the toilers has to be contemplated and planned in the form of armed or partially armed resistance (Chinese way).

This is the perspective opened before us.

“Either we understand the perspective clearly ad plan out our work in future or we drift into spontaneity and all sorts of deviations and disruption. The revolutionary history and its rich lessons demonstrate before us the path we have to choose. The path is that of Chinese liberation struggle under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the practical, political and theoretical leader of the mighty colonial and semi-colonial revolution” (Ibid, p.17).

In a nutshell, what are the main conclusions that emerge from all that is quoted above?

First, the offensive started by the imperialist-bourgeois-feudal combine against working class, peasants, toiling masses, is nothing but unleashing a civil war. That is, we are decidedly drawn into a civil war.

Second, the civil war must be fought out by the revolutionary forces with armed resistance and guerilla warfare, besides other forms of struggle.

That is the question of armed resistance is forced on the agenda.

Third, the course of our struggle is and will be basically on the lines of the Chinese struggle i.e. establishment of liberation based through prolonged guerilla warfare, and nourish the liberation armies to completely liberate the country from the imperialist-big business-feudal clutches.

How has the Polit Bureau appreciated these points?

It pooh-poohed them as a call for struggle without people, as only an attempt to appear heroic, and guerilla warfare in cooperation with rich peasants, etc.

It does not stop at this. It accuses the Andhra Secretariat for its alleged contrasting of the Russian and the Chinese revolution and concludes that there is nothing new to learn from the Chinese revolution besides the Russian revolution. The following will go to show it is so.

“And finally the Secretariat comes to the following conclusion as a climax to a line in which people occupy no consideration:

“Keeping all this in view, in areas where we are a good proportion in the masses like certain parts of Andhra, Kerala, Bengal, etc. the time has come to think in terms of guerilla warfare (Chinese way) against military onslaughts of Nehru Government which is bent upon mercilessly liquidating us”.

“Guerilla warfare against Nehru Government in cooperation with rich peasants—can you beat it? This is not a joke, for the rich peasant in some of these areas like Telangana is supposed to be a vacillating ally through the entire period of people’s Democratic Revolution. Can anything be more illusory than this? The Secretariat knows what havoc association with rich peasants played in Andhra when the Party had to face repression and yet this kind of stuff is solemnly written. And of course in the document there is no call for bringing over the people, for People’s Democratic Front, for bringing over the majority of the masses in these areas where you are strong or weak. Where you are strong—guerilla warfare in

cooperation with the rich peasant—such is their call. Guerilla warfare cannot be carried on by those who have not got the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of the territory. Even this major fact is forgotten. This reference to guerilla warfare is only an attempt to appear heroic after having yielded the interests of the revolutionary masses to the rich peasants and other sections of the bourgeoisie." (Tactical line, cycloed copy, p45, emphasis ours).

"Guerilla warfare against the Nehru Government in cooperation with the rich peasants can you beat it?" —thus goes the jeering, heckling and ridiculing of the Andhra Secretariat. It may be good ridicule, but bad Marxism. Why is it the Polit Bureau wonders at this? Were there not in history instances of guerilla warfare, not only 'in cooperation' with rich peasants, but also in alliance with certain sections of the bourgeoisie? Was not the partisan warfare in Hitler-occupied Europe conducted not only in cooperation with the rich peasant but also in cooperation with sections of the bourgeoisie? Did not partisan acts during the period of 1905-1907 in Russia, take place when the rich peasant was considered still an ally of the proletariat? Is it not a fact in the recent Chinese Revolution the guerilla warfare could be conducted with even the middle bourgeoisie in the United Front? Numerous instances such as these can be cited. But, our Polit Bureau is satisfied with ignoring all this experience and trying to make a polemical joke out of it.

Curiously enough, the Polit Bureau puts a big condition for the guerilla warfare, without which it would be a crime to think of beginning guerilla warfare. That the guerilla warfare without the support of the people is unthinkable for any revolutionary is beyond dispute. But, what the Polit Bureau states is not that. It attacks the Andhra Secretariat because they have suggested that "in areas where we are in a good proportion in the masses like certain parts of Andhra, Kerala ad Bengal, the time has come to think in terms of guerilla warfare". Is it not an elementary truth that the revolutionary forces have to adopt different forms of struggle, including guerilla warfare, if the counter-revolutionary forms of struggle, put in force by the enemy, force upon you such? Do you abondon pasrtisan resistance on the plea that the "overwhelming majority" of the people have not yet supported you? Is it not a fact that sometimes in history the revolutionary forces have to carry on partisan warfare even while they are still in a minority in order to nourish their armies and grow into a majority from a minority? It is correct to say that our partisan actions will be and must be in the objective interests of the majority. But it is quite another thing to put a big condition that one should start thinking in terms of guerilla warfare only when one has won over the "overwhelming majority". If this concept of the support of "overwhelming majority" is extended and applied, can one dream of partisan warfare in any province in the whole of India at the present stage? Is it not again another indisputable truth that without partisan warfare today as the main form of struggle the revolutionary forces in India would be liquidated by the Nehru Government, without any revolutionary resistance worth calling? Does the Polit Bureau think that the revolutionary forces today can nourish their armies if confined to the forms of struggle that we have been adopting formerly in the period when both the revolution and the counter-revolution had not reached such a stage as at present?

The Polit Bureau counterposes the task of organising armed guerilla resistance to the task of mobilising the overwhelming majority of people. This is nothing except a failure on its part to realise the urgent and immediate particular task of the hour, while arguing about general, constant, fundamental task, i.e. mobilisation of the entire people. From where does this understanding and confusion arise? The Polit Bureau evidently equates the armed guerilla resistance with that of organising an insurrection. Of course, it is stupid that any revolutionary Party embarks upon giving a call for insurrection without the majority of the proletariat as well as the majority of toilers are won over to the side of revolution. But can we extend this point as a precondition to guerilla resistance, i.e. a form of struggle called forth by the objective conditions of revolution? Absolutely not.

Neither the Andhra Secretariat has advocated issuing a call for insurrection nor the answer of the Polit Bureau is to the point raised by them. It was for such "revolutionaries" who raise the question of general, fundamental tasks when faced with particular tasks that Lenin delivered a stern lecture:

"As hitherto, the basis and chief content of our work is to develop the consciousness of the masses. But let us not forget that, in addition to this general, constant and fundamental task, times like the present in Russia impose other particular and special tasks. Let us not become pedants and philistines, let us not evade these special tasks of the moment, these special tasks of the given forms of struggle, by meaningless references to our permanent duties, which remain the same in all times and circumstances". (Lenin: Selected Works, Volume I, Two Volume Edition, Moscow 1947. p.449).

In this connection it would be instructive to quote a passage from Manuilsky:

"It must not be forgotten that Fascism learned from defeated Tsarism how to prevent the Communists from "utilising legal possibilities", that it has surrounded its mass organisations with an espionage system of such wide ramifications as the Tsarist secret police never succeeded in organising". (From Peace Front to People's War PPH p.293)

In our case, have not the imperialists and their lackeys not only adopted them all but also stooped to measures of fascist repression even in the initial stages so as to try to destroy the growing revolution? Is it not exactly, when the forces of revolution and counter-revolution are unequal, and for a time the revolutionary forces have to put up with a stronger enemy, that partisan form of struggle becomes not only necessary but also inevitable? Here is what Mao says.

"When a strong enemy launches its campaign of armed invasion and occupation against a weak nation, it is obvious that the forces and weapons of the enemy are in a favourable position while those of the invaded and oppressed nations are in an unfavourable one. But when the latter not only disdains capitulation, but attempts at self-emancipation, then guerilla war becomes a form of warfare in which inferior forces and arms are opposed to superior forces and arms". (Aspects of Chinese Anti-Jap struggle, HPH pp.1-2).

Of course Mao had made the above statement in a slightly different set of circumstances, i.e. when Japanese imperialism had directly invaded the country and when the entire people including the ruling Kuomintang bourgeoisie took up their stand in opposition to it etc. But the analogy holds good on the issue in discussion before us at present. In our country when the anti-imperialist revolutionary upsurge was advancing with lightning speed and gathering momentum the imperialists and the native big reactionary bourgeoisie who were mortally afraid of being swept away entered into a counter-revolutionary collaboration against the revolution. The revolutionary forces in a way are faced with a situation as to meet the offensive of the counter-revolution which for the time not only possesses superior forces and arms but other temporary advantages such as illusions about the bourgeoisie in considerable sections of the people, etc. The issue that stands clearly before the working class and its Party, the Communist Party as the vanguard of the revolution is whether to resist this counter-revolutionary offensive with suitable forms of struggle or collapse before the offensive without any resistance.

The imperialist-big business-feudal combine with its organised strength has set down to the liquidation of the revolutionary forces and it is precisely in order to preserve our forces from destruction and to advance to national emancipation without capitulation, that makes it incumbent on us to take up the question of partisan warfare. Has the Polit Bureau taken into serious consideration all this? No.

However, the Polit Bureau may argue that it has said in the Tactical Line that we use all the forms, including the guerilla warfare, corresponding to the needs of the situation. But, this statement does not take us very far. Why? Once it pooh-poohs the suggestion of the Andhra Secretariat, of guerilla warfare, in areas where we are in a good proportion of people like Andhra, Kerala and Bengal in which the class enemy launched his terror rule with arms it repudiates the fact that guerilla warfare in the circumstances of today has become the basis and main form of struggle set before the Indian revolutionary movement as a whole.

Here it would be far from complete, if we do not examine the political and ideological roots of this deviation and distorted outlook of the Polit Bureau so that it can be fought out in the concrete. What are they?

Firstly the Polit Bureau has woefully failed to examine the question of "forms of struggle", In the background of socio-economic-political conditions prevailing in our country, when the issue of armed guerilla struggle was raised by the Andhra Secretariat. Secondly, an erroneous, mechanical, anti-Marxist understanding and conception of proletarian hegemony gripped the Polit Bureau, as a consequence of which they landed in putschist and adventurist tactics on the working class front in cities and paralysing and liquidationist tactics on the peasant front in the countryside. Thirdly the Polit Bureau has failed to understand the colonial set-up of our country with its historic peculiarities distinguished from that of any capitalist, independent, imperialist country in its social, economic and political factors.

Now let us proceed to examine each, in its full details.

Below are the two principal theoretical propositions by which a Marxist must be guided while examining the issue of "forms of struggle", as enunciated by Lenin:

"Let us begin from the beginning. What are the fundamental demands which every Marxist should make of an examination of the question of the forms of struggle? In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of Socialism by the fact that it does not bind the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It admits 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 the course of the movement. Absolutely hostile to all abstract formula and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands, an attentive attitude to the mass struggle in progress, which with the development of the movement, with the growth of class consciousness of the masses, with the accentuation of economic and political crises, is continually giving rise to new and more varied methods of defense and offence. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle that are possible and that exist at the given moment only, recognising as it does that new forms of struggle unknown to the participants 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 "systematisers" 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 the question apart from the concrete historical situation is to be ignorant of the very rudiments of dialectical materialism. At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political and national-cultural conditions, conditions of life and other conditions, different forms of struggle appear in the foreground 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". (Partisan Warfare—V.I.Lenin, Marx-Engels-Marxism. Moscow Edition, pp.164-165).

That our Polit Bureau has not only guided itself on these lines but quite the contrary, can be proved; firstly, because of its insistence on, and dogged clinging to, the strategy of political general strike and countrywide armed uprising; secondly, because of its refusal to undertake a historical examination of the question, i.e. the objective economic, social, political conditions prevailing in the country.

Has the Polit Bureau, while and nauseam repeating the terms "crisis", "upsurge", and "revolution", understood what they actually mean in terms of objective political evaluation? Evidently not. If it had understood, it would have characterised the

period as a period of civil war; it would have examined carefully the 'retaliatory' forms of struggle the class enemy had unleashed against the revolutionary forces and it would have placed before the revolutionary forces and their vanguard, the Communist Party, proper, practicable, suitable forms of struggle, while discarding some, as the situation demanded of it; it would also have discussed the problem in concrete and laid down before the Party what form or forms of struggle have to appear more and more in the foreground as the principal or main form or forms of struggle and what are becoming the secondary and auxiliary forms of struggle. The Polit Bureau did nothing of the kind and only went on repeating abstract "recipes" in a dogmatic and sectarian manner, while the reformists opportunistically began to sing their songs characterising every militant and armed resistance of the people as "adventurism", "anarchism", and "terrorism", in the same typical fashion that the Nehru - Patel Government and its henchmen are doing day in and day out. Here curiously enough both the right reformists and left sectarians who pretend to "fight" each other had fought each other in fact from the same bourgeois nationalist point of view which has nothing to do with the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary point of view. In the final analysis both the trends logically lead to disrupting and liquidating the revolutionary struggle. Neither of them analyses the question in its historical background nor can either evolve correct forms of struggle for the fighting people. Both cheat them and betray them. The two classical examples in the recent history of the Party are the Joshian reformist running away before the ruthless repression of the enemy and the reckless adventurist forms of struggle advanced by the Polit Bureau under B.T. Ranadive's leadership.

Now coming to the point, the post-war mass anti-imperialist revolutionary wave had begun almost at the very close of the anti-Fascist war. In spite of the fact that the big bourgeois leadership of the National Congress had attempted to sabotage, disrupt and misdirect the rising tide of the revolution, and inspite of the fact that the Communist Party failed to understand the nature and significance of it and to consciously lead it, nevertheless it was reaching huge proportions and qualitatively new heights. Of course it was also true that by the very virtue of it, the Communist Party of India placed itself at the head of the revolutionary upsurge which began to strike terror into the hearts of both imperialism and native reaction. It is on the crest of this revolutionary wave that the Congress leadership stretched its counter-revolutionary hand for collaboration with British Imperialism, sealed the final betrayal which took the shape of the Mount batten Award. In a nutshell the situation was, irrespective of the sabotage of the National Congress leadership, irrespective of the lack of conscious political guidance by the Political Parties concerned, irrespective of the counter revolutionary communal riots and one hundred thousand other manoeuvres of imperialists, and finally irrespective of the political vacillations and mistakes of the Communist Party of India while leading the post-war upsurge, the anti-imperialist national emancipatory war went on extending, deepening and reaching every new heights. This all-embracing national liberation war assumed the characteristics of a civil-war because of the fact that the big bourgeois leadership of Congress with its political following entered the scene direct as a counter-

revolutionary force along with imperialism. The fact that the basic objective factors which gave rise to this post-war anti-imperialist upheaval continue today unabated, and the fact that the Communist Party and the working class along with the other toiling millions under its leadership has taken up the challenge of reaction to lead the revolution to its successful conclusion without surrender, create the conditions of a civil war, and the period in which we are living can be characterised in strictly scientific political terms only as a period of civil war. Anybody who refuses to see the truth that the revolution has already begun, that classes and masses are in open political action and that there is actually a civil war on sees nothing and cannot claim a grain of revolutionary outlook in him. None should allow this reality of civil war to be submerged in phrases like "crisis", "upsurge" "revolutionary movement", etc. so as to lose its complete and comprehensive meaning and significance, as our Polit Bureau has done.

Next, one ought to proceed to examine the forms of struggle that the revolutionary people are using and the "retaliatory" forms of struggle the counter revolutionary Government has unleashed against the revolution to counter and smash it. Lenin had pointed out "the general course of the Russian Revolution after October, and the sequence of events in Moscow in the December days, have supplied striking proof of one of the most profound propositions of Marx: "Revolution progresses by giving rise to strong and united counter-revolution i.e. it compels the enemy to resort to more and more extreme measures of defence and in this way devices more powerful means of attack". ("The lessons of Moscow Uprising", by Lenin, Selected Works, Moscow Two volume edition, p.445, Volume 1).

The post war revolutionary stage besides its sweep, tempo and tenacity, has assumed new forms of struggle—higher and militant in character. From the usual, normal "Peace time" struggles such as peaceful strikes, demonstrations and agrarian struggles, i.e. they have advanced to qualitatively new heights such as political strikes, demonstrations, armed resistance forcible seizure of grain and land from the landlords and zamindars; starting with R.I.N. Mutiny and several revolts in the army and police, the innumerable political battles fought by the militant working class throughout the country, the Telangana agrarian revolt, the Tebhaga struggle in Bengal, Punapra—Vayalar and North Malabar struggles and hundreds of peasant revolts all over the Indian sub-continent only go to demonstrate this truth. Thus the people had begun outright smashing the decadent socio-economic fabric of this feudal ridden colonial society and creating a new order of their own, free from all imperialist oppression and mediaeval exploitation.

The imperialist enemy on his part is not sleeping, but devising further brutal "retaliatory" forms of struggle, besides the usual routine repressive laws and methods. He entered into compromise with the Congress leadership, to set up a puppet regime of reaction, of counter revolution with an extended social base. He had managed to make the different Provincial Congress legislatures, even before the final pact of Mountbatten Award, enact ordinances, goonda acts, and Public Safety Acts, etc.—all of them were deliberately and solely to be used against the rising revolutionary forces. By closing down all progressive and revolutionary

press and by banning all meetings and demonstrations he had struck at all propaganda and agitation by the people's forces. By banning all the active mass and class organisations, he had made their functioning extremely difficult and even impossible. By his repressive fascist laws he had brought all strikes under unlawful actions. By indiscriminate arrests and detentions of all revolutionary workers and leaders hurling them into the concentration camps he had nullified every vestige of civil liberty and individual freedom of action. Every smallest agrarian struggle, every normal strike, struggle of the workers and employees and every democratic agitation and mobilisation including that of Mahila Sangh is tear gassed, lathi-charged and subjected to shooting. He had set up thousands of counter-revolutionary goonda gangs in the name of "Home-guards", "Congress volunteer corps" and "Anti-Communist Defence Committees" in every territory. Huge armed constabulary which is nothing but a semi-military force with modern weapons such as tommy guns and machine guns is built and constantly let loose to commit all sorts of atrocities and sadistic terror against the people. In areas like Telangana, Andhra, etc, the police and army are given powers to shoot down any person they suspect to be a Communist and already hundreds of Trade Union and Kisan workers and leaders have been shot dead after they are arrested and captured: Virtually mediaeval fascist terror rule is clamped down upon the people.

Would it not be utter bankruptcy on the part of any revolutionary which would prove disastrous to the revolution, if he were to stick to the "usual", "normal" and "peaceful" forms of struggle against these fascist "retaliatory" forms of struggle of the class enemy? That this would be so is proved from our own recent history.

First let us take the methods of organisation. It was incumbent upon us to seriously set to organise the Party on illegal lines in the face of growing repression. But what did we do? Even after the December 1947 resolution of the Central Committee and for that matter even after the Second Party Congress, the Party leadership was living in a legalist utopia. Party Committees that were elected during this period-a Central Committee of 31 with a Polit Bureau of nine, Provincial Committees and District Committees of 21-30, with a Secretariat of seven to nine etc. -were not on the basis of illegal functioning; every contact exposed, every Party member including the newly recruited put in the open list and Party funds and huge properties left fully vulnerable, etc., all this was a testimony to our spontaneity and failure to change and adapt the Party organisation to the new situation. The resultant damage is the living experience of every unit in the entire Party.

Mass and class organisations continued working only as long as their full legal functioning was allowed by the class enemy; but once he began to strike at their leading Committee and personnel they were almost paralysed. With total banning of them in many provinces the mass and class organisations went out of existence for all practical purposes except in name. Non-realisation of the immense necessity of illegal organisation and functioning of the Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, etc. led to practical liquidation of them before the brutal onslaught of the enemy. The attempt to push through along the old, usual, normal methods landed us in the present state of paralysation.

It is clear from the above that whereas in the former days our main form of conducting Party and mass organisations was legal, the present conditions impose upon us the illegal party and mass organisations as the main form. Either one has to adapt to it or get liquidated.

In the same way whereas in earlier times, we had the legal press as the main form for agit-prop. in to-day's circumstances it can only be illegal press as the main form of agit-prop.

In the former days, economic and political strikes, demonstrations and meetings, etc. were useful forms of struggle, to mobilize the people, to fight for the demands, to school and temper the working class and toiling millions, to nourish the revolutionary forces for the final assault on the class enemy. But to repeat them in the same manner under the conditions of white terror of the enemy would not only lead to a failure to achieve the above stated objectives but ends in annihilation of the cadre, disruption and liquidation of the revolutionary movement. Even in cases where conditions permit and demand such forms of struggle, one must be prepared to meet the armed offensive of the enemy with armed resistance and so train the participants as to deliver a swift attack and effect a timely retreat without draining the last drop of blood and ending in total smash up of the fighting vanguard.

The refusal to change the forms of struggle and adapt suitable new forms of struggle has led the Polit Bureau into adventurist actions in the Trade Union front, and jails, etc., along with "bold strike calls" which either did not materialise at all or only partially materialised with smashing blows from the enemy and incalculable losses. No serious Revolutionary Party would issue calls of general strikes fixing the date months ahead of the event, if it were to take into consideration the fascist terror rule that is raging in the country. Such calls served only as signals for the class enemy to attack the fighting people, even before their mobilisation and organisation for the strike struggle had hardly begun. Many a general strike call, including the March 9 Railway Strike call, go to corroborate the same and nothing else. To characterise them as mere left sectarianism is not enough; it is crude infantilism. Yet what our Polit Bureau hd followed was this and this alone.

In the name of revolutionary situation and the necessity of adopting militant forms of struggle, including armed resistance, what did the Polit Bureau give? It advocated mass frontal clashes with the police and military. It is precisely against such tactics and forms of struggle that Lenin warns: "It would be folly to contend against artillery in crowds and defend barricades with revolvers", and advocates new tactics: "These tactics are the tactics of guerilla warfare. The organization required for such tactics is that of mobile and exceedingly small units, units of ten, three or even two persons". The Polit Bureau has neither cared to learn from the above teachings of Lenin nor bothered to draw lessons from the big struggles such as Punapra-Vayalar, North Malabar and similar other struggles. These struggles suffered devastating defeats, mainly because of the erroneous forms of struggle adopted, i.e. tactics of contending against artillery in crowds.

What did our Polit Bureau say when armed guerilla resistance against the armed offensive of the Government was suggested by the Andhra Secretariat? It vehemently attacked the proposal from two angles. Firstly, it straight away asserted that armed guerilla resistance can be undertaken only after the majority of the people are won over! What did this imply? It clearly implied that without building a "united front" in advance, no armed guerilla resistance can be contemplated. Has this counterpoising anything to do with Marxist-Leninist approach to the problem? Nothing whatsoever. Armed guerilla warfare is a form of struggle which no revolutionary desires to "impose" upon the revolution according to one's own subjective desires and fancies. It is called forth by objective political conditions, conditions which not in a small degree are imposed upon the revolution by the class enemy and his methods of "retaliation", i.e. counter-revolutionary terror, etc. It is stupid.

to think the class enemy lets loose his fascist white terror only after the Communist Party has won the majority of the people politically! Can a revolutionary evade the question of meeting the enemy's terror with counter terror, with proper form of struggle, except at his peril? But our Polit Bureau asks the party and the fighting people not to resort to armed guerilla resistance until they have won the majority of the people to side. This stand reduces itself to either mass armed resistance and mass frontal attacks against the enemy's military and police or no resistance at all but only go on doing propaganda to build democratic front while on one hand the united revolutionary movement that is built is being liquidated! This is nothing but crude subjectivism which works out forms of struggle from inside its won head, so to speak, which detaches the question from the concrete reality of civil war the enemy had let loose against the revolutionary people.

Are we to sit with folded hands, if the class enemy attacks us, until we have already become a overwhelming majority? None except the opportunist coward can propose this. Here is a passage from Lenin to teach us on the issue. While "intellectuals" like Plekhanov, etc. were condemning the armed actions of the workers during the revolution in 1905, Lenin chastised them thus: "Marx regarded world history from the standpoint of those who make it without being in a position to calculate the chances infallibly before hand, and not from the standpoint of an intellectual philistine who moralizes: It was easy to foresee... they should not have taken to...."

"Marx was also able to appreciate that there are moments in history when the desperate struggle of the masses even for a hopeless cause is essential for the further schooling of these masses and their training for the next struggle.

"Such a statement of the question is quite incomprehensible and even alien in principle to our present day quasi Marxists, who love to take the name of Marx in vain, to borrow only his estimate of the past, and not his ability to make the future. Plekhanov did not even think of it when he set out after December 1905 "to put the brakes on".

"But it is precisely this question that Marx raises, without in the least forgetting that he himself in September 1870 regarded insurrection as a desperate folly.

"The bourgeois canaille of 'Versailles' he writes .....presented the Parisians with the alternative of taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. In the latter case the demoralization of the working class would have been a far greater misfortune than the fall of any number of "leaders"-Lenin-Marx-Engel's Marxism. Moscow Edition, pp 181-185.

When the bourgeois curs of France had attacked the working class of France when conditions to organize an insurrection were not yet mature, Marx, who had warned the working class earlier against any premature uprising, came forth with a decisive lead to the revolutionary people. In our cases had we organized an insurrection as such against the collaborationist regime? Except the Nehru Patel Government and its servitors nobody dares to utter such a lie. The fear of growing revolution made the Government resort to fascist white terror, with a view to wipe out the vanguard of the revolution before they gain the upper hand. The only alternative placed before us under such conditions is either to accept the challenge and fight it back with suitable forms of struggle or succumb before the enemy without a struggle. A revolutionary can only accept the former and never the latter.

Of course one point need be clarified here. The passages quoted above emphasize the standpoint of the revolutionary, even in the unfavourable circumstances described therein. But in our case neither is our struggle 'desperate' nor is our cause "hopeless", for that matter the alternatives before are not merely: either to accept a defeat after a fight or succumb without a fight. Why? On a world scale a decisive shift is there in favour of our camp i.e. the camp of Democracy and Socialism. Secondly, we are living in a period of daily accentuated and deepened capitalist crisis which unleashes powerful forces of struggle. Thirdly, we are living and working in a country which is a granite mine of immense revolutionary potentialities i.e. tremendous agrarian revolutionary and the national liberationist forces under the leadership of the working class and the communist party. Lastly for more than four years in the post-war period, our people have been fighting death defying battles, and are already in the thick of liberation struggle.

It is no more a question before us whether we like to be dragged into a civil war or not. Irresistible logic of life has already dragged us into it: We are deep in it. Now the question is to adopt proper and suitable forms of struggle to victoriously come out of it. Those that resist this and refuse to adopt armed partisan warfare in the name of political general strike and country wide armed uprising and those that denounce partisan warfare calling it adventurism, anarchism and terrorism on the pretext that there is no "revolutionary situation", represent nothing but two extreme poles of bourgeois nationalist outlook from two ends i.e. left sectarian and right reformist.

Here we would like to put a straight question to the Polit Bureau. Are you prepared to take up the position: either the Communist Party organizes the political general strike and a countrywide armed uprising, i.e. classical strategy of insurrection

or there is no other way and no other form of struggle to over through the enemy and capture power? Now the class enemy had already seized the initiative from us and created and is further creating conditions where we cannot organize such an insurrection: this is a clear truth if you take the stand that the "classical insurrectionary" form of struggle is the exclusive form of struggle for capture of power then what is your way out of the situation as we are facing at present in our country? You cannot show any alternative fighting line except to unreservedly accept the "Chinese path" i.e. the path of armed partisan warfare, coupled with the agrarian revolution to create liberation bases and liberation armies, while building a People's Democratic Front to defeat the enemy and establish People's Democracy. It is not anti Marxist to cling to set forms of struggle, and make a fetish of them irrespective of any and every objective condition of the revolution? It is so and is in urgent need of rejection and refutation.

Why does the Polit Bureau cling to this anti Marxist stand? As we have already pointed out above this deviation arises from an erroneous, mechanical and un dialectical understanding of the concept of proletarian hegemony. Here we do not propose to go into the question of discussing what is meant by proletarian hegemony in the national liberation struggle. The issue under discussion is about the ways and means of establishing that hegemony. What does the Polit Bureau say: "It is thus clear that hegemony cannot mean hegemony of the Party without working class being the action, but directly the hegemony of the working class led by the Party, the entire working class in action." Leaving aside the ingenious interpretations and twists for the above quoted passage, in plain and simple language it is: The working class can establish its hegemony only through a political general strike and armed uprising; the working class cannot secure hegemony through the Communist Party and the hegemony of the Party is not to be considered as working class hegemony. No other forms of action by the working class except the political general strike and armed rising is considered as "action" worth calling it. This is the position of the Polit Bureau on this question in a nutshell.

Is it permissible for any Marxist to draw such a vulgar distinction and differentiation between the hegemony of the working class and the hegemony of the Communist Party? Is it not creating a Chinese wall and a big gulf between the class and the Party?

How is the Communist Party defined by Stalin?

The Party must be first of all, the vanguard of the working class...."

The working class without a revolutionary Party is an army without a general staff. The Party is the General Staff of the proletariat....".

The Party is not only the vanguard detachment of its class. If it desires really to direct the struggle of the class it must at the same time be the organized detachment of its class...."

"The Party as the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The party is the highest form of organization of the proletariat. The Party is the principal

guiding force within the class of the proletarians and among the organizations of the class...etc." (J.V. Stalin, Leninism, Moscow Edition, p.85,87

Thus the Party is not only the vanguard, the organized detachment and the General Staff of the working class but "a part of the class, closely bound up with it by all the fibres of its being". Is it not atrocious to depict an "unbridgeable gulf" between the Party and the class? It is definitely so.

If one were to point out that our Party as it stands today is lacking in the genuine characteristics of a Bolshevik Party, i.e. its weak ideological and theoretical grounding, its defective class composition, etc., it does not thereby question the basic premises discussed above. It only draws our attention to the fact that great many tasks face the Party today, to build it as a real revolutionary party on the lines of Lenin-Stalin Bolshevik Party.

Now coming to the question of proletarian hegemony, as deduced by the Polit Bureau from the above stated erroneous outlook, is it correct to counterpose the hegemony of the Party to the hegemony of the working class?

Here is a passage : "Comrade Stalin teaches that the independence of the Communist Party" must be the basic slogan of the advanced elements of Communism, for the way for the hegemony of the proletariat can be prepared and the latter can be achieved only by the Communist party" (pp21-22 – Colonial people's Struggle for liberation, PPH.)

It is by the Party that the hegemony of the proletariat has to be prepared and achieved. The concept "proletarian hegemony" is inconceivable without the Party: the hegemony of the Party cannot but be the hegemony of the working class. At the same time, the question arises about the actual and practical actions of the working class as a class by itself besides the role of its Party, the vanguard and the organized detachment of the class. It would be erroneous if one were to foolishly deduce, from the severe criticism we have levelled against the Polit Bureau on this point, that the working class as a class can be left to inaction, while its Party only leads the armed struggle in the country side. Nothing more vulgar and farther from the truth exists than such an understanding.

The working class must organize itself by uniting the entire class. It must adopt suitable forms of struggle, and accumulate its strength while secretly lending every conceivable support to the armed struggle in the countryside. It will send its activists, whose safety in the working class centers in the serious jeopardy, to join the armed guerilla bands. Because of its strategical position, i.e. directly linked with production of various goods including the war material, its key position in the transport services and its existence in the heart of the enemy controlled cities and centers etc. it will be in a favourable position to assist the armed warfare starting from sabotage of war production to supplying information about the enemy in innumerable ways. Where conditions of white terror have not yet reached extreme proportions, and the overwhelming part of the class in unity can organize the strike struggle it will unhesitatingly utilize those opportunities too. From facts and figures

which have appeared in the bourgeois press itself, which we know are far from complete and suppress most such news, we see that during the three months October, November, December 1919 alone, no less than hundred and fifteen strikes took place in different industries. From this alone we are able to see what possibilities still exist for conducting strike actions of the working class provided correct tactics are adopted. Here, of course, it would be out of place to go into too many details of it. The point to be cleared is that without the working class being solidly organized and united under the leadership of the communist party, the final victory in the liberation struggle is unthinkable. The actions and organization of Chinese working class during the period of the twenty years under white terror and its role in the final liberation of cities is a living example before us. It could establish its hegemony over the national liberation struggle through the communist party, without a political general strike and armed uprising as the exclusive method as our Polit Bureau holds to be.

Here are the brilliant passages from the report of comrade Wang Ming at the seventh congress of the communist International which discuss the relation of the party, working class unity and the National United Front, to establish the hegemony of the working class in the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle.

“But it must be noted that most of the colonial and semi-colonial countries [with the possible exception of Brazil], and including China, the Communists underestimated the importance of united front and trade union unity tactics, were unable to take the lead in and organise the growing urge of the mass of workers towards the united front and trade union unity and have thereby surrendered the initiative to the reformists [e.g. India] and even to the national reformist government [e.g. Mexico].

“Only by establishing a united front and a united trade union movement of the working class, can be communist party really ensure a proletarian frame work in the anti-imperialist people’s united front and greatly facilitate its struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the people’s anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. On the other hand, the establishment of a united anti-imperialist front considerable facilitates the formation of a united front and a united trade union movement of the working class as has been shown now by experience of Brazil, and before that, in the period of 1925 – 27 by the experience of China.

“True in many colonial and semi-colonial countries [for example in the non-soviet parts of China] where the revolutionary trade union movement is underground, it is, of course impossible to copy the methods and forms of the struggle of the mass of workers for the united front and trade union unity used in countries where the trade union movement is legal. In these countries, the Communists and the supporters of the revolutionary Trade Union movement must find such forms and methods of work and struggle as would assist them, in the end, to achieve their aim—the establishment of a united front and a united trade union movement of the working class. I believe that one of the best and most effective methods and forms

of struggle for a united front and trade union unity in those countries where our movement is illegal is the shifting of the main stress in trade union work to the establishments of small, illegal, red trade union groups, to work within all existing workers mass organizations which enjoy legal or semi-legal existence, in order to win over these organizations" [Wang Ming: The Revolutionary Movement in the colonial countries. From Report of the Seventh World congress of the communist International, Modern Books, London, 1936, pp. 34-35].

"The hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement is no abstract slogan no empty phrase but a concrete matter which expresses itself primarily in ideological political and organizational leadership by the proletariat and its party of its allies in the revolution [peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisies], beginning with the partial struggle for their immediate demands and ending with the struggle for state power. The hegemony of the proletariat does not come of itself; the communists must win it by means of systematic and unselfish practical work.

"Soviet power cannot be established without the corresponding preparation of the great masses and the communist party for the revolutionary struggle. Soviet power can be established only when the level of the class struggle is sufficiently high and when the forces of the proletariat and the peasantry, led by the Communist Party, are sufficiently great. Further more, the Communist Party of China has won the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle and has established soviet power over a considerable part of the country precisely because from the very beginning of its development [as far back as 1924-25] and to this very day it has appeared and is appearing before the entire people as an independent force and the vanguard in the anti-imperialist struggle, and because it resolutely directs and leads the struggle of tens of millions of peasants for land i.e. the agrarian revolution. The Communist party of Brazil is beginning to come forwards as an independent political factor in the entire life of the country and is on the road to becoming a really mass party precisely at the present moment when it has taken the initiative in creating the National Liberation Alliance as a concrete expression of the anti-imperialist people's front in the present conditions of Brazil, and is actively coming forward in the revolutionary mass struggle against imperialism and its agent the reactionary Vargas Government.

"On the other hand, in those countries where the Communists were for a long time unable to create an anti-imperialist united front, the Communist Parties have not yet become strong, mass parties. These facts show that without the active participation of the Communists in the general people's and national struggle against imperialist oppression it is inconceivable that the Communist groups or the young, numerically small Party can be transformed into a real mass party, and without this the hegemony of the proletariat and Soviet power in their country is not to be thought of. Without a doubt imperialism is the principal and basic enemy of all the colonial peoples, and if the Communists are unable to come out against imperialism in the front ranks of the people how can the people recognize in the Party its vanguard and leader? [Ibid, pp. 36-37.]

Lastly, our Polit Bureau clean forgets that our country is a colonial country as distinct from developed capitalist country. This factor has a number of consequences which can be forgotten only by political bankrupts. Besides its bearing on the class strategy, this has its influence on the fighting strategy of the proletariat. Firstly, the agrarian revolution as the axis of the colonial revolution is its distinguishing feature from that of an advanced capitalist country. The world capitalist crisis first and foremost bursts forth as an agrarian crisis in the colony, the agrarian appendage of imperialist economy. Overwhelming majority of the people—more than 90%—live in the countryside, slowly bound with and largely dependent upon agrarian economy. The peasantry is the main ally of the proletariat and the chief force in the agrarian—democratic revolution. The small numerical strength of the proletariat concentrated in the cities while on the one hand affording scope and possibility for the imperialists and their native lackeys to keep them under their military grip and occupation. On the other also provides the fighting proletariat and its Party the scope to fall back on the vast countryside, which does not entirely depend for the existence on cities and where the modern communications to facilitate the enemy's military movements are far less developed and where liberation bases can be established and liberation armies can be nourished through prolonged armed resistance linked with the agrarian revolution. The Polit Bureau exactly by ignoring this colonial feature failed to assess the advantages and disadvantages objectively placed before the fighting proletariat and the people and landed in all mechanical, dogmatic and sectarian forms of struggle and fighting strategy.

However, to understand this path, correctly described as the "Chinese Path" as a smooth, happy, cement-road-like path spells bankruptcy for a revolutionary. This is a hard and difficult path which calls forth from the revolutionary forces, immense sacrifices undying heroism dogged tenacity, super-human organizational abilities and abounding faith in the cause of People's Democracy and Socialism. But there is no other easier path for success in the struggle for national liberation and People's Democracy in the conditions present today. Sectarian rejection or reformist opportunist interpretation of this "path" only leads to disaster and liquidation of the revolution. That is how matters stand.

The world Communist understanding of the above discussed line is clearly and unambiguously stated in the following passages:

"The path taken by the Chinese people to defeat imperialism and its lackeys and to establish the People's Republic of China is the path that should be taken by the peoples of the various colonial and semi-colonial countries in their fight for national independence and People's Democracy" {Liu Shao-chi, Opening speech at the Peaking Conference, COMMUNIST. Vol., No. p.120}.

After explaining the Chinese Path he again asserts:

This is the main path followed in China by the Chinese people in winning their victory. This path is the path of the people of other colonial and semi-colonial countries for winning emancipation where similar conditions prevail" (Ibid, p.121)

Discussing armed struggle and creation of liberation armies, Liu Shao – Chi states: “It is quite clear that without such armed forces to defend themselves, the peoples of the colonies and semi –colonies will not be able to achieve anything for themselves. The existence and development of working class organisation and the existence and development of a national united front are closely connected with the existence and development of such an armed struggle. This is the inevitable path of many colonial and semi- colonial peoples in the struggle for their independence and national liberation.

“The fact that the armed struggle can and should become the main form of the people’s liberation in many colonies and semi- colonies does not at all mean that it should not be combined with other forms of struggle ——————”

Again, the editorial in “For a Lasting Peace” For a people’s Democracy” dated May 19, 1950, leaving no loophole for the opportunist interpretation of the line, while approvingly mentioning the armed struggle “in a number of districts in India formulated them:

“In the present conditions as shown by the experience of China armed resistance to the Imperialist plunderers is the most effective form of the national liberation movement in colonial countries. It seriously weakens imperialism and in doing so strengthens the front of peace.”

Thus it once and for all bars all doors for opportunist distortion of the political line, which by seizing a phrase here and word there attempts to nullify it. The earlier formulations in Liu Shao –Chi’s speech and the editorial of “For a Lasting peace, For a People’s Democracy” of January 27, 1950, such as “this path should be taken by the people of many colonial and dependent countries and the formation of liberation armies “whenever necessary” internal conditions allow it”, etc., were seized upon by both the trends of left and right deviationists for their own purposes. But their ingeneous arguments that the term “many colonial” countries does not imply our country also and that the clause “whenever internal conditions permit” indicates that the present internal conditions of India do not permit such a course, etc., are now proved to be nothing but a hoax and as fraud, after the above – quoted editorial.

The failure of the Polit Bureau to understand the present stage of the Indian revolution and how it has risen to new qualitative heights can only be explained in one way. Their understanding of world capitalist crisis and “revolutionary upsurge is only formal and skindeep. Or else, how can they dare to characterise the timely and valuable suggestion of Andhra Secretariat as “only an attempt to appear heroic” and as “a dressing for reformism”?

As a matter of fact, if this experience of the Andhra Secretariat – the experience of Telangana – had been transmitted to other provinces the situation in our country today would have been totally different. Take for example Kerala. Why is it that there has set in a stagnation in the movement and its advance during this period in Kerala? Do we not all know that the Kerala movement, by the time of the Second Congress was a movement more advanced in certain respects than that of Andhra?

It state people's movement, which enacted the mighty struggles of Vayalar and punapra, is older than that of Telangana. Its strong base (stronger than in any other province) among the poor peasantry and the working class, its mass Communist party membership of 15000 steeled in many a battle, though of course fettered by our old reformist policies are facts of common knowledge to us all. The present stagnation and the deadlock in provincial Committee Secretariat is to be primarily accounted for by the failure of the Polit Bureau in guiding, them with proper forms of struggle. If only the Telangana experience were grasped by the Polit Bureau and proper lessons drawn and given to Kerala, that province today would have been another challenging base of guerillas against the collaborationist government. Kerala would have been neither paralysed, as it is now, nor Telangana guerilla base would have been left more or less isolated as is the case now. This is not the proper place to make a full, detailed assessment of the damage caused to the revolutionary movement in India by the situation. We will deal with it separately.

Again, Andhra Secretariat has pointed out that the Chinese revolution has had to traverse a different path from that of the Russian revolution, characterising the former as extending from the rural side to the cities and the latter from the cities to the rural side. Without going into exhaustive discussion on this subject here, i.e. what historical conditions have been responsible for deciding the respective courses, etc. one must take note of the peculiarities characterising each.

How does the Polit Bureau react to this? After delivering a long lecture, it sum up its position thus: "Why had the Chinese to go through the protracted civil war? Just because the leadership of the Chinese Communist party, at times, failed to fight for the hegemony of the proletariat, for bringing the majority of the masses in alliance and under the leadership of the proletariat, because it followed tactical policies which led to a disaster". (Tactical Line cycloid copy, p.49).

And in support of this contention it goes on to give passage after passage from the Colonial Thesis of the Communist International, where the mistakes of the Chinese Communist party are detailed.

This explanation by the Polit Bureau of the protracted Chinese Civil war is indeed staggering. The leadership of the Communist party of India has miserably failed not only in the past to learn from the mistakes of the Chinese Communist party, as was specifically instructed by the Communist International. But, also now, it refuses to learn from the richest experiences of the Chinese revolutionary struggle.

How did the Communist International instruct us?

"Living, concrete, historical dialectics, such as were demonstrated by the now completed first period of the bourgeois – democratic revolution in China, will give to the Communists, specially those working in the colonial countries, a valuable experience which it is necessary to study diligently in order to draw the correct conclusions, especially from the mistakes committed in the course of Communist work in the colonies." (Colonial Thesis of the Communist International. PPH, p.39).

What are the mistakes committed by the Chinese Communist party? As pointed out by the Communist International, they are, in a nutshell: Communist party's failure to develop the agrarian movement, its failure in developing independent actions of the revolutionary masses, its failure to struggle for its hegemony and tailing some times, behind the Kuomintang bourgeoisie and some times behind the Wuhan wing of the Chinese petty bourgeoisie.

Has the Communist party of India "studied diligently" and learnt from these mistakes? If so, how are we to explain the entire reformism that has been practised by us and which landed us finally in support of the collaborationist Nehru Government till the second party Congress? We ignobly failed, this is a fact. Now, the line chosen by the polit Bureau to explain the Chinese path undoubtedly has led and will lead to refusal to learn from the richest experience of the Chinese path, the path they have carved out at the cost of inhuman suffering, enormous sacrifice in life, blood and tears. To explain away the entire Chinese path by means of the mistakes the Chinese Communist Party has committed is scandalous and vulgarisation to the extreme.

When we see this we are reminded of Comrade Stalin's remarkable enunciation, while answering the slanderous attack by the "Left Opposition" on the Communist International.

"Comrade Kamenev said that the policy of the Communist International was responsible for the defeat of the Chinese revolution and that we "bred Cavaignacs in China". Comrades, this sort of thing can be said of the party only by one who is ready to commit a crime against the party. This is the sort of thing that the Mensheviks said of the Bolsheviks during the July defeat of 1917, when the Russian Cavaignacs appeared on the scene. In his article "On Slogan", Lenin said that the July defeat was "a victory for the Cavaignacs". The Mensheviks at that time were burning with malice and asserted that Lenin's policy was responsible for the appearance of the Russian Cavaignacs. Does Comrade Kamenev think that the appearance of the Russian Cavaignacs during the July defeat of 1917 was due to the policy of our party, and not some other cause? Is it decent for Kamenev in this case to imitate the Menshevik gentlemen? (Laughter). I did not suspect that the comrades of the opposition could sink so low — we know that the Revolution of 1905 suffered defeat and that moreover, that defeat was more profound than the present defeat of the Chinese revolution. The Mensheviks at that time said that it was the extreme revolutionary tactics of the Bolsheviks which were responsible for the defeat of the 1905 Revolution. Does Comrade Kamenev here too propose to take an example from the Menshevik interpretation of the history of our revolution and cast a stone at the Bolsheviks? And how are we to explain the defeat of the Bavarian Soviet Republic? By the policy of Lenin, perhaps, and not by the relation of class forces? How are we to explain the defeat of the Hungarian Soviet Republic? By the policy of the Communist International, perhaps, and not by the relation of class forces? Has our policy in 1950 correct or not? How

can it be asserted that the tactics of a party can abolish or reverse the relation of class forces? Was our policy in 1905 correct or not? Why were we defeated at that time? Do not the facts go to show that if the policy of the opposition had been followed the revolution in China would have suffered defeat sooner than actually was the case? What are we to say of people who forget the relation of class forces in time of revolution and who try to explain everything by the tactics of a party? Only one thing can be said of such people – that they have abandoned Marxism". (Stalin's Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, Lawrence and Wishart, pp.250-251. Emphasis ours).

Of course there is one difference. Our Polit Bureau tries to explain the causes for the protracted nature of the Chinese civil war, where as the Opposition in the Communist International whom Comrade Stalin was addressing, had attempted to explain the defeat of the Chinese Revolution by the supposed wrong tactics of the Communist International, given to the Chinese Communist party. To put it sharply, the positions taken by both, our Polit Bureau and the "Left" Opposition in the Communist International will be thus:

Because of the wrong tactics given by the Communist International to the Chinese Communist party, the Chinese Revolution was defeated – says the "Left" Opposition.

Because the Chinese Communist party has committed a number of tactical mistakes leading to failure to establish proletarian hegemony the revolution was defeated at the time, and this in turn led to protracted civil war – says the Polit Bureau.

Is there any real difference between both the analysis apparently it may look to be, but, actually, they both start from the same promise and both of them analyse the causes for the defeat in the same manner. According to one, but for the tactical mistakes of the Communist International, the Chinese revolution would have been a success. According to other, but for the tactical mistakes of the Chinese Communist party, the Chinese civil war would not have been protracted, i.e the revolution would have succeeded then and there alone. Here the malady is, as Comrade Stalin says, to forget the decisive factors, i.e the existing concrete correlation of class forces.

Thus the Chinese path is a path which has become historically inevitable and not, as some try to explain away, the result of a failure here and a tactical mistake there.

One must pause here and ask: Does the Polit Bureau's analysis go to educate or mis- educate the party ranks?

It is precisely because the Polit Bureau has failed to understand the whole set of class relations that have led to the Chinese path, it has refused to appreciate the new in it and apply it in concrete to the revolutionary struggle in India, that it has pitched its tent on, and refused to budge from, the slogans of general strike and

countryside armed uprising. For Communist it is neither permissible to cling only to the set forms nor make any unconditional repudiation of any of them.

In the words of Lenin:

"Right doctrinarianism persisted in recognising only the old forms, and became totally bankrupt, for it did not perceive the new content. Left doctrinarianism persists in unconditional repudiation of certain old forms and fails to see that the new content is forcing its way through all and sundry forms, that it is our duty as Communists to master all forms, to learn how, with maximum rapidity, to supplement one form with another to substitute one for another, and to adopt our tactics to every such change not called forth by our class or by our efforts." (Lenin's Selected Works, Moscow Two Volume Edition. 1947, Vol.II, P.635).

Thus, it becomes necessary that the communists should assess the complete objective conditions in deciding which form of struggle in which situation become either dominant (i.e. the main form), or subsidiary, or out of place, etc. Otherwise it would be un dialectical pedantry and not Marxism.

Our polit Bureau, in its document tactical Line, had gone whole bog in attacking the very conception of the Chinese path, and summarily dismissed it as nothing new. But, the editorial of "For a Lasting Peace, For a people's Democracy" Jan 27, 1950. Point out thus:

"Analysing the conditions of the victory of the Chinese people's liberation revolution, Liu Shao - Chi, Vice - President of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in his speech to the Peking Trade Union Conference of the countries of Asia and Oceania, stated: "The path taken by the Chinese people —————— is the path that should be taken by the people of many colonial and dependent countries in their struggle for national independence and peoples democracy".

The Polit Bureau not only sat unconcerned and unworried for months after the speech of Liu-Shao-Chi had appeared in the organ of the Cominform Bureau but, even after the editorial in the organ had pointed out as above, it has not a word of self-criticism to say in its latest document on this subject! Enough harm has already been done. Is it not imperative that the Central Committee considers this question in all its seriousness afresh?

## VI

### THE NATIONAL QUESTION

In the period of reformism, the party pursued the grossly servile policy of tailism to the bourgeoisie all along the line. The manifestations of this on the national question were particularly disastrous. In the name of "self determination", We tailed behind the communal Chauvinism and separatism of the Muslim League leadership and supported their reactionary disruptive slogans at every stage. There by we brought grist to the mill of the imperialist policy of "divide and rule" and its culmination in the religious - communal partition of India. Not only this, we extended our support to the reactionary communalism of the Scheduled Caste Federation

leadership and also came out with the pernicious slogans of "separate electorates", separate settlements etc. for the Untouchables -also in the name of 'self-determination'

It is well-known what havoc our policy in this period on the national question caused. The Second party Congress generally corrected these mistakes of ours and called for correct application of the slogan of self-determination of nationalities.

But instead of doing this, the polit Bureau since the second party Congress, has gradually advanced the left-sectarian slogan of "self-determination of toilers" as against self-determination of nationalities. It did this in the name of "fighting reformism and bourgeois nationalism" and in the name of "proletarian internationalism". In pursuance of this left-sectarian line, the polit Bureau in effect opposed all national movements, movements for linguistic cultural provinces and dissolution of feudal states- (as in Hyderabad) and by advocating in all cases(as in the case of Kashmir) joining the Indian Union by itself as the demand of the Communist party. This policy in effect meant nothing else but subservience to big bourgeois chauvinism, lending support to the policy of national oppression pursued at the dictates of imperialism by Nehru - Patel Government representing the interests of the dominant (iujerati - Marwari big bourgeoisie.)

Here, we are not going into all details of a complete picture of the national question, but only into those aspects that are necessary to bring out sharply the worst mistakes committed by the Polit Bureau in this period.

India is a multi-national country. British Imperialism retarded the growth of the nations and national entities by pursuing a policy of divide and rule in order to suppress the peoples of all nationalities that had either grown up or were growing. It created artificial administrative divisions based upon splitting up the nationalities and propped up feudal princedom in the native states for the suppression of the people (many of these princely states themselves being composed of various nationalities being split up and divided) like Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. It created excluded and partially excluded areas as to suppress the tribal peoples and to stifle their growth into full-fledged nations. It fanned and provoked communal conflict and riots culminating in the infamous partition under the Mountbatten Award.

The same policy is being carried forward by the Indian big bourgeoisie installed into power by British Imperialism as its junior partner. Not satisfied with virtually reducing the status and powers of the provinces under the new Constitution to that of a District Board or Municipality, it has refused the demand for linguistic provinces even under such a set-up. It has stifled the growth of all nationalities by saving and supporting feudal princedom in the states and by refusing the demand for dissolution of the states (like Hyderabad, Travancore- Cochin, Mysore, etc.) and their component parts being rejoined to the respective linguistic areas, etc. It continues the oppression of the tribal and semi-tribal people's by refusing to grant them autonomous regions.

The demand for autonomous linguistic provinces and for the dissolution of the States merging their component parts in the respective linguistic areas (Vishal Andhra, Samyuktha Karnatak, Samyuktha Maharashtra, United Kerala, etc, etc.) is a progressive democratic anti- Imperialist demand. It is a demand directed against the Imperialist - feudal - big bourgeois combine.

The Chauvinistic reactionary elements of various nationalities in India are trying to utilize these national movements - to serve their own reactionary purpose. As against this, it is the task of the Communist party to seize the initiative and lead these movements as part of the general struggle for national independence and people's Democracy. This is how proletarian hegemony in the national question is exercised.

As against this, what does the Polit Bureau's policy amount to?

The crassest instance of it can be seen in the slogans it gave regarding the demand for dissolution of Hyderabad State and rejoining its component national parts to the respective linguistic areas.

Here is what the Polit Bureau document on Tactical Line says on this.

"One of the Andhra comrades has suggested that our slogan for Hyderabad should be rejoining of the different linguistic areas of the State to their provinces. Even when virtually it is said that the slogan is to be realized as part of people's democracy, in the present context it plays a reactionary role. Firstly, in so far as the slogan is suggested as a slogan of immediate practical action it is nothing but a para-phase of the bourgeois version of bringing the State administration to the level of provincial administration and has no revolutionary merit in it. It only satisfied the rich peasant and whets his appetite for procuring land. Secondly, is effectively sidetracks the attention from a united fight against Indian Union administration, from the fight for democracy, from the fight against compromise it is hatching, the CA, elections, etc. It gives a free charter to the Union administration. Those who think that joining the territories to the provinces automatically eliminates feudalism are wrong. The feudal structure, the economic foundations will remain and yet the territories may become part of the linguist provinces - even if the Nizam is formally removed under such a scheme, the compromise structure remains. All that happens is that the bourgeoisie is put in exclusive possession of the State by the Communists. For Communists to fight for such a thing is anti- revolutionary." (Tactical Line document Emphasis ours).

Let us examine these arguments of the Polit Bureau.

According to the Polit Bureau, firstly, it is "nothing but a paraphrase of the bourgeois version of bringing the State administration to the level of provincial administration." Else where, in the same document the Polit Bureau it is characterized as a "mere paraphrase of Sardar Patel's slogan of bringing the state to the administrative level of provinces."

Such an argument is nothing but the most shamefaced attempt to screen the arch - reactionary policy of the Nehru - Patel Government with regard to the Nizam and the feudal order in Hyderabad State represented by him. It is another face of the same old bankrupt discredited thesis of the Polit Bureau that bourgeoisie "compelling" feudalism in the State to "reform to its advantage" and so on.

What is the reality? The Nehru - Patel Government has rejected the demand for liquidation of the Nizam's order and the disintegration of Hyderabad State. It is consolidating the Nizam's rule and the rotten feudal order in the State and continuing the policy of national oppression of the different nationalities in the State. It is trying to throw dust into the eyes of the people over this oppressive policy by talking of "free elections", a "Consamby" for the state and so on. And here comes our Polit Bureau - virtually defending this policy - from another end, from the "revolutionary" end and saying that in so far as "immediate practical action" is concerned, the big bourgeoisie is already doing what is wanted by those who demand the disintegration of the State and rejoining of the different linguistic areas of the State to the respective provinces; that it is already "raising the state administration to the level of provincial administration"; and so on.

Could there be a more shameless apologia for the big bourgeoisie for the Nehru - Patel predatory policy, than such an "ultra - Leftist" stand? It is the Polit Bureau's policy in fact that is nothing but a paraphrase of Sardar Patel's slogan.

Secondly, the polit Bureau condemns the slogan as "only satisfying the rich peasant and whetting his appetite for procuring land. Hence once again is expressed nothing but the crudest and most bankrupt left- sectarianism. The most important driving force of the various movements of the nationalities is the peasantry fighting under the leadership of the working class. This is what the Lenin- Stalin principles on the national question teach us, this is what is meant by Stalin's dictum that the "national question is a peasant question". But our ultra - revolutionary polit Bureau dismisses all this by saying that the slogan 'only satisfied the rich peasant and whets his appetite for procuring land' ————— refusing even to learn from life and to see how the slogan of dissolution of the state, etc., is a mobilizing slogan that douses vast masses of the common people of all the three nationalities.

One has only to contrast this bankrupt understanding of the Polit Bureau with the brilliant and pregnant formulation balabushovich makes in connection with the Telangana struggle: "It was the combination of the anti - feudal and the national struggle which conditioned the particular acuteness of the peasant struggle in Telangana". (emphasis ours). A combination which - we may add the Polit Bureau tried best to obstruct and hamper by its crude left sectarian pooh - poohing of the national question.

Finally, the Polit Bureau reaches the limit of left sectarian heights by declaring off - hand that the slogan "effectively side - takes attention from a united fight against the Indian Union administration", that it "gives a free charter to the Indian Union administration", etc. etc. This is nothing but the cheapest deinagogy. The

slogan far from "side tracking" in fact focuses and strengthens a united fight against the Nehru - Patel regime. It is a weapon of the most effective and concentrated fight against the Indian Union administration, in as much as it enables the combination of the anti - feudal and national struggle; it is the Polit Bureau's slogan that gives a free charter to the Nehru - Patel administration.

To cover up its bankrupt policy, the polit Bureau resorts to statements such as: "Those who think that joining the territories to the province automatically eliminates feudalism, are wrong" (Emphasis ours). Whom is the polit Bureau accusing of thinking such things? The Andhra secretariat - which has been placed at the head of the armed struggle against the Nizam for the last four years - certainly cannot be accused of such a fatuous thing. In fact, these and similar words of the Polit Bureau are only window dressing for its real policy - a policy of national nihilism - as is made clear by the opening words of the above quoted statement- "Even when virtually it is said that the slogan to be realized as part of people's democracy, in the present context, it plays a reactionary role". (Emphasis ours).

Such has been the polit Bureau's policy on one of the most important and crucial issues that have arisen on the national question during this period - and that too, in connection with the great Telangana struggle.

The name line the line of countering the demand for autonomous linguistic provinces and dissolution of States by advancing the left - sectarian slogan of "self determination of toliers as against self determination of nations was virtually advocated by the Polit Bureau in regard to the movements for United Kerala , Samyuktha Karnatak, Samyuktha Maharastra, etc. Members of the Polit Bureau have consistently. Pooh - poohed the Vishal Andhra slogan and accused the Andhra Secretariat of "small nation chauvinism" of "Kulak nationalism" and so on, in supporting and consistently fighting for Vishal Andhra slogan. The Polit Bureau did this in the name of 'proletarian internationalism', in the name of fighting 'bourgeois nationalism" of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nationalities.

Is this 'proletarian internationalism'? Lin Shao- chi, in his article "Internationalism and nationalism" (publish in Pravda July 7-9-1949), characterizes such 'Internationalism" in the following words:

"Therefore it is clear that if the communists of oppressed nationalities fail to carry out concrete opposition to imperialist oppression and to fight for national liberation, if they merely regard "Internationalism" as an empty ornamental phrase - they are betraying proletarian internationalism and descending to the level of low and contemptible Tortskyits, agents of Imperialism".

There is no need to add anything more on this aspect.

Has the Polit Bureau by its policy fought "bourgeois nationalism" of the oppressed nationalities? On the contrary. In the course of the last two years, during which the movement for linguistic provinces came forward and gained ground considerably the polit Bureau's policy, wherever it was applied, only led to the entire initiative in this movement passing un challenged into hands of the bourgeoisie

of the oppressed nationalities and helped it to utilise this movement for its own reactionary purpose.

In fact the Polit Bureau has not combatted small-nation chauvinism. All it has done is to aid and strengthen the reactionary chauvinism and national oppression of the ruling big bourgeoisie, the agents of Anglo-American Imperialism.

The Polit Bureau member from Andhra in his letters to the General Secretary as early as the middle of 1949 brought to his notice the growing acuteness of the national question, of the question of linguistic Provinces and emphasised the urgency of the working-class Party seizing the initiative on this question from the hands of the bourgeois elements who were diverting it into wrong and reactionary channels. But the Polit Bureau turned a deaf ear to all this and never learnt anything from what actually life was demonstrating with such force.

All the erroneous theories on the national question were developed by the General Secretary in a document written by him into a complete system on the basis of the wrong anti-Stalinist theory that "all national movements are bourgeois movements" and that therefore only the slogan of "self-determination of toilers" is a valid slogan. This document was sent to all members of the Central Committee as an inner-Central Committee document for discussion. Fortunately, however, before matters proceeded further, the line of the Cominform Bureau came and saved the Party from further debacles.

The slogan of the Polit Bureau of "self determination of toilers" pitted against the slogan of self-determination of nations is nothing new in the history of distortion and revisionism of Marxism-Leninism. While drawing up and discussing the new programme prior to the VIII<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1919, Bukharin had advanced precisely this slogan and Lenin had attacked and smashed it in the course of the report he delivered at the Congress, in the following words:

"I have to say the same thing with regard to the national question. Here too the wish is father to the thought with Bukharin. He says that it is impossible to admit the right of nations to self-determination. A nation implies the bourgeoisie together with the proletariat. And are we, the proletarians, to recognise the right to self-determination of the despised bourgeoisie? That is absolutely incompatible: Pardon me, it is compatible with what actually exists. If you eliminate this, the result will be sheer fantasy..."

"I want to recognise only the right of the toiling classes to self-determination". Says Bukharin. That is to say, you want to recognise something that has not been achieved in a single country except Russia. That is ridiculous....

"We say that account must be taken of the stage at which the given nation finds itself on the way from mediavalism to bourgeois democracy, and from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy. That is absolutely correct. All nations have the right to self-determination..... The vast majorities, most likely nine-tenths of the population of the earth, are on the way from mediaevalism to bourgeois

democracy and from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy. This is an absolutely inevitable course. More cannot be said because it would be wrong, because it would not be what actually exists. To reject the self-determination of nations and insert the self-determination of the toilers would be absolutely wrong because this statement of the question does not reckon with the difficulties, with the zig-zag course which differentiation within a nation takes...

“Our programme must not speak of the self – determination of the toilers because that would be wrong. It must speak of what actually exists. Since nations are at different stages on the road from mediaevalism to bourgeois democracy, and from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy, this thesis of our programme is absolutely right. With us there have been very many zigzags on this road. Every nation must secure the right to self-determination and that will make the self-determination of the toilers easier” (Lenin, Selected Works, Two Volume Edition, Moscow, Volume II, pp.441-444. Emphasis ours).

All the above was said by Lenin while concretely speaking of self-determination in relation to countries like Finland, Poland and Germany. Lenin attacked the slogan of self- determination of toilers and justified the slogan of self-determination of nationalities—even in the context where the proletarian revolution had already succeeded in Russia and when the question of self-determination arose concretely in relation to countries like Finland, Poland and Germany where a revolutionary situation for Socialist revolution was fast maturing. If that be so how much more are Lenin’s words applicable to the situation in India today—a semi-colonial country where the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the main is yet to be completed.

The slogan of the Polit Bureau of self-determination of toilers proceeds from the anti-Leninist, anti- Stalinist premise that “all national movements are bourgeois movements.” The Polit Bureau applies this premise to its Trotskyite understanding of the post-war period being dominated by the one exclusive contradiction, namely, that between capital and labour, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and arrives at this conclusion by the following syllogism.

All national movements are bourgeois movements.

All bourgeois movements in this period are reactionary.

Hence all national movements in this period are reactionary.

Hence only the slogan of self determination of toilers remains:

This whole thing is nothing but a piece of the crudest Trotskyist monstrosity.

The Polit Bureau’s premise itself is a Trotskyist distortion of Leninism. Lenin and Stalin teach us that the national question is in essence a peasant question, though anti-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie may also participate in the national movements, and even lead them for a time. Therefore, the Lenin-Stalin doctrine of proletarian hegemony in the democratic revolution and of fighting alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry demands that the working class should seize the leadership on the national question and consolidate its alliance with the peasantry. On this question by combining the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle with the national struggle into one stream of people’s democratic revolution.

Here is how Comrade Stalin asses the significance of the national question in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

"The national problem is a part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution, apart of the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The question presents itself as follows: Are the revolutionary possibilities latent in the revolutionary liberation movement of the oppressed countries already exhausted or not; and if not, is there any hope, any ground to expect that these possibilities utilised for the proletarian revolution, that the dependent and colonial countries can be transformed from a reserve of the imperialist bourgeoisie into a reserve of the revolutionary proletariat, into an ally of the latter?

"Leninism replies to this question in the affirmative, that is, to the effect that it recognises the latest revolutionary capabilities of the national liberation movement of the oppressed countries, and to the effect that it is possible to use these for the purpose of overthrowing the common enemy, for the purpose of overthrowing imperialism. The mechanics of the development of imperialism, the imperialist war and the revolution in Russia wholly confirm the conclusion of Leninism on this score."

"Hence the necessity for the proletariat to support resolutely and actively to support—the national liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent peoples". (Stalin : Problems of Leninism. pp:61-62).

The above gives the correct understanding of the national question—and not the Trotskyist thesis of the Polit Bureau.

The bankruptcy of the Polit Bureau Trotskyite thesis—that all the possibilities of the national question have been exhausted since the present period is the era of the straight fight of capital versus labour on a world scale and nothing else—and the correctness of the Stalinist analysis are demonstrated with striking force by the course of the Second World War itself. During the Second World War, Europe itself comprising advanced and medium capitalist countries—was the arena of a great liberation struggle of a number of nations against the Hitlerite yoke, a struggle in which, for a period, Communist Parties closely linked the national liberation struggle with the struggle against the capitalists and landlords, discredited by capitulation to Hitlerite Germany or collaboration with it—and with the struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists and landlords. Hilary Mine sums this up in the following words:

"In this way, at the sources of the Socialist revolution in the People's Democracies, lies the inter-twining, already during the period of the occupation, of the national liberation struggle with the revolutionary struggle against the capitalists and landowners".

Similarly, Comrade Zhdanov, in the report he delivered at the Nine Parties Conference in September 1947 stressed the importance of the national liberation aspect of the struggle in the period following the Second World War, when American Imperialism has risen to take the place of Hitler Fascism. Comrade Zhdanov said as follows:

"Under present conditions imperialist countries like the U.S.A.. Great Britain, and the states closely associated with them become dangerous enemies of national independence and the self-determination of nations, while the Soviet Union and the new democracies are a reliable bulwark against the encroachments on the equality and self-determination of nations....

"Communists must support all the really patriotic element who do not want their countries imposed upon, who want to resist their enthrallment to foreign capital and to uphold their national sovereignty. The Communists must be the leaders in enlisting all antifascist and freedom loving elements in the struggle against the new American expansionist plans for the enslavement of Europe?"

".....A special task devolves on the fraternal Communist Parties of France, Italy, Great Britain and other countries. They must take up the standard in defense of the national independence and sovereignty of their countries".

If such continues to be the potency of the national question in the present period even in the cases of the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, how much more is it so in the case of a semi-colonial country like India where the People's Democratic Revolution "cannot but bear in the first place an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character?"(Zhukov).

Thus both the Polit Bureau's premise and its conclusions on the national question are nothing but a repudiation of Marxism-Leninism.

The policy of the Polit Bureau on the national question has had very harmful consequences for the movement during the last two years. We are here pointing out only a few of these. In a period when the movements for Samyuktha Maharashtra, Samyuktha Karnatak, United Kerela. etc., were rising and gaining ground the policy of the Polit Bureau left the Party paralysed and helpless to make any influence on these movements and lead them on correct rails, and thus gave the bourgeoisie a free hand to sabotage them. In the case of Vishal Andhra movement, whatever the Andhra Committee was able to do was inspite of the line of the Polit Bureau—and taking advantage of certain formal loopholes left in it.

Similarly, this policy of the Polit Bureau led to the party taking the imperialist Mountbatten partition for granted: failing to effectively expose its evil effects and the manner in which imperialism was utilising Indo-Pakistan conflict to strengthen its grip on both the states; and failing to build up the unity of the democratic movements in the Indian Union and Pakistan as the indispensable condition for the liberation of both these dominions from imperialist oppression.

It has become of utmost importance today to root out all these mistakes and to adopt a correct policy on the national question based on Marxism-Leninism, because the national question assumes tremendous importance in the present stage of our People's Democratic Revolution in India. The ruling clique not only continues the imperialist policy of national oppression; but in order to disrupt the democratic movement and retain its monopolistic domination incites national conflicts all round—between Bengalis and Biharis, between Tamilians and Andhras, between Bengalis and Assamese, and so on. It pursues a policy of racial, communal and national

discrimination all round. And above all the imperialist policy of divide and rule continues in a new form after partition—by fanning and utilizing Indo-Pakistan conflict in order to strengthen its own grip tighter on both the states.

As against this the correct policy on the national question will alone enable us to fight effectively against the disruptive policy of the imperialist-feudal-big bourgeois combine and to smash the Mount batten Partition. The fight for self-determination of the various nationalities and the tribal peoples of India and Pakistan is integrally linked up with the struggle for national liberation from Imperialist oppression. It must be led by the working class and the Communist Party.

Correct national policy towards the tribal and semi-tribal peoples and their demand for autonomous regions is absolutely essential in the Present period of extending armed struggle and formation of armed guerilla bases leading to liberation bases leading to liberation bases and formation of liberation armies. "The people of such areas in suitable cases, shall have the right to secede from the State by a democratic verdict.

It is the combination of the anti-feudal with the national struggle that will give the most effective striking power to the revolutionary forces, taking to the new forms of struggle linked up with agrarian revolution in the present period. That is the lesson of Telangana.

The Communist party must stand and fight for the equality of all nations and semi nationalities growing as nations, equal development of their language, culture and economic life; self-determination of all nationalities and semi-nationalities to the point of secession, unity of all these nationalities into a voluntary union.

The Lenin-Stalin principle of national equality and self-determination has been applied with brilliant success in the U.S.S.R. and constitute the model for the solution of national, racial and communal conflicts in all countries. It is by correct application of these principles alone that we in our country can achieve the solution of communal and racial conflicts the equality of all nationalities, elimination of religious-communal division of peoples, and finally, unification of India and Pakistan into a voluntary union of People's Democratic Republics. The people Democracy in the Indian sub-continent can be realised only by overthrow of both the reactionary regimes of India and Pakistan.

## VII

### ATTACK ON COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG

This self-critical note, however, will be incomplete without touching on the formulations of the Polit Bureau attacking Com. Mao Tse-tung.

It is evident for anybody who has read the Tactical Line that our Polit Bureau has delivered a pungent and arrogant attack on the leader of the Chinese Communist Party and his views contained in the pamphlet New Democracy. How did this find a place in the document of the Polit Bureau? Perhaps, the Polit Bureau might have felt that without attacking the formulations of Comrade Mao Tse-tung on New

Democracy they could not brush aside the issues raised by the Andhra Secretariat, which extensively quoted from Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings in support of their stand.

We now proceed to discuss, not the propriety or otherwise of attacking a brother Party in the way the Polit Bureau has done; we confine ourselves to the political aspect of it, i.e. what wrong politics on the part of the Polit Bureau led to such attacks, what harm it did to the revolutionary movement in India, and that it had affected the bonds of solidarity with the fighting Chinese people and their Party, the Communist Party.

First, let us see what the Polit Bureau, had to say on the pamphlet "New Democracy" by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, which is acclaimed as the thesis for the Chinese Communist Party that guided them throughout their period of People's Democratic revolution in China:

The Tactical Line says:

"Firstly, we must state emphatically that the Communist Party of India has accepted Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as authoritative sources of Marxism. It has not discovered any new sources of Marxism beyond these. Nor for the matter of that there is any Communist Party, which declares adherence to the so-called theory of new democracy alleged to be propounded by Mao and declares it to be a new addition to Marxism. Singularly enough there was no reference to this new addition to Marxism in the Conference of nine parties. Under these circumstances it is very wrong for a Section of the C.C. leadership to take upon itself the task of recommending new discoveries, which one of the most authoritative conference of Marxists has not thought fit to recommend. The Andhra Secretariat should have thought ten times before making such a formulation and taking an original stand on the question of this contribution. It is impermissible for Communists to talk lightly about new discoveries, enrichment, because such claims have proved too often to be a thin cloak for revisionism (Tito, Browder, etc.).

"Secondly, the documents of the Andhra Secretariat quote Mao's outlook on New Democracy in support of its view but does not even mention by a word that a Conference of leading Communist Parties including the CPSU(B) took place, that at that Conference, Zhdanov submitted a report explaining People's Democracies and that this Conference was hailed as the opening of a new chapter in the struggle against capital. A very precise class character of the People's Democracy is given there—a characterisation which excludes the bourgeoisie from power. But all this does not find a place in the document.

"This is not the place to sit in judgment over the formulations of Comrade Mao in his New Democracy. At the same time since the Andhra Secretariat quotes Mao against the understanding of world situation and people's democracies as given by Zhdanov and CPSU(B), it is necessary to examine some of the formulations". (Tactical Line, cycloed copy, pp. 41-42).

It is one thing if the Polit Bureau were to correct the Andhra Secretariat, which in its over enthusiasm for the victorious Chinese struggle and for the glorious party and its leader who is leading it, had said that the contents of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's New Democracy are a "new discovery", etc. That would have been correct. But what the Polit Bureau has done is not that. It has seized this opportunity and had gone full length in attacking down-right the pamphlet on New Democracy are a "new discovery", etc. That would have been correct. But what the Polit Bureau has done is not that. It has seized this opportunity and had gone full length in attacking down-right the pamphlet on New Democracy by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Does it attack and criticise it in a straight forward and Bolshevik manner? No, it does not. It indulges in insinuations and sly suggestions which deride the pamphlet New Democracy downright. The manner and method it has chosen is not in good taste for any marxist. And, in this case, for no less a body than the leadership of the Communist Party of India.

They pretend not to sit in judgment over Comrade Mao Tse-tung's New Democracy. But, in reality, it made all or nearly all remarks which constitute enough judgment on Comrade Mao.

Let us examine how it is so.

What does the Polit Bureau mean when it says "singularly enough there was no reference to this new addition to Marxism in the Conference of Nine Parties", and that "one of the most authoritative Conference of Marxists has not thought fit to recommend" the pamphlet "New Democracy"? It is not plain that this amounts in substance to nothing but saying the Comrade Mao's New Democracy is rejected by World Communist thought?

Let us ask: Was the Nine parties Conference convened with the sole purpose of, or was it the occasion to, assess the various theoretical works and recommend some and reject others? Not only was there no reference to or recommendation of Comrade Mao's New Democracy at the Nine Parties Conference, there were a lot of Marxist theoretical works for which there was equally no reference or recommendation at the conference. Does the Polit Bureau mean that all that was not referred to or recommended should be taken as only condemned there?

This method of borrowing the name of the Nine Parties' Conference in aid of one's own dubious readings, is any thing but Bolshevik.

The Polit Bureau says that the Andhra Secretariat should have thought "ten times before recommending" such pamphlets as New Democracy. True, indeed. But, the Polit Bureau must have thought hundred times before coming out with open attacks on Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his formulations, when the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Comrade Mao is conducting such historic struggle as the Chinese revolution.

The Polit Bureau says "such claims of discoveries have proved too often to be think cloaks for revisionism (Tito, Browder, etc.)". It is patent on the face of it for anybody to see that what the Polit Bureau is talking here is that the pamphlet New Democracy, is under fire here. Is not the Polit Bureau placing Comrade Mao Tse-

Tung's New Democracy on a par with Browder's reformism and Tito's Trotskyism? And it is to be noted that, this staff is solemnly written when the whole imperialist press is slandering Comrade Mao that he is an "Eastern Tito", etc.!

The imperialists did it with a purpose of maligning the Communist Party of China and disrupting the solidarity of the World Communist Front. Our Polit Bureau drifts into assisting the slander.

Peculiarly enough, the Polit Bureau talks as though the formulations in New Democracy are in total variance with the formulations made in Zhdanov's Report. There is nothing farther from truth than this. Is it not a fact that Comrade Mao's article on Dictatorship of People's Democracy, which stuck to almost all the fundamentals he had made in his pamphlet New Democracy, is published not only in the organ of the Information Bureau of Communist and workers' Parties, but also was issued as a pamphlet in Moscow by the CPSU? It is plain to anybody who is acquainted with A.B.C of Marxism that it is not Comrade Mao's formulations that are at variance with Comrade Zhdanov's but it is the interpretation of the Polit Bureau of the formulations of both Comrade Mao and Comrade Zhdanov, which are totally wrong, and at variance with Marxism-Leninism.

The Polit Bureau does not stop here.

While on the one hand saying that "this is not the place to sit in judgment on Mao", on the other it gets down to it in the name of answering the Andhra Secretariat, thus:

"Some people cannot understand why the Communist Party of China, far from being unsympathetic to capitalism actually promotes its development. What China does not want is foreign imperialism and native feudalism and not capitalism which is too weak."

"Are we to suppose that while the revolutionary workers of France, Italy, England, the revolutionary masses of countries like India, the great U.S.S.R. and Eastern Democracies are engaged in fighting world capitalism, the Communist Party of China proposes to rebuild capitalism on the soil of China? Are we to understand that capitalism, which has ceased to play the progressive role, is reassuming it on the soil of China? Are we to understand that we have returned, so far at least as China is concerned, to the theory that Socialism cannot be established without capitalism having run its full course in every country—at least in China and revise the Leninist understanding about colonies and backward countries going gradually to socialism without necessarily going through the rule of capital and capitalism? And is it not elementary Marxism that capitalism in its declining period will never advance production but hampers it, leads to crisis, intense exploitation—and hence you cannot promote it? Is it not elementary Marxism that capitalism in its declining period will never advance production but hampers it, leads to crisis, intense exploitation and hence you cannot promote it? Is it not elementary Marxism further that if you undertake to promote capitalism you will be inevitably promoting the dictatorship of the capitalist class? It is elementary Marxism to know that the class,

which dominates economically, will dominate politically and that a Party which seeks to promote the rule of capital in economy will end in promoting capitalism, the system of wage-slavery and unbridled exploitation? It is obvious that this promoting capitalism would mean promoting the rule of a fascist clique like Chiang's rule, for capitalism can only exist as fascism in China in present day conditions" (Tactical line, cycloed copy, p.42.)

Thus ends the long harangue. Would it be a harsh judgement if it is characterised as the cheapest demagogic? But this is the only characterisation any serious marxist can make about it.

When is it and where is it that Comrade Mao has made the above quoted formulations? When the Chiang Kai-shek clique was trying to play on the instincts of private property, bent upon scaring away certain sections and classes from the United National Front, when the minimum programme of the Chinese communist Party was being distorted. Com Mao Tse-Tung had clinched them and explained the minimum programme of New Democracy.

Why did the Andhra Secretariat quote it? Because, it was facing the arguments that the struggle in the stage of New Democracy is a struggle directed against, "entire capital, and thus basically socialist, etc; and it had to say that it was not so. Not only was the fight not against "entire capital" but, a sector of private capital would be encouraged and developed to a certain extent in order to advance the revolution. But, the Polit Bureau neither bothers what the formulation of Comrade Mao actually means nor the context in which it was made and quoted.

Is this formulation of Comrade Mao-Tse-Tung reactionary? Has he anywhere spoken of the necessity of development of capitalism in China as the predominant form? Has he not exactly fought against such contention and abundantly made clear that it cannot be so in the present era? The Polit Bureau itself in its subsequent arguments in the Tactical Line quoted enough of Comrade Mao to that effect. Then how has the formulation of Comrade Mao become reactionary? The contention goes, as we understand, the phrase "development of capitalism" is said to be reactionary and it is only permissible, according to the Polit Bureau to use the formulation "allowing private sector of capitalism" or "squeezing it out", etc. Whatever the confusion they make or play upon phrases shorn out of context, the point to be made clear here is that it is absolutely correct and in line with Lenin and Stalin and nothing is wrong with it.

Are the words "development of capitalism" taboo for Marxists? No, it is not. Let us see from the quotations from no less persons than Lenin and Stalin:

"As a matter of fact, what is taking place in our country now is not a one-sided process of restoration of capitalism, but a two-sided process of development of capitalism and development of socialism-a contradictory process of struggle between the socialist elements and the capitalist elements, a process in which the socialist elements are overcoming the capitalist elements". (Stalin's Problems of Leninism, Moscow Edition, p.173).

"Without changing its essence, the proletarian state may permit free trade and the development of capitalism only within certain bounds, and only on the condition that the state regulates (supervises, controls, determines the forms and methods of etc) private trade and private capitalism". (Lenin Selected Works, Moscow Two Volume Edition, Vol II. P. 761. Emphasis in both extracts above ours).

Any number of such formulations from the classics can be multiplied.

These are said in connection with the New Economic policy, practiced for a while in Russia. Is this New Economic policy only a Russian feature? No it is wrong to think so. Here is what comrade Stalin says:

Discussing the way the Communist parties of other countries can benefit from the experience of USSR. Comrade Stalin drew attention to the international significance of NEP.

"Can the capitalist countries, even the most developed of them, do without NEP in the transition from capitalism to Socialism? I think not. In one degree or another, the New economic policy, with its market ties, and the stabilisation of these market ties, will be absolutely indispensable for every capitalist country in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat". (As quoted by Yudin, COMMUNIST vol. 3, 1950, no.1).

If such is the case, how is comrade Mao wrong in his formulation when he is speaking of his country, where the production forces are far from developed and have been hindered by the imperialist feudal reaction? Does the above teaching of comrade Stalin apply to China all the more or not? What comrade Mao is speaking about is the New Democratic Republic and a planned economy for it, i.e., the new Democratic economy for it, i.e. the New Democratic Economy. Either this plan must specifically include in it the protection and development of private sector of capital, to a certain extent, or the plan ceases to be a plan if left to spontaneity.

Thus what comrade Mao formulated is correct. It is not comrade Mao's formulation that is counter revolutionary, but the views of those who try to dispense away with NEP and development of capitalism that it impales, and advance the slogan of straight "squeezing away" of all capitalism without reckoning with the realities-which are counter revolutionary.

Before we assess the damage caused in the party ranks, let us point out the way in which the enemies have utilised this attack on Comrade Mao Tse-Tung. The bourgeois press has played it up. The petty bourgeois and socialist press in India has utilised it to discredit the party and its leadership in the eyes of the people, pitting the policies of the Communist party of India against comrade Mao and the Chinese communist party. Coming to the concrete experience in our own province, Andhra, the party enemies and the gang of renegades have utilised this to discredit both the Communist party of India and in particular the Andhra leadership.

That is in brief for the above.

The entire camp of lefts and genuine party sympathisers fell into big confusion with the release of this document to the press.

Lastly coming to the party ranks a few instances from our own experience will speak eloquently for themselves.

One District committee has sent round a circular note in which it wanted to draw attention of the cadre to the importance of the study of the international Marxist journals. In it, it notes that the CHINA DIGEST is not of any importance and rarely some good articles may appear in it and hence the cadres need not bother with regular reading of it.

One important city District committee set for itself the task of scanning every line in the China Digest not with the intention of learning from it but only to "discover" reformism in it.

One comrade (who for sometime was a member of an Area committee in Telangana) began to talk loosely of Comrade Mao as Tito;etc, and question not only his formulations, but even certain decisions of the Chinese People's Consultative Council.

Further we have a number of reports of elements who began to run riot calling comrade Mao names.

In a word, it has become very difficult for the Andhra Secretariat to quote or cite anything from the Chinese Communist literature that is reaching its hand.

Is further enumeration necessary?

And the fact has to be noted is that, all this happens in a province (Andhra) where Comrade Mao and the Chinese Communist party are held in high esteem and love, and are the main inspiration behind the struggles in Telangana, for the Telangana way.

When such is the case with Andhra, one can very well guess the position in other provinces.

How wrongly the cadre was educated and how impossible it has become to imbibe the Chinese lessons and what an impediment it has all been!

How are we to account for all this except by the wrong education of the party by the Polit Bureau?

Is what is done in the best communist traditions? Evidently not.

Another interesting thing is to observe the way in which the mind of the General secretary was working.

In a letter to another member of the Polit Bureau criticising him for the publication of the part in the Tactical Line on Strategy and Tactics in the COMMUNIST (in fact it was published in Bengali earlier) he writes: "Firstly should you have come out with an attack on Mao's past formulations when China's leapers are swiftly changing their line and are bringing about changes of world historic importance?

Ever now, I would not like anything from Mao to be uncritically published in our paper. Yet criticism at this stage—such sharp criticism to be made public when Mao is heading changes of world historic significance, is wrong" (Emphasis ours. Letter dated 12.7. 1949).

The General Secretary in his make believe observation finds that the Chinese communist Party is changing its line and correcting its mistakes. Again it is a vain attempt to satisfy one's self that the Polit Bureau is right and the Chinese Communist party is wrong.

The second point is, the General secretary has banned the publication of anything from Comrade Mao uncritically in our press. Of course, this "critical" attitude must be the reason why such an important contribution as the artical on the Dictatorship of People's Democracy by Comrade Mao finds no place in our central party press, even though it did appear in the organ of the cominform Bureau.

Thus, the Polit Bureau started with censoring Comrade Mao Tse-Tung and ended by censoring the organ of the cominform Bureau itself.

This attitude of our Polit Bureau to the brother parties and their leaders is sharply critised by Comrade Palme Dutt in his letter to a Party member which was fprwarded by the Andhra Provincial Committee to the Polit Bureau as early as August 15, 1949.

To quote from Com. Plame Dutt's letter: "One last point I may make from one who has been a friend and helper to the Indian party from its earliest days. You are at present conducting a magnificent battle which we are following with deepest sympathy and admiration but we are a little concerned at the tendency shown at present in some documents to find fault with the majority of other communist Parties, to find the British party wrong, the French party wrong, the Chinese party wrong, Mao Tse-tung wrong, etc. This tendency is not healthy one and if unchecked, could lead to the kind of outlook that has reached an extreme form in the Yugoslav party".

Is not this sharp but friendly criticism from comrade palme Dutt enough to make the Polit Bureau rethink seriously, and have a retrospective glance at its writings and outlook? But the pity of it was, it was falling on deaf ears.

Now, before closing this topic, we want to point out sharply that it will not be enough to say that this attack was wrong. What we have to understand is that there is politics, very serious politics, behind this attack. To try to separate the attacks from the politics behind them is to deceive oneself.

It is the dangerous left deviation on a series of issues on the part of the Polit Bureau that culminated in the stupid, abusive, uncomradely and harmful attack on Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

That is the crux of the matter.

## CONCLUSION

We this see that taking all the questions dealt with above Stage and Strategy of the Revolution. People's Democracy, Agrarian Question. National Question, question of Tactics and Forms of Struggle and the Chinese path-the Polit Bureau represents a consistent left-sectarian system. The Polit Bureau produced a full fledged Trotskyite Thesis of "decolonisation" and of one stage revolution in the form of the three documents -"people's Democracy", "Agrarian Question", and "Tactical Line"-nullified all the correct things and developed fully all the wrong things in the political Thesis, threw overboard all the teachings of Lenin and Stalin and the Communist International on imperialism and colonial revolutions and on the national question, distorted Zhdanov's Report, turned a blind eye to the valuable articles of the brother Parties, refused to learn anything from the rich experience of the national liberation movement in China, and finally threw to the winds the principles of fraternal relations of World Communist Parties to the extent of open slander of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist party.

In this document we have confined ourselves to a general critique of the political line of the Polit Bureau embodied in its three documents (Summed up above). We have not gone into the question of party organisation and the Titoite organisational methods pursued by the Polit Bureau nor into details about the slogans given by the Polit Bureau at different times for the various mass fronts (Trade union, Kisan, Student, woman, jails, etc.). Without this, no doubt, the document is incomplete. But this incompleteness as well as some of the other shortcoming which this document may have are due to the following unavoidable circumstances, circumstances beyond our control.

It was by the middle of June 1949, that the majority of the Andhra Secretariat had come to the conclusion that all the three Polit Bureau documents were totally on wrong lines and were grave departures from Marxism-Leninism. A draft critical document was prepared by us at that time, but it was not fully finalised and the issue was shelved by us at that stage because by then we had begun to see the Titoite organisational methods pursued by the Polit Bureau in practice and we were convinced that under those circumstances, the Polit Bureau, if it received the critical document of ours, would run amuck and by wielding the "rod of discipline" against the Andhra Provincial Committee might dissolve the Secretariat and this disruptive step in the situation prevailing in Andhra and Telangana would spell disaster to the armed struggle that was being carried on there. The organisational practice of the Polit Bureau subsequently confirmed our fears. It was only with the Peking Conference and Comrade Liu Shao-chi's opening speech at that Conference that we got emboldened again and decided to carry on the inner-party struggle. Our plan was to prepare a full document in which political, organisational and different mass fronts, etc., would be critically reviewed and assessed. But due to the appearance to the Editorial of "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy" and subsequent developments our time was taken up with other more pressing

work and we could not complete the document we had planned. Only the political part was completed and even that had to be completed in a hurried manner.

This will explain some of the shortcomings of this document, the most important of which being its incompleteness.

Regarding party organisation and the different mass fronts, we can only say here in a nutshell that the line of the Polit Bureau and its practice, its Trotskyite Titoite left-sectarian policy, slogans and organisational methods, have produced havoc and brought the party and the different mass fronts to the verge of liquidation, by the time of the open and direct political intervention by the Cominform Bureau. If in spite of this the agrarian struggle continued and expanded in Telangana, Andhra and the hill border regions of Mymensingh, it is because comrades there learning from life experience itself and forced by it bypassed the Polit Bureau's sectarian documents and marched forward, in spite of them, not because of them. No doubt, sometime even in pursuit of a correct line a certain amount of disorganisation may occur in the mass front in the course of acute class struggles. But in such cases the disorganisation occurs despite a correct line. This is quite different however from what has happened in the course of the last two years. In this case the Polit Bureau's left adventurist policy aggravated and accentuated the disorganisation and carried it to the point of virtual disruption and liquidation of the mass fronts and the party.

Left sectarianism and its manifestations on every front have to be rooted out if the party is to march forward along the glorious path blazed out for us by our Chinese brethren. At the same time the history of our party during the last twenty years teaches us a most valuable lesson- a lesson which we never learnt so far due to our political immaturity and one which we can ignore today only at our peril. That lesson is: While fighting one deviation beware of swinging to the other extreme, beware of stepping into the opposite type of deviation. While fighting one demon, beware of giving quarter to the other demon.

In the period prior to 1936, our Party was guilty of gross left-sectarian errors, errors to which the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International drew our pointed attention (Wang Ming's Report). In the subsequent period Joshi pretended to fight left-sectarianism, but what he did in reality was to take the Party neck deep into the bog of right reformism. The Second Party Congress rescued the Party from this bog, but immediately came the new Polit Bureau and in the name of fight against right reformism it took the Party straight into the worst and crudest left-sectarianism and left adventurism. It was because in the earlier period Joshi had never in reality fought left sectarianism that it could near its head immediately after the Second Party Congress and assume such monstrous within the last two years.

The Polit Bureau no more fought right reformism in reality than Joshi had fought left sectarianism in the earlier period; both of them while fooling the ranks and the people with seemingly revolutionary slogans in reality had only fought against the correct revolutionary line.

The history of the Party teaches us:

Firstly : Due to our political immaturity in the past, every time we have woken up to the danger of one type of deviation, we have only, in the name of fighting it swung over to the other type of deviation.

Secondly: It is un-Marxian to say that one anti-Marxian deviation can be fought in reality with another anti-Marxian deviation. Both right reformism and left sectarianism carry on a mock fight against each other as long as there is no correct line, but as soon as a correct line is put forward both resort to attacking it from two opposite ends. in fact, both right reformism and left sectarianism are only two forms of the same basic disease-bourgeois nationalism, the worst enemy of the proletarian Party.

The social conditions of a colonial country like India in which our party operates makes our party particularly vulnerable to the disease of bourgeois nationalism . During the reformist period, bourgeois nationalism was never fought but on the contrary-it made monstrous inroads into the party and corroded its very vitals. Either the party fights out bourgeois nationalism ruthlessly and roots it out and keeps constant vigilance against it; or bourgeois nationalism counter -attacks the party and destroys its very vitals, its social root being the petty bourgeois composition of the party. It is the manifestation of this that is seen during the last two years in another form in the form of the left-seftrain monster.

That is why today we must for the first time really assimilate the lessons taught by our party's history in the course of the last twenty years; the lessons taught by the history of the international communist movement. We must conduct a simultaneous fight on two fronts-both against right reformism and left sectarianism. We must guard the party against every deviation from Marxism-Leninism and towards bourgeois nationalism, be it of the right reformist variety or of the left sectarian variety.

In this connection, the following words of comrade stalin spoken in 1928 on the right and left deviations inside the C.P.S.U. are full of meaning for us:

"You see, therefore, that both dangers the "Left" and Right, both these deviations from the Leninist line, the Right and the "Left" lead to the same results; although from different directions.

"Which of these dangers is worse? In my opinion one is as bad as the other" (J.V. Stalin: Leninism pp. 233-234).

It is necessary to give such a strong warning today about the simultaneous fight the Party has to conduct on two fronts-both against the right and the left deviations. Left sectarianism has run its full course and reached almost a climax in the course of the last two years. And now when we are correcting it and rooting it out there is every likelihood that right reformism, which the old polit Bureau in reality never fought and which therefore had been lying dormant all the time, may

raise its head again under cover of fight against sectarianism and the havoc caused by it among the party ranks. This danger is real because as long as bourgeois nationalism whose social roots inside our party are deep has not been fought successfully it will raise its head in the form of that deviation which is less obvious at the movement and against which we are off our guard. The danger single for this is already there in the fact that P.C. Joshi has come for the thesis that India is not yet ripe for armed struggle.

That is why while not for a moment relaxing our fight against left sectarianism, we must on no account permit the demon of right reformism to raise its head again. We must simultaneously fight against both these demons ruthlessly. It is in essence a single fight-the against bourgeois nationalism, which will find fight all forms of penetration into the party. This alone will enable us to go on the correct path the revolutionary path, of Marxism-Leninism.

"The purpose of the above critique is to enable us to correct ourselves and rebuild the party and the mass movements as rapidly as possible so that they become fit instruments for discharging the great responsibility that devolves on our shoulders today.

The class enemies and their agents the renegades from, the party, are making every effort to capitalise the confusion inside the party and in the mass fronts today, in order to disrupt the party and try to split it, imperialism and the collaborationist bourgeoisie are feverishly attacking the party in order to try to liquidate it even before the party is able to get out of the present bog and on to the highway of the invincible Chinese path. The comments in the bourgeois press-that a struggle is going on inside the party today "between the follower of Ranadive and the followers of Joshi" reveals the wish and the hope of the bourgeoisie and their efforts to create confusion that our party would, instead of getting on to the correct revolutionary path once again go back to the old reformist line which would suit them perfectly.

The situation today is such that the ideological fight to clean out all the sectarian and reformist rubbish that have accumulated inside the party in the course of the last several years has to be carried out simultaneously with the immediate political-organisational tasks facing the party- of proceeding steadily to put the party on the rails of armed struggle in the countryside and rebuild the movement in the cities and working class centres on the basis of our new line and tactics. To forget that one cannot be carried out without the other, to forget that both have to be simultaneously fulfilled, would only lead to failure to snatch back the lost initiative and to liquidation of the party and of the revolutionary movement altogether.

We must fight "Right" and "Left" disruption and all the manifestations of the remnants of both the deviations and rebuild the party, suited to the conditions of strict illegality firmly on the basis of Lenin-Stalin principles. We must conduct the inner-party struggle not in the vulgar spirit of bureaucratic liquidation as was done

so far, but in the spirit of the Lenin-Stalin principles of Bolshevisation. These principles mean the fullest inner party democracy and the exercise of criticism and self-criticism at the same time combined with iron discipline and strict centralisation. We must Bolshevise the party by deepening our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and learning to apply it to our daily problems; by giving our cadres systematic political and military training so that they are able to lead the armed struggle with initiative, flexibility of tactics and iron firmness of purpose and determination in the face of difficulties; by careful selection and rapid promotion of the best-tested cadre from the ranks of the working-class and toiling masses in particular to leadership; by ideological remoulding of the entire party ranks in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and unity of will and action of the World Communist movement under the lead of comrade Stalin. Such Bolshevisation of the Party alone will make it a worthy instrument to lead our country and our people on the glorious Chinese path.

We must re-establish fraternal relations with our brother parties and take immediate steps to restore in our party the principles of fraternal co-operation and brotherhood of the world communist movement which have been thoroughly disrupted during the earlier periods of right reformism and left sectarianism.

Political guidance and assistance from the Cominform Bureau and our brother communist parties is one of the surest guarantees that we shall be able to proceed on the correct path.

The mass organisations in the towns and the countryside—the Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, Agricultural labourers' organisations, student, youth, women's organisations, etc. —which lie shattered and disrupted today thus reducing the Party to utter isolation from the masses, have to be rebuilt anew, steadily, and persistently. They are vital as transmission belts between the Party and the non Party masses, without them the Party will lose its links with the masses and hence its instruments for carrying out its policy into action. The mass organisations must be built up in such a manner that they embody the unity of the toiling masses in the fight for their vital day-to-day demands and in the struggle for national liberation.

We must conduct the most patient and persistent fight to build up the unity of the working-class and restore the disastrous split in the ranks of the Trade Union movement. In this we must combine the most patient efforts to win over workers of all other sections and under the influence of all other parties and forge joint action with them while at the same time carrying on the most ruthless exposure, on principles, of all splitters like INTUC and Socialist Party leadership, etc.. We must carry on work inside every organisation where the masses are to be found—hence the necessity to work inside all those reformist rival unions (INTUC, Socialist) which have any mass influence.

We must fraternise with the ranks of the Left Parties, mass organisations, groups and individuals, to organise joint actions wherever and whenever possible

and thus build the Democratic Front as the anti-imperialist unity of all Parties, groups and individuals willing to fight for the national freedom and independence of the country. We must remember that under present conditions, a rapid process of disillusionment is taking place inside these Left parties and with left elements in general, a process that creates very favourable conditions for building up such fraternisation and joint front.

We must learn to combine legal with illegal methods of struggle in such a flexible manner that the Party is able to deliver the most telling and shattering blows on the enemy and achieve maximum results with minimum loss to itself.

We must develop the Peace Campaign as a Part of the struggle for national liberation so that the Peace movement and the national liberation struggle go hand in hand strengthening each other and delivering joint blows against Anglo-American imperialism and its native servitors.

Through the fulfilment of all these tasks alone can the Party come forward as a real Bolshevik Party, as an instrument capable of fulfilling the great responsibility of leading the Indian revolution, in the footsteps of our great Chinese brothers; capable of leading the armed struggle, of taking our people on to the Chinese path, of building up the united front of all anti-Imperialist classes, parties, groups, and individuals that are willing to fight for the national liberation of the country; capable of leading India in the victorious fight for People's Democracy and Socialism under the banner of the great world Communist movement led by the invincible Soviet Union and its wise leader, Com. Stalin.

#### APPENDIX:

#### **SHORT NOTES OF CRITIQUE ON "ANDHRA DRAFT NOTE" OF MAY 1948 SUBMITTED TO THE POLIT BUREAU**

This Andhra Draft Note which came in for serious criticism at the hands of the Polit Bureau is to be assessed by bringing out its strong points as well as its shortcomings and mistakes. In spite of certain defects, it correctly defined the stage and strategy. It sharply brought out the nature of the civil war in which we are, and also pointed out how the question of armed resistance has now been placed on the agenda. It clearly placed the perspective of Chinese path before the entire party, i.e. the growth of revolution through bitter and prolonged armed resistance against white terror in rural areas, combined with strikes and resistance of the working class in towns, leading to liberated areas in countryside and final capture to power.

Of course the criticism leveled against it by the Polit Bureau is totally wrong- even on the points where the same note makes wrong formulations- is beyond dispute. It is hence also necessary to point out the basic mistakes it contains, so that the reader might also take note of it as to go in for a correct stand on them. We would only deal with them here in brief.

Firstly, as it is already pointed out in the foregoing, "critical report" the inter-imperialist contradictions and their intensification to the extent of leading to war is ruled out; This amounts to revision and repudiation of thesis on Imperialism by Lenin.

Secondly, while discussing the question of proletarian hegemony, it is described as " programmatic and ideological". This is neither correct nor comprehensive. The hegemony of the proletariat as formulated by Wang-Ming in his report to the 7th world Congress of the Communist International "expresses itself primarily in ideological, political and organizational leadership by the proletariat and its party" over the revolutionary movement at the stage. This point also has been discussed elaborately in the report.

Thirdly, while correctly criticizing those who compare the Nehru - Patel Government to Kerensky Government, the draft note fails to understand the revolutionary significance of " Dual Power " as enunciated by Lenin and goes on discussing the question of " Political power " i.e in the hands of which classes or class it is at present and which class or classes bid for it, and mechanically divides the question of "dual power " from the issue as a whole that is here involved. This leads to the signal failure to understand the crucial point made by Lenin on "Dual power" i.e the " dual power " indicated the completion of the set stage of revolution in a way and the CPSU (B) had to go from the slogan of Democratic Dictatorship of workers and peasants to the slogan of Socialist Dictatorship of Workers and poor peasants.

Fourthly, the issue of classification of the peasantry is defectively dealt with and falls under the category of right opportunist interpretation of Leninist classification. This is elaborately discussed in a separate documents, which will be circulated to all party Members in due course of time and hence we only draw the attention here without going into detailed criticism.

Fifthly , the draft note categorically asserts that in whatever process it might evolve, the final form of the proletarian dictatorship cannot but be the Soviet form. This in a dogmatic way it refutes the formulations of Lenin as well as the living experience of the present day people's democracy, that abundance of forms other than that of Soviet form can take shape for the proletarian dictatorship.

Finally, the draft note is so written that it neither takes the shape of full fledged thesis nor merely goes in the form of doubts, etc. raised for clarification. It falls short of the former and goes far beyond the latter. Hence certain points which require elaborate dealing to drive the issue home have been dealt in a passing way and some other points assume the character of over simplifications etc. In brief, these are the main mistakes and shortcomings of the Draft.



## ON PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

### I

The central Committee withdraws the Resolution "On People's Democracy" adopted by the Polit-Bureau and published in the communist No.1 of 1949 and also as a pamphlet, as it is full of basically wrong and "Left" sectarian formulations.

The PB resolution on People's Democracy characterises the Indian Revolution as one-stage Revolution, it presents a class alliance of Socialist Revolution, it does not distinguish between the stages of development of People's Democracy itself, it revises com. Zhdanov's formulation about people's Democracy and the nature of International anti-Imperialist Camp. Finally, it does not distinguish between People's Democracy in an advanced capitalist country and People's Democracy in a colonial country. It denies the colonial character of India and the anti-Imperialist character of Indian Revolution.

### II

The Resoluton begins by posng the question : "Are we in the Stage of February Revolution in Russia or are we on the eve of October ?"

A marxist can answer this question only by pointing out the absurdity of the question itself, and this absurdity can be pointed out even to the most ignorant by referring to the concrete historical circumstances obtaining in the two countries in the two different historical periods. As distinguished from Tsarist Russia, India is a colonial country ruled by imperialism in alliance with the native big bourgeoisie and the feudal classes. The stages of Indian Revolution must arise out of this actual historical peculiarity and not out of the class relations that existed in Tsarist Russia in the year 1917.

But we, the dogmatists, are incapable of approaching any question in this concrete historical way. Not fight against Imperialism but Fight against Capitalism is the starting point of the PB Resolution on People's Democracy. It states ;

"The stage of Revolution at any given time in any given country is determined by the maturity of class relations in that country-understood in the context of the class relations in the world, in the context of the crumbling capitalist order and the dominant class antagonism of our time, the bourgeoisie versus the proletariat."

Imperialism is just forgotten and not a word is said about the concrete nature of the class-antagonism obtaining in a colonial country, which is the principal factor determining stages of Indian Revolution. Compare with the above passage, the following profound formulaton made by Zhdanov :

"World war II aggravated the crisis of the colonial system, as expressed in the rise of a powerful movement for national liberation in the colonies and dependencies.

This has placed the rear of the capitalist system in jeopardy. The peoples of the colonies no longer wish to live in the old way. The ruling classes of the metropolitan countries can no longer govern the colonies on the old lines. Attempts to crush the national-liberation movement by military force increasingly encounter armed resistance on the part of the colonial peoples and lead to protracted colonial wars (Holland-Indonesia, France-Vietnam).

In these words Zhdanov had shown how to understand the specific stage of Indian Revolution, but resoluton, which quotes Zhdanov here and there, does not quote this very passage.

Unable to define the existing stage of the Indian Revolution which is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and national -liberationist and without even saying what this stage is, our Resolution at once proceeds to explain :

"Marxism-Leninism has always regarded the democratic revoluton in colonial and less developed countries as a link in the chain - as a more or less short stage leading to proletarian revolution."

The PB Resoluton is just not interested in the present stage, its only concern is to show that it will go quickly to the next stage i.e. proletarian revolution. Not the existing real stage, but transition to the next stage is the main concern of the PB resolution. The reason is, as we will show below, that the PB Resolution actually made the theory that Indian Revolution is a one-stage revolution.

Let us now see how this Resolution visualises the transition to the next stage. It is only natural that its conception of this transititon has nothing to do with the actual correlation of the first stage because the first stage itself has been denied its existence.

The resolution states that capitalism will not carry out the tasks of democratic revolution, "much less solve the problems of the capitalist world." Then the resolution suddenly exclaims, without any introduction, "Only opportunists imagined that a long period of capitalist rule and development must necessarily ensure us the result of the emancipation of the colonies." These words are, however, not as meaningless as they seem, they are aimed at comrade Mao Tze-tung who made the following rich formulations about the stages of development from national-liberation from imperialist rule to the stage of building up Socialism.

In his book on "New Democracy" Mao Tze-tung had shown with brilliant clarity that the Chinese Revolution will pass through two stages - the New Democratic and the Socialist.

Then Mao points out that "Chinese national economy must travel along the road of 'control of capital' and 'Equalisation of land'. It should not be "owned by a chosen few", in which case it is likely to be used as a means to undermine "the people's livelihood". It should not be built on the same lines as those of western capitalist society, nor should it keep in tact the land relations of the old semi-feudal society." These rich formulations of Mao about the aims of the first stage of colonial revolution are distorted and attacked in our Resolution.

This shows how Mao fought Reformism with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and we who talked pompously about fight against Reformism, criticised and ridiculed Mao.

Our Resolution on People's Democracy muddled the whole question of stages of Indian Revolution in the following manner :

"Is the present phase of the Indian Revolution comparable with the February or the October Revolution in Russia ? It is neither. It is mixed. In India the interlacing has taken place not exactly in the way it took place in Russia. It is not February-because our aim is not to overthrow autocarcy, but the rule of the bourgeoisie. Our aim is not to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie, but to overthrow it."

As if imperialist rule does not exist, as if colonial freedom has already been achieved. The Resolution comes to this amazing conclusion even after quoting long passages from the colonial Thesis of the Sixth congress of the Comintern, in which fight for the overthrow of foreign imperialism is made the principal aim of the Revolution.

In a subsequent chapter it is openly maintained that the fight against imperialism is no longer there :

"The situation is totally unlike any we had witnessed. This is typified in the fact that the immediate aim of the Revolution is to dethrone the bourgeoisie from power, to eliminate the political rule of the bourgeoisie. In the earlier period, the democratic revolution marched against imperialism and sought to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie; now its aim is to deliver the frontal blow against the power of the bourgeoisie itself."

Here, under the pretext of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, imperialism is being screened, and this is the strategy we formulated for the supposed fight against Reformism. Left-sectarianism is the form, whose kernel is Right opportunism. Our Resolution "On People's Democracy" goes to the extent of advocating that the Mountbatten Award signifies an advance to national independence. It says :

"What place does fight against imperialism occupy in the struggle. Here again it is to be carried on at a different level. The bourgeoisie has secured a National state, linked with world capitalism-and, therefore, a satellite state.

Thus, according to this Resolution adopted by the PB, Mountbatten Award has secured an advance by lifting India from her colonial status to the status of an independent national state. It is a "Satellite State", not because colonial rule of imperialism exists, but because the State is "linked with world capitalism." But is there any state in the capitalist world, not linked with world capitalism ?

We come to this opportunist conclusion by travelling the road of dogmatism, we first demand that "overthrowing the bourgeoisie" alone is a revolutionary phrase, "Overthrowing imperialist rule" or anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle" is supposed to have an odour of "reformism" in it. This we call "Fight against Reformism" which is supposed to have many achievements, and we are shocked

when it is proposed that Left-Sectarianism is as serious a deviation from Marxism-Leninism as Right Reformism.

Everything that is said in this Resolution on People's Democracy on the main features of struggle, on concrete class relations and strategy and tactics, is wrong, anti-Marxist, unhistorical and unreal.

It is basically a counter-revolutionary Trotskyist Thesis in which the Indian Revolution is characterised as a Socialist Revolution and as a one-stage Revolution. The previous formulation in political Thesis about "real independence" is reduced to nought by means of cleverer twists. The Resolution clearly states :

"The struggle for real independence means taking the country out of the orbit of world capitalist order, into the socialist Front. Freedom and independence now mean freedom from the world capitalist order - not from this or that imperialism only. Thus, again, the task of fighting for real freedom is linked with the defeat of capital at home and abroad and breaking away from the capitalist system."

Thus, the Indian Revolution is formulated as a one-stage Socialist Revolution in a single sweep. Not only the fight against Imperialism but also the fight against feudalism is undermined. Compare, for example, the following passage :

"Further, the Revolution has, of course, to liquidate feudalism, but as we have seen, even this task cannot be done without simultaneously fighting the capitalist elements in the countryside and overthrowing the political rule of the bourgeoisie. Thus, both the anti-feudal and anti-capitalist character of the struggle gets emphasised."

This is a complete and consistently worked out Trotskyist Thesis on Indian Revolution as one-stage Socialist Revolution. Fute indeed are the attempts made in this Resolution to conceal its Trotskyist character by using such phrases as "interlacing" and "mixed" character of "two stages" of the Revolution.

Com. Mao in his book on New Democracy unmasked the Chinese Trotskyists in the following passages :

"There are in the mean time, another kind of people who, though they may not be malicious, often get taken by the so-called 'Theory of one-stage revolution' and the entirely subjective Thesis which purports to 'complete the political and social revolution in one stroke', in utter disregard of the development of the revolution, i.e. the necessity of a period of transition between one revolution and another, and then permit themselves the nonsense of the talk referred to viz., 'to complete the political and social revolution, in one stroke'. Such a talk, by confusng the two stages of the revolution, tends to injure the cause of revolution by diminishing the importance of the democratic task to be carried out at the present juncture."

This answer holds good with equal force for the dogmatists among us who, even after the editorial article of the Cominform organ and the WFTU conference at Peking, do not see the enormity of our crime, who yet hesitate to unmask our own Left-Sectarianism, and who yet think that after all we fought reformism. It is

refusal to admit that we departed from Marxism-Leninism as far as the Right Reformism did, that "Left" opportunism is as counter-revolutionary as Right opportunism.

To suit this Trotskyist counter-revolutionary theory of one-stage revolution, the Resolution made the alternative formulations on the International situation different from the one made in Zhdanov's speech. Zhdanov defined the Two camps as follows :

"The fundamental changes caused by the war in the international scene and in the position of individual countries has entirely changed the political landscape of the world. A new alignment of political forces has arisen. The more the war recedes into the past, the more distinct become two major trends in post-war international policy, corresponding to the division of the political forces operating in the international arena into two major camps: the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp, on the other."

But Zhdanov's formulation did not satisfy our Left-Sectarian conscience. In our Resolution, we amended Zhdanov's formulation, the amended formulation stands as follows :

"The two camps that are formed today, the camp of imperialism and the camp of anti-imperialist forces, more and more stand revealed as the camp of world capitalist order and the camp of world socialist front led by the Soviet Union."

This is a serious, Trotskyist revision of Zhdanov's formulation. The entire fighting front is lumped into one front-the "Socialist front", it is denied any ally in any section of the bourgeoisie in any country. With this Left-Sectarian revisionism, we had even the cheek to publish an article on "Revisionism", to detect the revisionist mistakes of the leaders of the Communist parties of every country in the world. We, who have not even studied the political movements in our own country, had the arrogance to publish an article to expose the revisionism of all the Communist Parties in the world! Such is the self-conceit of arrogant dogmatists.

### III

What is the concept of People's Democracy and People's Democratic Revolution given in the Resolution of our PB "On People's Democracy" ? The Resolution states :

"The people's Democratic Revolution is thus the democratic revolution which is more than ever inter-laced with the Socialist revolution in each country and in the world. It begins by throwing the bourgeoisie out of power. So far as we can see, in our country, the immediate state form(sic) will be a bloc of the proletariat with non-proletarian elements, a Democratic Dictatorship of the workers and peasants. But this state, arising in the context of world Socialist Revolution, and in the course of direct struggle against the rule of capital, will quickly pass into the Dictatorship of the proletariat. Its programme-nationalisation of land and large-scale industries, etc. itself constitutes a transitional programme."

Thus, according to the PB Resolution, People's Democracy begins by "throwing the bourgeoisie out of power." But the reality is that at the initial stage, the People's Democracy in East European countries contained within it certain sections of the bourgeoisie sharing power with the "bloc of labouring masses" led by the proletariat.

Com. Zhdanov made the conception of People's Democracy clear in the following passage in his speech to the First conference of the Communist and Worker's Parties.

"The new democratic Governments in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Albania, backed by the mass of the people, were able within a minimum period to carry through progressive democratic reforms such as bourgeois democracy is no longer capable of effecting. Agrarian reforms turned over the land to the peasants and led to the elimination of the landlord class. Nationalisation of large-scale industry and the banks and the confiscation of the property of traitors who had collaborated with the Germans radically undermined the position of monopoly capital in these countries and redeemed the masses from imperialist bondage. Together with this, the foundation was laid of Government, national ownership, and a new type of state was created—the People's Republic, where the power belongs to the people, where large-scale industry, transport and banks are owned by the State, and where a bloc of labouring classes of the population, headed by the working class constitute the leading force. As a result, the peoples of these countries have not only torn themselves from the clutches of imperialism, but are paving the way for entry on the path of Socialist development."

Such are the formulations of Com. Zhdanov based upon concrete analysis of the actually existing social forces by applying Marxist-Leninist science.

The PB Resolution distorted Zhdanov. In the pamphlet on People's Democracy (PB Resolution) on page 11, it is said that :

"Zhdanov, in his report on the International Situation at the Warsaw Nine Parties Conference, describes the People's Democratic Government as a bloc headed by the working class - a bloc of peasants, people, etc. i.e. one in which the bourgeoisie has no place."

But Zhdanov did not say that in People's Democracy in every country and under every circumstance, "the bourgeoisie has no place." In dealing with People's Democracy in East European countries, Zhdanov defined it as "a bloc of the labouring classes of the population, headed by the working class, constitute the leading force." (underline ours)

It is clear that Zhdanov says—the bloc of labouring classes, headed by the working class constitute the leading force, not the only force. Our resolutions put in his mouth - 'only force'. This was gross distortion of Zhdanov.

This distortion apart, the PB Resolution failed to distinguish between People's Democracy in advanced capitalist countries and People's Democracy in colonies and semi-colonies, and mechanically applied the class-relations of an advanced capitalist country in a colonial country.

People's Democracy in advanced capitalist countries will contain, generally workers, peasants and urban petty-bourgeoisie headed by the working class.

People's Democracy in colonies and semi-colonies, as in China, will contain for a long time, workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, headed by the working class. The following passage of Com. Zhdanov is instructive.

"The struggle for new People's Democracy in the East has its distinctive features reflecting the specific features of the colonial countries where it is taking place. And in so far as here the question is of colonial and semi-colonial countries, People's Democratic power here is confronted to a much greater extent with bourgeois democratic tasks which demand a solution first. Consequently, the victory of People's Democracy in the colonial and dependent countries cannot immediately lead to a solution of Socialist tasks to the same extent that it is taking place in the People's Democracies in Europe, since the economic backwardness of these countries is the direct result of their recent colonial past. It is in this that the main distinction between People's Democracy in the East and People's Democracy of Central and Eastern Europe consists." (E.M. Zhukov : The Sharpening of the Crisis of the Colonial System After the Second World war)

Com. Zhdanov points out that People's Democracy is a new type of state - the People's Republic, where power belongs to the people .... headed by the working class. Though this formulation was there before us, when the resolution "On People's Democracy" was drafted and adopted, we did not even quote Zhdanov but made an absurd formulation of our own. We said People's Democracy is a State 'form' of democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, that "It begins by throwing the bourgeoisie out of power." We betrayed not only our dogmatic blindness to actual realities, that some sections of the bourgeoisie remained in the People's Camp and then section after section was removed from power step by step. Thus People's Democracy began to discharge the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not only is this historical essence missed by us but we betrayed utter confusion of thought by calling the bloc of proletariat with non-proletarian elements (democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry) a State 'form', thus confusing form for the content and making a mess of everything.

Not only that. We refused to see People's Democracy as a new type of State, arising after the victory of the anti-Fascist war, as a result of the mighty advance of the Soviet Union and the Red Army as the leader, builder and defender of the People's Republic in Europe and Asia. We refused to see this new reality and dogmatically declared, indirectly refuting Zhdanov, that -

"People's democracy is thus not qualitatively new element. It is the delayed democratic revolution ripening into socialist revolution in the midst of the sharpened world conflict."

Thus, so far as the PB Resolution is concerned, the victory of the democratic camp in the anti-fascist war, the leading role of the Soviet Union, the anti-imperialist democratic front-these epoch-making historical forces giving birth to a new type of State, the People's Republic, are of no moment at all.

Like typical dogmatists, we refused to see anything new, any new development in history, any new political force. We abjured creative Marxism and "corrected" zhdunov, who was supposed to have made "non-committal" and "confusing" formulations.

Having taken this dogmatist, un-Marxist and anti-Leninist stand on the question of People's Democracy, we failed to use this weapon to expose the pseudo-bourgeois democracy set up by Nehru-Patel Government, we failed to unleash immense revolutionary forces against this pseudo-bourgeois democracy under imperialist control and to place the revolutionary perspective for anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution directed against the power of imperialism, native big bourgeoisie and feudal elements.

There are comrades who think even now that our strategy was all right, we committed only some tactical mistakes and nothing but a little restriction in the scope of struggle was the result.

It is not for nothing that Lenin denounced "Left-wing Communism" as "infantile disorder". It is this infantile disorder that permeates all the major PB Resolution and the result produced is abjuration of the revolution. Comrades who object to putting Left - sectarianism on the same plane as Right opportunism and demand a more conciliatory treatment of our Left-Sectarian deviation are yet unaware of the enormity of our crime and the departure we made from Marxism-Leninism. We abjured creative Marxism and called this Fight Against Reformism!

The Resolution on People's Democracy concludes with the following formulation about class-alliance in Indian revolution :

"The leading combination will be, of course, the proletariat in alliance with the rural proletarians and poor peasantry - the same combination that brings about the proletarian revolution. Once more we see the inter-lacing and how quickly one stage ripens into the other depends on the strength of this combination."

Thus, according to this resolution, there is no shift in class relations between the first and second stage, between the new democratic revolution and its passing over to Socialist Revolution. This unhistorical view is covered by the phrase "inter-lacing". The real correlation of classes in the first stage is the working class together with the entire peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and the anti-imperialist sections of the bourgeoisie, which will overthrow the rule of imperialism-native big bourgeoisie-feudal elements, establish People's Republic, achieve national independence, introduce democratic reforms, give land to the peasants and lay the foundation of Socialism by confiscating foreign capital and nationalising all big industries. This democratic revolution will develop into second stage, the stage of building up Socialism, to the extent the revolutionary democratic tasks are fulfilled and through the sharpening of class struggle. In the second stage, the proletariat in alliance with the working people will discharge the functions of its dictatorship through the People's Democratic State.

In our Resolution on People's Democracy-first stage of the democratic revolution is not distinguished from the stage of building up of socialism, People's Democratic Revolution in a colonial country is not distinguished from that of an advanced capitalist country, the first stage of People's Democracy is not distinguished from the second stage, People's Republic is not seen as a new type of State, as capable of discharging the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a form of proletarian dictatorship as distinguished from the Soviet form. For realising dictatorship of the proletariat, nothing but the Soviet form is visualised. The extent of our departure from Marxism-Leninism is reflected in our refusal to see concrete historical forces in action, in our blind faith in abstract dogmas, in our Titoite arrogance and self-conceit, that is refusal to learn from the leading communist Parties of the world. Thus, we adopted a Resolution on People's Democracy without defining its concrete historical content, without pointing out its revolutionary content as distinguished from pseudo - bourgeois democracy, without analysing its stages of development, and finally without showing its role and content in colonial people's struggle for independence. We arrogantly rejected Mao Tze-tung, who made historic contribution to the conception of People's Democracy.

The Left opportunist formulations of the PB on the fundamental questions of Indian Revolution arise not only out of the general revisionist attitude to authoritative formulations made by Com. Zhdanov and Mao Tze-tung but also out of fundamental misconception about Indian conditions.

Not only various Resolutions of the PB but also the Political Thesis present an analysis of Indian economy indicating that a certain degree of de-colonisation is taking place, that Indian national capital has grown relatively to foreign capital.

But the reality is that, even after the Second World War, Indian economy is being more and more dependent on foreign capital, foreign capital is gripping Indian economy more and more within its tentacles, "compradore" amalgamations are taking place between foreign and Indian capital. This explains why not only workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie but also the national middle bourgeoisie stand opposed to imperialism and its servitors namely the big bourgeoisie and the feudal classes.

This is the main essence of the Indian situation and this is the big fact that is denied in the PB Resolution on People's Democracy and similar documents.

It is thus clear that our analysis of the Indian situation, character of the Revolution and Strategy and Tactics, etc. is unreal and anti-Leninist. Comrades who vacillate to fight Left-Sectarianism for fear that this may undermine the fight against Reformism do not see that Reformism can be fought only with Marxism-Leninism, that we had not been fighting Reformism with Marxism-Leninism.

#### IV

Let us now see what are Marxist-Leninist formulations about People's Democracy.

In a brilliant article on Lenin and Stalin on the State form of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, published in Problems of Philosophy No.3., Com. Chesnokev, has defined with crystal clarity the fundamental difference between bourgeois-democracy and People's Democracy, stages of development of People's Democracy, the meaning of People's Democracy as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat, historical conditions which make it possible for People's Democratic form to discharge the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its distinguishing features from the Soviet form.

In this article Lenin and Stalin principles on Soviet Power and People's Democracy have been summarised and the essence of the same is as follows :

1) The Soviet Power has been and remains the highest form of the Socialist State.

2) Soviet Power is the amalgamation of local Soviets into a single State organisation built on the principle of democratic centralism. Stalin says- "The essence of the Soviet power is contained in the fact that those organisations of a most pronounced mass character, these most revolutionary organisations of precisely those classes that were oppressed by the capitalists and landlords are now the permanent and sole basis of the whole state apparatus; that precisely those masses which even in the most democratic bourgeois Republic, while being equal in law, have in fact been prevented by thousands of tricks and devices from taking part in political life and from enjoying democratic rights and liberties, are now drawn unfailingly into constant and, moreover, decisive participation in the democratic administration of the state."

3) Main features of the structure of the Soviet power consist in these; It does away with the division of legislative and executive functions which exist in bourgeois parliamentary Republic. It directly links the labouring masses in general with the State apparatus. It destroys the old bureaucratic and judicial State apparatus and replaces them by elective organs. The working class led by the Communist Party constitutes the core of Soviet power and it is based primarily upon the workers' and peasants' alliance led by the working class.

4) The dictatorship of the proletariat in the countries of People's Democracy was established in a special form as distinguished from the Soviet one. It was carried out in the form of People's Democratic Republic.

5) This form (the People's Democratic form) was able to embody the dictatorship of the proletariat because of the (a) existence of the dictatorship of the working class in the form of Soviet power in the USSR; (b) the smashing of the bourgeois State apparatus in these countries; (c) the change in parliamentary form necessitated by the experience of the Soviet State structure (particularly, the local organs of power in the countries of People's Democracy are organised taking into account the experience of building of local Soviet organs of power); (d) the drawing in of mass organisations of workers (Fatherland and National Fronts, Trade Unions, Youth Organisations, etc.) into active participation in the work of State administration.

6) The establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the countries of People's Democracy "was not a swiftly accomplished act but a comparatively long process that was completed at different times in different countries of People's Democracy, a process that took place in conditions of intense struggle. The presence of the soviet state and the soviet Army was the determining condition which guaranteed the relatively 'peaceful' character of this struggle and its outcome in favour of the People led by the working class."

## V

Consistent with the above-mentioned principles, Com. Mao Tze-tung defined People's Democracy in a colonial country as follows :

"It is a Republic of United Dictatorship of several classes." "This is the transitional form of the State of revolutionary colonies and semi-colonies. There may be some different features among different colonies and semi-colonies but the State and Governmental formations are, basically alike, i.e. a New Democratic Republic of the United Dictatorship of all anti-imperialist classes."

Com. Mao Tze-tung's speech on Dictatorship of People's Democracy is an outstanding contribution to the understanding of People's Democracy under conditions of liberation from imperialism and its native allies in colonies and semi-colonies. It is "democratic dictatorship of the people", that is of several anti-imperialist classes led by the working class. This dictatorship of People's Democracy is directed against imperialism, native big bourgeoisie and the feudal class. It is democracy for the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie., i.e. those bourgeoisie who oppose imperialism. It will undergo further transformation as in Eastern and Central Europe through the development of class-struggle and fulfilment of democratic reforms.

Under Indian conditions, People's Democracy, as in liberated China, will achieve real national independence, introduce genuine democratic reforms and create the pre-condition for the building of Socialism.

The question must be clearly understood-firstly, what is the class composition of People's Democracy in a colonial country and secondly, what is the difference between People's Democracy in Eastern Europe and People's Democracy in colonies ? Both the questions have been clearly answered by Com. Zhukov.

Defining the class character of People's Democracy in a colonial country, Com. Zhukov writes :

"In the struggle for People's Democracy in the colonies and semi-colonies are united not only the workers, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, but even certain sections of the middle bourgeoisie, which is interested in saving itself from cut-throat foreign competition and imperialist aggression.

"Thus the struggle for People's Democracy can unify the overwhelming majority of the people under the leadership of the working class. This signifies that the People's Democratic Revolution can easily become a form of national liberation struggle, a form of colonial revolution." (Colonial People's Struggle PPH Edition, p.9)

Defining the distinctive features of colonial People's Democracy, Com. Zhukov correctly maintains that "the extent of the bourgeois democratic tasks confronting People's Democracy in these countries will be considerably greater than in the other less backward and more developed countries, to whom colonial oppression has been unknown or almost unknown. He elaborates it further by rightly pointing out that "the peoples democratic revolution in the colonies must in its development go through a number of consecutive stages and the period of transition to the solution of socialist tasks, to the construction of socialist economy in these countries may be more prolonged than in other countries of People's Democracy, which were not colonies."

The programme of the Democratic Front, drawn up by the 2nd Party Congress, is the programme for genuine democratic reforms, to be realised through the establishment of People's Democratic power. In order to achieve this aim, the Communist Party must unite all classes, parties and groups opposed to imperialism and its native servitors. Such unity is to be built up by conducting ruthless struggle against bourgeois national reformism, particularly Gandhism against the vacillations of the middle bourgeoisie and its political parties, against the leadership of the Socialist Party acting as agents of British Imperialism. The working class shall fight the vacillations of the middle bourgeoisie and at the same time unite with them on the basis of fight against imperialism.

The main features of the People's Democratic Front against Imperialism and its servitors are as follows :

- 1) It is led by the working class and its Party, the Communist Party.
- 2) It is mainly composed of workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie who constitute the main fighting forces for national-liberation and People's Democracy.
- 3) The middle bourgeoisie, that is, those sections of the national bourgeoisie whose interests are jeopardised by imperialism and the national big bourgeoisie, are supporters, and sometimes partisans, of the Democratic Front.
- 4) It derives its strength from and is mainly based upon workers' and peasants' alliance through developing armed struggle of the peasantry led by the working class.
- 5) It is an ally of the International anti-imperialist democratic camp led by the Soviet Union.

The growing strength of the world anti-imperialist camp led by the USSR and the historic victory of the Chinese people culminating in the formation of the People's Republic of China have created a new historic opportunity for the victory of Indian people's struggle for national-liberation and People's Democracy. It is the task of the Communist Party to unite all anti-imperialist forces in the country into a revolutionary Democratic Front, through struggle against imperialism and its servitors - the big bourgeoisie, feudal princes and landlords.

What is the concrete form of the Democratic Front ?

There is no ready made recipe for it, it has to be built up step by step along with the development of concrete factors, applying the criterian contained in the main features of the Democratic Front.

Unity of Struggle and unity from below these are the two main characteristics of the Democratic Front. This does not preclude united front agreement with the leaders of democratic organisations and parties, on the other hand such agreement becomes often essential, in order to facilitate the unity of struggle and unity from below. The agreement among different trade union organisations for joint campaign against the anti-Labour Black Bills became possible by combining agreement at the top with unity from below.

But systematic exposure of the leaders of Left parties and organisations who pursue anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and disruptive policies is an essential condition for building the Democratic Front. Leadership of the Socialist Party of India and Several other Left parties who spread bourgeois nationalist illusions among the masses, slander the Soviet Union and People's Democracies and disrupt the working class movement, are only acting as agents of Imperialism. No anti imperialist democratic front can be built up without serious efforts to dislodge such leaders from the masses. The Indian working class movement must make serious efforts to unmask such leaders in order to pave the way for building the Democratic Front.

The main task confronting the Communist Party at the present phase is to build the unity of mass organisations of workers, peasants, students and other sections of the people. These mass organisations constitute the main foundations of the Democratic Front. The united trade unions, the mass Kisan Sabhas, the student and youth organisations, the peace committee, civil liberties committee, the Democratic Women's organisation , etc, are the solid foundations of the Democratic Front. Our main task is to unite all anti-imperialist parties into these organisations, expand their bases against the wider strata of the masses and popularise the programme of the Democratic Front.

There is a tendency among certain sections of Party members to regard the Democratic Front as nothing but a common organisation in which the Communist Party is to participate. Such a stereotyped conception of the Democratic Front is unhistorical and wrong. Such a common organisation does become, under certain circumstances, the organ of the Democratic Front, but it grows the movement of the people against imperialism and its allies. It can not be created according to scheme. The Communist Party will take the initiative to build up such an organisation when the objective possibilities for the same are developed.

In Telengana, the Andhra Mahasabha has grown as the local organ of Democratic Front through a long-drawn struggle led by the Communist Party to dislodge bourgeois national reformists from the leadership of the organisation. In the Hajong area, East Bengal, the Kisan Sabha and the Sangram Committees have developed as the local organs of the Democratic Front through long-drawn struggles

carried on by the Communist Party to draw the mass of the peasantry into the common struggle for freedom, land and democracy. In the many rural areas, mass Kisan Sabhas and Sangram Committees are developing as the organs of the Democratic Front.

In the all-India plane, as yet, only joint agreements and common actions of the various parties, groups, mass organisations and progressive individuals can become the concrete forms of the Democratic Front.

In future, the People's Democratic Front will emerge as a representative common organisation led by the Communist Party and backed by a People's Liberation Army. Under no circumstances shall the Communist Party lose its independence or dissolve itself into a united front organisation. The model for the organisation of a united Democratic Front in India is the Chinese political consultative council.

To realise this model, with necessary modifications dictated by Indian conditions, our main task at the present stage is :

- 1) To popularise the programme of the Democratic Front.
- 2) To promote the unity of the mass organisations.
- 3) To organise joint actions with parties, organisations, groups and individuals who oppose imperialism and its servitors.
- 4) To organise the unorganised masses into the mass organisations led by the Communist Party.
- 5) To set up Factory Committees in the factories and Sangram Committees of the toiling people in the villages.

We shall not hesitate to unite with a Party or a group or an individual in a common action for any democratic task, even if such a Party, group or individual oppose us in many respects and many issues. Our aim is to present a joint front of all anti-imperialist parties and groups, etc. in every specific action against imperialism, the native big bourgeoisie, Princes and big landlords.

It is through the systematic fulfilment of this task and systematic exposure of all shades of bourgeois national reformism and disruption that the Communist Party will be able to build up a mighty People's Anti-Imperialist Democratic Front.

**1st May, 1950.**

**cycloed on May 20, 1950**



# Letter of the new central Committee to all party members and sympathisers

(Document issued by the reconstituted central committee on 1st June 1950 after the central committee meeting of 20 May to 1 June 1950.)

The editorial of the organ of the cominform bureau dated 27 January 1950 on the "Mighty Advance of the National- liberation Movement in the Colonial and dependent Countries" and the manifesto of the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries held at peking, are historic documents which acted as a turning point in the life of our party. They came at a time when our party, except in Telegana, Andhra and the hill border regions of Mymensingh district, was sunk in the mire on left-sectarianism, having run its full course in its reckless adventurist actions. They fell of fruitful soil because, on the one hand, the party ranks had seen the devastating effects of the left-sectarian adventurism of the polit bureau with their own eyes, though they did not know the way out of it and, on the other hand, the innerparty struggle was being conducted by the secretariat of the Andhra provincial committee (which includes a number of members of the central Committee and two members of the polit bureau), however haltingly, since the second party congress against the left-sectarianism of the polit bureau. The entire party wakes up to ringing calls of the Cominform bureau and the Peking conference to correct the political line and march forward. They unleash the political initiative of the party ranks so long bottled up both by right-reformism an left-sectarianism. Widespread and intense political discussions start for the first time in the history of the party. The weapon of criticism and self criticism is being wielded by the entire party for the first time in a big way.

In such a situation, the central committee elected at the second party congress met for the first time during the past two years and took important political and organisational decisions for enabling the party to get out of the present left-sectarian mire on to the path of armed struggle for national liberation and agrarian revolution, basing itself on the editorial of the cominform bureau, manifesto of the Peking conference, and the articles of well-known Soviet leaders and academicians, such as Zhukov, Dyakov, Balabushevich, Maslennikov, and others, on the revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi colonies. No doubt the entire party ranks were

kept in an atmosphere of tension and anxiety as to the future of our party because of the delay in putting before you the new political line. This could not be avoided by the central committee because of the unavoidable circumstances such as technical difficulties for arranging a meeting of the central committee members despersed in the proviness under condition of extreme illegality and the political confusion caused by the anti-Marxian ideas and methods injected surreptitiously by both right-reformism and left-sectarianism.

Comrades , the purpose of this letter is not to give you a full and detailed account of the central committee meeting but to give you in short the main political and organisational decisions before the documents adopted by the central committee are finalised and sent to you. The documents will be sent you one by one as they get ready. The central committee hopes this letter would allay your anxiety as to the future of our party.

### **Trotskyite Political Line and Titoite-Turkish Methods of the Polit Bureau**

The second party congress gave a rude shakeup to right reformism which had corroded every aspect of our party life and had eaten away the very vitals of it during the long period of its grip over the party. The second party congress was, "an important step in the life of the communist party of India and a big political event inside the country", as Balabushevich has stated in his article. The political thesis adopted at the second congress is a document which makes a genuine attempt to rescue the party from the mire of reformism in which it had been sunk for a long time. It restored the Leninist conception of the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution in a general way, and advanced the slogan and programme of the democratic front under proletarian leadership. But it also contains some dangerous roots of left-sectarianism which the polit bureau subsequently developed into a full fledged Trotskyite thesis, throwing over board all the Lenin-Stalin teachings on imperialism and colonial revolutions and nullifying all the positive achievements of the second congress.

With the political impetus of the second congress, the party ranks dug up the classics, buried by right-reformism, and began to study them seriously. With the bright, illumination of the classics of the great teachers and leaders Marx - Engles - Lenin - Stalin- they began to grapple with the problems thrown up by the movement and understand and apply the decisions of the second party congress and the political thesis adopted by it. By the time the delegates reached their provinces, repression had already been let loose against the party in varying degrees. In Andhra, Kerala and Tamilnadu, the party already had to face white terror. In Bengal, the party had been banned immediately after the congress. The entire party cadre, dazed in the face of the fascist offensive, searched in vain in the political thesis to find out the way and means to fight it back added to this there was already confusion in the political thesis as regards the present stage and strategy of the Indian revolution i.e. confusion between the democratic and socialist stages

of the revolution and the roles of the different sections of the bourgeoisie and rich peasants, etc. Comrades in different provinces began to grapple with the above important political and organisational problems.

In these attempts, the notable one is that of the Andhra secretariat which produced a draft note for discussion among party ranks and submitted it to the polit bureau for its approval. In spite of certain defects. It correctly defined the stage and strategy. It sharply brought out the nature of the civil war in which we are, and also pointed out how the question of armed resistance has now been placed on the agenda.

Clearly placed the perspective of Chinese path before the entire party, i.e. the growth of revolution through bitter and prolonged armed resistance against the white terror in rural areas, combined with strikes and resistance of the working class in towns, leading to liberated areas in countryside and final capture of power.

The Bengal provincial committee secretariat too, though it had not gone to the fundamentals with regard to stage and strategy as the Andhra secretariat, had begun to grope towards the Chinese path under a different name of South east Asia path and suggested flexible tactics on the trade union front under the slogan of "hit and run" in its resolutions on democratic front and no trade-union struggles.

Assam comrades, faced with the realities in their own province, had also suggested in a general way the Chinese path and armed struggle in the rural areas.

The secretariat of the United Provinces provincial committee also had passed a resolution to conduct the agrarian struggle in Azamgarh district on the path of Telengana giving detailed tactics of armed resistance.

The Polit bureau, instead of carefully examining the political thesis in the light of the important articles appearing in the organ of the cominform bureau and of other brother parties on the issues at controversy ,(viz the resolution of the Cominform bureau on Yugoslav renegades, several articles on people's democracy, Alexeyev's article on India and Pakistan, Liu Shao-Chi's article on proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism etc.) on the one hand and life experiences knocking on the head on the other, pursued a reckless path of dogmatism and adventurism. It produced a full fledged Trotskyite thesis of one stage revolution in the form of the three documents "People's Democracy", "Agrarian Question" and "Tactical Line" at its meeting held at the end of 1948, nullified all the correct things and developed fully all the wrong things in the political thesis, threw overboard all the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on imperialism and colonial revolutions, distorted Zhdanov's report, turned a blind eye to the valuable articles of the brother parties, and finally threw to the winds the principles of fraternal relation of the world communist brotherhood to the extents of open slander of Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese Communist Party. It should also be noted here that a good number of the members of the central committee outside jail were by that time itself well on the path of left-sectarianism and helped the polit bureau in its reckless venture. It is proved by the fact that their criticisms of the draft note of the Andhra secretariat

on the question of stage and strategy were almost on the same lines as the above mentioned polit bureau documents even before those documents had seen the light of day, through most of them had not commented on the other important problem of forms of struggle, i.e. Chinese path. This meeting of the polit bureau and the three documents it produced what the general approved of many members of the central committee and the provincial committees and acted as a green signal for the polit bureau to embark upon reckless adventurist tactics on all fronts.

The polit bureau embarked upon its adventurist line of action with a reckless cool for an all-India railway strike on 9 March 1949, imagining an insurrectionary situation round the corner, it did not bother to take stock of the white terror with a call head, or of the illusions of the railway workers in the socialist leaders, the lackeys of the Indian big bourgeoisie, of their organisational loyalties to the All India Railway men's federation, and of the decrepit state of the party organisation, etc. this adventurist call ended in a fiasco exposing thoroughly the bankruptcy of the polit bureau and all its pretensions to Marxism - Leninism. The polit bureau, instead of taking lessons from this fiasco, and coming forth frankly with self-criticism, admitting its bankruptcy, chose the titoist organisational method of suppressing all criticism. The general secretary came out with an arrogant, abusive letter to the ranks and put the entire responsibility for this fiasco on the party ranks, by labelling them 'Cowards', ' betrayers', 'funks' and ' saboteurs' on the one hand, and brandishing the rod of discipline' on the other in order to suppress all criticism of the polit bureau's adventurist lead, thereby setting at nought every semblance of inner party democracy. Of course this letter was accepted by some members of the polit bureau who were on the spot.

Thereafter the polit bureau, under the leadership of the general secretary, embarked upon the titoist path full steam ahead of suppressing all opposition, badgering members of the central committee into submission and disrupting, suppressing and dissolving provincial committees outright. It was successful in cowing down all members of the central committee and provincial committees who raised their voice against it with regard to the 9th March fiasco, except at Andhra provincial committee. Which included three members of the central committee and a member of the polit bureau. If the polit bureau meeting held at the end of 1948 had acted as a green signal for the left sectarian polit bureau to embark upon adventurist tactics on all fronts, the 9th methods of organisation. If the members of the central committee and the provincial committees had stood up against this putschismu of the polit bureau and discharged their elementary duty as responsible party leaders. 9th march would not have been a starting point for titoist methods in organisation but would have turned into the grave of left-sectarianism and the three "World-famous" documents of the polit bureau, and the party would have been saved from its present plight.

The polit bureau successfully subdued the members of the central committee and provincial committees who raised their voice on the 9th March fiasco, embarked

upon further adventurist calls and wholesale "reorganisation of the provincial committees under the plea of eliminating the "reformist scum" who were supposed to have sabotaged "bold" strike-calls of the polit bureau, and of "proletariansing" the party. Of course this does not mean that there are no confirmed reformists in leading positions who have been sabotaging every strike or struggle and who need be chucked out, or that promoting suitable cadre directly coming from the proletariat and agricultural labour ought not be undertaken. But it was certainly wrong and disruptive to remove wholesale those who had dared to raise their voice against the adventurist tactics of the polit bureau-both confirmed reformists as well as honest and capable comrades from leading positions, and to promote cadres solely because of their proletarian origin to leading positions without training them and educating them, under the cover of apparently revolutionary slogans.

The fact to be noted is, the long history of our party proves that neither had right-reformism under the leadership of P.C.Joshi fought left-sectarianism, nor had left-sectarianism under the leadership of B.T.Ranadive really fought right-reformism; but both had fooled the ranks and the people with seemingly revolutionary slogans one with the slogan of national unity for national independence and the other with the phrases: "hegemony of the proletarian" and "Socialism"; one, with the slogan of functioning the party machine efficiently had to refused to promote proletarian cadres, and the other, under the plea of proletarian cadres, and the other, under the plea of proletarianising the party, had removed honest and capable comrades from leading positions; thus both of them in reality had only fought the party it is un-Marxism to say that one anti-Marxism deviation can be fought in reality with another anti-Marxist deviation. Both carry on a mock fight against each other as long as there is no correct line, but as soon as a correct line is put forward, both resort to attacking it from two opposite ends. This is the lesson the history of our party teaches us.

The titoite-turkish methods followed by the polit bureau after the 9th march fiasco had gone unchallenged except for the lonely voice of the Andhra secretariat. They had run their full course and reached almost a climax by the time of the direct and open political intervention of the Cominform bureau.

The titoite-turkish methods of the polit bureau expressed themselves in the following forms:

(1) The polit bureau which is a body responsible to the central committee usurped the functions of the central committee itself. The central committee meeting was never convened. The members of the central committee were badgered into submission one by one of course, some of the members of the central committee acted as 'shock-troopers' in the "holy" task of the polit bureau.

(2) Even the polit bureau was not functioned properly. It was made into a two-man show in the beginning. Later it was reduced to a one-man show- the general secretary virtually arrogating to himself the entire functioning of the polit bureau.

(3) The polit bureau-mainly the general secretary while refusing to make any self-criticism themselves extracted confessions in the name of self-criticism from many comrades and provincial committees. This does not mean that all the charges leveled by the polit bureau against individuals and committees were wrong.

(4) The polit bureau, while refusing to learn from the ranks and masses, suppressed all inner party democracy and discussions.

(5) The polit bureau adopted methods of favouritism and double -standards in dealing with the mistakes of comrades.

(6) The provincial committees which expressed opposition to the line pursued by the polit bureau were suppressed and dissolved. They were "recognised" with those whom the polit bureau considered fit to push through its antiparty line and methods.

The fractions especially the student's fraction were pitted against the provincial committees, and were utilized as a sort of check upon the provincial committees. The fractions were sought to be raised to the status of fully centralised bodies independent of provincial committees and the provincial committees were sought to be reduced to the status of post-offices.

(7) The polit bureau refused to learn from the rich experiences of the brother parties, especially Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese Communist party, under the plea of not accepting anybody except Marx - Engles - Lenin - Stalin. Not only that, while owing formal allegiance to the above stated teachers and guides, it vulgarized and distorted their teachings to suit its own anti party purposes.

The polit bureau resorted to open slander against the brother parties and their leaders and encouraged gossip-mongering against them.

Such have been the titoite-turkish organisational methods of the polit bureau-especially of the general secretary inside the party for the last two years. Consequently. " the whole inner party life" got poisoned. There was no frank expression of one's own views. The ranks, even the members of the central committee. Were unable to participate in the inner party life for fear of being dubbed "cowards", " betrayers", " saboteurs", "petty bourgeois funk", and what not. So to say, a stinking barrack-life atmosphere of suspicion, intrigue and tension, of "sealed lips", prevailed inside the party till the editorial of the organ of the cominform bureau appeared. This was ideal ground and fertile soil the growth of disruptors, careerists and spies. The situation was much worse than it had been before the second party congress during the days of reformism.

The polit bureau's trotskvite-titoite left sectarian policy and organisational methods brought the party to the verge of disruption. In spite of this the agrarian struggle continued and expanded in Telegana Andhra, and the hill border regions of Mymensingh, be cause the comrades there learning from life experience and forced by it, by passed the polit bureau's sectarian documents and marched forward. The left-sectarian polit bureau cannot lay claim to them just as right-reformism

cannot do it for Telangana which had been started in the days of reformism. Both have done enough to restrict and sabotage them. It is to the credit of the comrades there that they could save these glorious struggles from both the demons and extend them in spite of innumerable obstacles set in the way by both "friends" and foes.

It is true that the titoist methods of the polit bureau had not yet reached the extreme forms as in the Yugoslav party. But it was on its way along that path. The political intervention of the Cominform bureau and the peking conference at the eleventh hour saved the party and the mass movement from total disruption. The documents of the Soviet academicians on the colonial revolutions and the documents and speeches of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party helped us to take a turn and chalk out broad lines of new strategy and tactics.

The seriousness of the situation facing the party could be judged by the fact that the line general secretary in a letter to a member of the polit bureau "discovered" in the peking manifesto "an atrocious formulation" in its calling upon "the working class to rally the national bourgeoisie" (i.e. middle bourgeoisie-CC) and saw a correction of it in the editorial of the cominform bureau organ; the formal acceptance of the Cominform bureau editorial and the self-justificatory statement on it issued by the polit bureau to the party ranks go to prove the same conclusively.

Comrades: The remarkable political initiative and vigilance you have shown, for the first time in the history of the party, since the editorial of the Cominform bureau the sharp criticism you have leveled against the self justificatory statement of the polit bureau and its anti party titoist organisational methods, gave a rude shock to the polit bureau and enabled it to come out of its mire of bureaucracy and contempt for the cadre, its mood of Placency and selfjustification and brought it to its senses. It also made members of the central committee who were resisting to make a complete turn-some of them being more to the left than the polit bureau-wake up and think very seriously. Your political initiative, vigilance and sharp criticism of the polit bureau, along with the documents prepared by the Andhra members of the central committee and the rich experience of the Telangana and the Andhra agrarian armed struggle they had given helped the central committee a great deal to make a complete turn and chalk out broad lines of new strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution as a basis for the unification of our party. This is a hopeful sign for the great future of our party.

#### **Political & Organisational Decision of the Old Central Committee**

It was in this background that the old central committee met and after serious political discussions, merciless criticism and selfcriticism, arrived at the following main political and organisational decisions unanimously.

(1) The central committee discussed the "Report on Left-Deviation inside the Communist Party of India" submitted by the members of the central committee from Andhra, amended it and adopted it.

It is an elaborate document containing the critique of "People's Democracy", "Agrarian Question", "Tactical Line" and other important documents of the polit bureau, which lays bare its bankrupt left-sectarian policies and their roots and delivers them a smashing blow. It also contains a broad assessment of the political thesis of the second party congress.

(2) The central committee discussed the documents "Main Features of the Indian People's Democratic Struggles and the Main Task of the Communist Party" and "People's Democracy" which had been prepared by the polit bureau after the editorial of the organ of the Comin form bureau, and found them unsatisfactory. The cental committee decided to redraft the document. "Main Features" as a positive resolution, including the formulations of 'people's democracy' in the light of the discussions and amendemtns of the central committee, removing the critical part in it.

### MAIN FORMULATIONS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION

This resolution is yet to be drafted. We are giving here very briefly the summary of the main formulations (excepting those on people's democracy") which will be covered by the resolution- at the same time dealing, in slightly greater detail, with some of those points which require clarification or are issues of controversy. They are as follows:

The historic victory of the people's forces, under Soviet leadership, in the antifascist world war; the tremendous weakening of imperialism on a world scale; the demarcation of the opposing world class forces into two camps the imperialist antidemocratic camp led by the US imperialists and the anti-imperialist democratic camp led by the USSR; the growth and consolidation of people's democracies in Eastern Europe; the enormous strengthening of the Chinese democratic forces led by the Communist Party of China. Which subsequently led to the total liberation of 475,000,000 people; the consequent undermining of imperialist authority in colonial and dependent of imperialist authority in colonial and dependent countries and the deepening of the crisis of the colonial system as the most important component part of the general crisis of capitalism-all these have led not only to an increase in the sweep of the colonial people's national-liberation struggles, but also to its rise to new qualitative levels, viz that of armed struggle against imperialism and its native servitors in many of the colonial and dependent countries. And the factor of decisive importance in the national liberation movements is that in the majority of the colonial countries, the working class and the Communist Party have emerged as the recognized leader of the national struggle.

The postwar revolutionary upsurge in India, the innumerable strikes and a number of general strikes, the great peasant struggles, the state's people struggles, the mighty demonstrations all over the country, the RIN mutiny, strikes in the police and army units, the beginning of the Telangana armed struggle, etc., showed that the Indian liberation struggle had come to a qualitatively higher stage. And the determining factor in this stage was that the working class, led by the Communist

Party, stood at the head of these struggles and that the Indian big bourgeoisie had finally betrayed the revolution and completely gone over to the camp of imperialism.

Unable, under these circumstances, to rule in the old way, British imperialism bestowed sham independence on India. Nevertheless India remained essentially a colony of Britain, with USA entering the scene more and more. After the Mountbatten partition both India and Pakistan remain dependent on British imperialism—economically, politically and militarily—with British capital increasing its dominating position in the economy of the two dominions.

### **The Big Bourgeoisie**

The Indian big bourgeoisie, which is closely linked with feudal elements and usurious capital and which from its very inception had been closely bound up with British imperialists, had not been capable of or inclined towards any kind of active struggle against imperialism. Though they had attempted in the past, through the leaders of the National Congress, to utilize the mass movement for gaining concessions for their own benefit their decisive and constant endeavour had been to prevent the mass struggle from growing into a struggle for the freedom of the masses and hence they had always come to a compromise with British imperialism and had reckoned on its support in their struggle against the proletariat and the toiling masses of India. If in the past they had represented some opposition against imperialism, then with the Mountbatten deal they completely and openly went over to the camp of imperialism. They have become the collaborators and servitors of imperialism, dreading the advancing tide of revolution.

Some conflicts of interest between imperialism and the big bourgeoisie do still remain or arise on occasions though the bourgeoisie has not the independent status to 'solve them at governmental level'. 'The transfer of power', the change from the direct rule of the imperialists to indirect rule, has elevated the Indian big bourgeoisie to the role of junior partners of imperialism, exercising authority and repressive powers over the masses, united with the feudal and princely elements against the tide of popular advance, negotiating and manoeuvring within the camp of imperialism, not without conflicts of interests, with its own trading, military and expansionist ambitions in Asia, but essentially a secondary and dependent power within the camp of imperialism.

### **Tasks of the Communists**

In this colonial setup of presentday India, in the further advance of its national-liberation struggle, the tasks of the Indian communists are, as the editorial of the Cominform bureau organ has pointed out, to draw upon the experience of the national-liberation movements of China and other countries and "to strengthen the alliance of the working class with all the peasantry, to fight for the introduction of the urgently needed agrarian reform and on the basis of the common struggle for freedom and national independence of their country, against the Anglo-American imperialists oppressing it and against the reactionary big bourgeoisie and feudal princes collaborating with them to unite all classes, parties, groups

and organizations willing to defend the national independence and freedom of India."

The editorial has pointed out the enormous significance of the victory of the Chinese people against the combined forces of the reactionary Kuomintang and American imperialism to the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies like India. The editorial and the Peking manifesto of the Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian Countries have pointed out that the Chinese path is the path of struggle and victory for the national-liberation movement in India and other colonial countries.

On the Chinese path, the further advance of the Indian national-liberation struggle depends, essentially, on two things:

### **United Front of All Anti-Imperialist Classes**

First, to create a powerful united national front of the "broad masses of the peasantry and intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie in the cities and the national bourgeoisie who suffer from vexations and restrictions imposed by imperialism and its lackeys"- to wage the struggle against imperialism and its native agents. This front has to be created the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the communist party, equipped with Marxism-Leninism, mastering revolutionary strategy and tactics, breathing the spirit of irreconcilability to enemies and the spirit of proletarian discipline and organisation.

In building the united national front, several points have to be kept in mind; viz

(i) The basis of the front is the alliance of the workers and toiling peasantry under the leadership of the working class.

### **Rich Peasantry & Middle Peasantry**

(ii) The rich peasantry who carry on feudal exploitation will have to be treated as the enemies of the front, though a distinction will be made between them and the landlords in the matter of expropriation of their land after the revolution.

Those rich peasants who do not carry on feudal exploitation will be allies.

The middle peasantry will be firm allies of the proletariat in the democratic revolution.

### **Middle Bourgeoisie**

(iii) The big bourgeoisie are the monopolist groups, mainly Gujarati-Marwari-who are the agents of imperialism and who at the same time seek to dominate, in alliance with imperialism, the internal market by oppressing and exploiting the regions of other nationalities which are economically or culturally backward. The big bourgeoisie is the enemy of the front.

There are other sections of the bourgeoisie who, though not big by themselves, yet are intimately connected with feudal or big-bourgeoisie interests and hence are enemies of the democratic revolution.

The middle bourgeoisie are the nonmonopoly sections who are injured by the imperialist-big bourgeois cut throat competition and who have little or no links with the feudal forces. Hence they may be progressive to a certain extent. The middle bourgeoisie also includes the rising bourgeoisie of nationalities dominated or suppressed by the Gujarati-Marwari big business. But not all of them would be progressive. There are some sections which have direct links with big business or interests bound with feudal exploitation. Though these sections of the bourgeoisie of backward provinces show some dissatisfaction against the ruling bourgeoisie on the question of linguistic provinces, just as the big bourgeoisie shows some dissatisfaction against the imperialists on matters of industrialization, etc., yet, whatever tactical use we might make of that dissatisfaction, they cannot be considered as even temporary allies in the democratic front. Only the rest of the sections of the bourgeoisie which stand up against the big bourgeoisie on the question of linguistic provinces, as on other issues, can be considered as an ally.

With regard to the role of the middle bourgeoisie we must be clear. In view of the extreme accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism and sharp polarization of class forces, they have to be considered only as "fellow-travellers", "at one or another time, "during one or another period", not as "reliable or stable members of anti-imperialist camp.

(iv) The development of the united front is a process of struggle for unity-begun from a joint demonstration or action for the most easily understood demands of the different sections, to the highest form of struggle for land, peace, bread and independence on a more permanent basis. And the most effective way to build it is to build it from below.

But it does not preclude agreement at the top between leaders and individuals of different classes, organizations or parties. Such agreements often become essential to facilitate unity from below- provided a systematic exposure of the activities of the disruptive leaders is carried out and the influence of bourgeois nationalism fought in a determined manner.

### **The Second Essential of the Chinese Path**

The second essential point of the Chinese path is that the national-liberation struggle has to be waged by means of armed guerrilla warfare in the countryside, the formation of liberation bases and liberation armies- culminating in the seizure of power all over the country. This armed struggle is closely linked up with and is inseparable from the peasants' agrarian revolution without which it would be impossible to organise armed struggle.

### **Feudal Relations Dominant-Agrarian Revolution the Axis**

In the rural areas of India feudal and semi-feudal relations are still dominant. The imperialist rulers have deliberately kept this feudal and semifeastal agrarian framework so as to serve their robber economy. The denial of this landed the old polit bureau in left-sectarian analysis. However this should not blind us to the growth of considerable capitalist relations in the womb of feudalism in India. If

we ignore this phenomenon there arises the danger of swinging to the other extreme from our previous sectarian line leading to the failure in organizing the agricultural labour or farm servants so as to boldly lead their wage struggles. Another factor to be noted in this connection is the agricultural labourers of our colonial country are different from those in the advanced capitalist countries, because of their continued subjection to feudal and colonial exploitation, besides their wage-slavery.

This huge section of agricultural labour in our country in reality a pauperized peasant- will act as the vanguard of the agrarian revolution and is a vital factor in the struggle for people's democratic revolution in the countryside.

Nevertheless feudal relations being dominant, the agrarian revolution is the axis of the Indian national-liberation movement and "land to the tiller" is the main slogan of urgently- needed agrarian reform as well as of unity in struggle of the broad masses of the peasantry.

### **Armed Struggle on the Agenda**

The Indian national-liberation struggle had assumed a wide sweep, reached a qualitatively new level and entered on a new and higher phase of its development after the second world war. It had struck terror into the hearts of both the Indian big bourgeoisie and imperialism, which resulted in their collaboration. The Indian big bourgeoisie betrayed the national-liberation struggle and completely and openly went over to the camp of imperialism, which culminated in the Mountbatten award. The collaborationist regime of the imperialist-feudal-landlord-big bourgeoisie let loose fascist white terror and unleashed a civil war to stem the advancing tide of revolution and to wipe out the revolutionary mass movement altogether. The growing tide of the agrarian revolution and the Civil War let loose by the Nehru-Patel government placed the question of armed resistance on the agenda.

We Indian communists failed to understand the significance of this development and to change the perspective and tactics of the growth of our national-liberation struggle, learning from the glorious revolutionary experience of China and the other Southeast Asian countries, Vietnam, Malaya, Burma, marching along the path of China. We stuck dogmatically to the conception of political general strike and countrywide insurrection, under the cover of the seemingly revolutionary slogan of "We do not recognize anybody except Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin", and refused to learn from life experience of Telangana and the hill border regions of Mymensingh district.

This arises from a dogmatic and distorted conception of the hegemony of the proletariat in the struggle for national liberation- that the physical participation of the entire working class in action, i.e. political general strike and insurrection, is the exclusive method of establishing and exercising hegemony. The proletariat under the leadership of its vanguard detachment, the communist party, can establish its hegemony over the peasant masses, and head the national-liberation movement in presentday world conditions in colonies and semicolonies through armed guerilla

resistance, by establishing liberated bases in rural areas, and forming the liberation army, combined with flexible tactics in cities, leading to the final liberation of the cities and capture of full power over the entire country.

This is the new experience which the world proletariat has acquired out of the Chinese revolution, which is a third world –significant event, after great October socialist revolution and the victory of the antifascist forces under the leadership of the USSR in the second world war.

We pursued adventurist tactics with above wrong perspective of the growth of our revolution and brought the party and the mass movement to the verge of an abyss. The editorial of the organ of the Cominform bureau and the Peking conference called our attention to the rich experience of China and put before us the main task of leading the agrarian revolution and building up of a liberation army for the victory of the revolution.

There is a misconception in the minds of certain comrades as to the directive of the Cominform bureau of “the formation, when necessary internal conditions allow for it, of people’s liberation armies” and armed struggle “becoming the main form of national-liberation movement in many colonies and dependent countries.”

Some of them seem to think that India is exempted from the Chinese path because it did not refer to all but only to “many” colonies and dependencies. This is now washed away by the subsequent editorial of the organ of the Comingform bureau of 19 May 1950, in which India is also put along with other countries where armed struggle is taking place and by the life experience in India too-of Telangana, Andhra, hill border regions of Mymensingh district.

Another section of the comrades, while accepting formally the Chinese path, argue as if the conditions are not ripe for carrying an armed guerilla resistance except in a very few areas and first preconditions have to be created slowly by winning of the majority of the people and building up people’s unity through propaganda. Then one fine morning give a call for organizing a liberation army and then proceed with armed struggle winning victory after victory to complete capture of power. This is nothing but underestimating the depth of discontent and disillusionment of the masses with the Congress raj, misunderstanding, mis applying Chinese experience, and refusing to see what life itself teaches here in our country.

These few years of Congress “ram rajya” have proved to the masses that it is the government of bloodsuckers and not of the people. All their old illusions that Congress would better their lot have been completely shattered. On the other hand, they are convinced by their life experience that their lot is getting worsened day by day. “Congress is worse than the Britishers” is the common word on everybody’s lips. It is maintaining its existence mainly on its bayonet. The people want this satanic raj to go. Majority of them do not know how to end it. But any act of resistance to white terror of the Congress government and the bloodsuckers from any quarter brings forth automatic sympathy from the broad masses of the people, even in the politically most backward parts of the country.

It is true that we have to contend against the leadership of the Socialist Party, lackey's of the Indian big bourgeoisie who are spreading Gandhian ideology and putting forth the solution of the "ballot box" for the mitigation of the wretched conditions of the people. We have also to contend against the leadership of the left parties and groups, who are spreading legalistic and constitutionalist illusions to capitalize this discontent of the toiling masses. But what we have to realize is that we cannot counteract this bourgeois-reformist poison and legalist-constitutionalist illusion, spread by the socialist lackeys and left parties and groups through propaganda alone. We have to combine judiciously and carry on simultaneously propaganda, mass struggles, armed guerilla resistance and organisation of the party and mass organizations. To counterpose one against the other is to nullify all and the result is inactivity. The main precondition required, i.e. the mass desire that the ruling power should go and also the revolutionary position taken by a big section of the masses under the leadership of our party is already there. People are already on the move in their own way in certain areas, Telangana, Andhra, hill border regions of Mymensingh district; they have been carrying on guerilla warfare. Which can rightly be described as the beginning of the Indian democratic revolution. Reports appear in the daily press of strikes, agrarian struggles, actions of militant resistance and tribal revolts. While reformism sabotaged the mass struggles outright, left-sectarianism refused to give tactics suited to the existing conditions and level of mass consciousness and thereby allowing the enemy to smash the mass struggles, with the same results. The objective conditions for starting guerilla resistance are there taking India as a whole, leaving aside some areas. The only thing required is for the party to utilize them. Our old yardstick off measuring the readiness of the masses for armed action by whether the overwhelming majority of the masses themselves are coming physically into the streets and have accepted the party's full political programme or not, has to be discarded. The thing to be noted is that guerilla resistance can and has to be started against the fascist terror basing on the general support of the masses.

This does not mean that we launch armed struggle immediately wherever we are and whatever may be the conditions. The way of going forward successfully is, by the party boldly initiating mass struggles basing on the level of the consciousness of the masses in different localities, combined with armed guerilla resistance, so as to develop them quickly to a higher phase of land distribution and village people's committees (jana panchayats). It is only by this that the revolutionary movement can be defended and extended to wider and wider areas, ultimately embracing the whole country. It is only by adopting armed guerilla warfare that the party would be strengthened and extended. Thus a strong party heading the armed guerilla warfare will be able to unite the toiling masses and mobilize all the anti-imperialist classes, establish liberated bases and organise liberation armies in areas topographically and otherwise suited for them, leading to the final capture of power and complete liberation of the entire country.

This does not in the least mean that the central committee is minimizing the role of the organisation and asking comrades everywhere in India to outright start resistance actions even without setting the house in order, reorganizing the party machine smashed by left-sectarianism, educating and convincing the comrades on the new line and making minimum preliminary preparations. These minimum organisational steps have to be taken immediately by the party committees everywhere. We will not launch armed resistance actions on our own without fulfilling the above mentioned minimum immediate jobs. But we cannot sit quiet when either the enemy attacks us or the masses are on the move, under the plea of not having fulfilled the above mentioned minimum jobs. In that case, we have to fulfil them when leading masses and carrying on resistance against the fascist attack of the enemy.

### **In Cities and Industrial Centres**

With this perspective of the Chinese path for people's democratic revolution in India, we have to use flexible tactics in the cities and industrial centres-illegal propaganda, various types of protest actions and demonstrations, strikes, armed actions, etc- whichever form is best suited to the particular place and moment, in order to conserve and strengthen the revolutionary movement. We have to coordinate this movement in the cities and industrial centres with the armed guerilla struggle in the rural areas and conduct the general movement with a combined plan.

The Peking manifesto says: "Working men and women: in the cities, under the white terror, apply with good judgement and elasticity the tactics which can best ensure the defence of your interests. Active trade unionists, you must be present wherever the masses are, even in the trade unions, organizations and institutions led by the reactionaries. You must organise the day-to-day struggle of the masses for the defence of their interests, particularly to oppose slave labour and every kind of discrimination. In this way you should prepare and gather forces to organise, when a favourable opportunity arises, broad mass movements which will deliver decisive blows to the reactionary forces."

### **Fight for Peace**

The imperialist antidemocratic camp, led by US imperialists, caught in a crisis, is feverishly preparing for an other war to gain world supremacy. But, without suppressing the national-liberation movement in the colonies, the imperialists cannot consider themselves fully prepared for unleashing an aggressive war against the camp of peace and democracy. The imperialist aggressors are in fact, already waging war against the colonial liberation movement on a vast territory extending from South Korea to Burma, Malaya, Vietnam and Indonesia.

For this offensive against the liberation struggles of the South east Asian colonies, the imperialists today seek to make India their main satellite base.

In these conditions, the struggle of the Indian people against their imperialist oppressors is a vital part of the common struggle of the working people throughout

the world against the Anglo-American instigators of a new war, for peace and democracy. The success of the national-liberation struggle of India strengthens the world front of peace and this struggle will be her most effective contribution to the common struggle of the world peace camp.

Along with this struggle, the people of India have to play an increasingly wide and active part in the peace campaign led by the World Peace Congress by signature campaign for banning the atom bomb and by other actions and demonstrations. The game of the Anglo-American investigators of a new war and the subservient role of the Nehru government have to be exposed before the people. Thousands of peace committees have to be formed throughout the length and breadth of India, carrying on active agitation and campaign.

### National Question

On the question of nationalities, the polit bureau pursued since the second party congress a reactionary policy of subservience to big-bourgeois chauvinism by opposing all national movements, movements for linguistic-cultural provinces and dissolution of feudal states (as in Hyderabad) and by advocating in all cases (as in the case of Kashmir) joining the Indian Union by itself as the demand of the Communist Party. In countering the demand for autonomous linguistic provinces and dissolution of states (Hyderabad) it advanced the left-sectarian slogan of self-determination for toilers as against self-determination of nations. In doing so the polit bureau revised and distorted the Lenin-Stalin principles on the question of self-determination of nations. Under the pretext of fighting the deviation towards the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie of the suppressed nationalities, the polit bureau strengthened the chauvinism of the ruling big bourgeoisie, the agent of Anglo-American imperialism.

On the national question the Communist Party stands and fights for equality of all nations and seminationalities growing as nations, equal development of their language, culture and economic life, self determination of all nationalities and seminationalities to the point of secession, unity of all these nations into a voluntary union.

The demand for equality of all languages and the formation of autonomous linguistic provinces is a progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist demand. It is directed against princely autocracy and is an instrument for the dissolution of princely states. It is directed against the oppression and exploitation of the ruling big bourgeoisie. It is directed against partition, all forms of communal division and all forms of racial, communal and national discriminations. Above all, it is directed against foreign imperialist domination. The most important driving force of the various movements of the nationalities is the peasantry, fighting under the leadership of the working class.

The reactionary elements of various nationalities in India (princes, landlords and reactionary section of the bourgeoisie), are utilizing the movements for autonomous linguistic provinces to serve their reactionary purposes. The task of

the Communist Party is to seize the initiative and lead these movements as part of the general struggle for national independence and people's democracy for the abolition of princedom and all survivals of feudalism, for abolition of landlordism and land to the tiller.

Thus the demands for Vishalaandhra, Samyukta Karnatak, Samyukta Maharashtra, United Kerala, United Bengal, autonomous regions for tribal and semitribal peoples, etc., are progressive democratic demands. These demands can be achieved by overthrowing the rule of imperialism and its agents in the Indian Union and Pakistan, i.e. the big bourgeoisie and the feudal classes.

(3) Besides the above two documents, a resolution on Mao, prepared by the polit bureau was discussed, amended and adopted. In that resolution, an apology has been tendered for the slanderous attack in the press on Mao, throwing to the winds all principles of fraternal relations with brother parties and their leaders; anti-Marxist criticism of Mao's formulations in his New Democracy made by the polit bureau in its documents has been sharply condemned and critised; lessons for the Indian democratic revolution have been drawn from Mao's valuable writings and the rich experience of the Chinese revolution.

(4) The old polit bureau could not produce any collective selfcriticism of its own but each of its members submitted his own individual selfcritical report before the central committee. These reports came under sharp scrutiny and criticism from the members of the central committee. In the course of the discussions over the selfcritical reports of the members of the polit bureau, each of the members of the central committee made a short selfcritical review of his own role and activities mainly covering the period since the second party congress. The collective discussions over the self-critical reports of the members of the polit bureau and the members of the central committee helped all to understand the role and failings of every member of the central committee-each accepting the collective criticism made in the central committee meeting.

(5) "A Short Report on the Left-Sectarianism in the Organisational Activities of the Polit Bureau, the Main Organisational Tasks before the Central Committee and Directives for the Proper Functioning of the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau in Future", submitted by the Andhra members of the central committee present at the meeting, was also discussed, amended and adopted by the central committee.

(6) The central committee on the basis of the above report dissolved the polit bureau and removed Ranadive from the post of general secretaryship for the following crimes:

Ranadive has been the initiator, executor and dogged defender of the Trotsky-Tito type of left-sectarian political line. The polit bureau had fallen in line, conciliated and abetted him in carrying out his anti-Leninist, liquidationist line, which has resulted in the party and mass movement being brought to the point of total disruption. The manifestations of that line are:

- (a) Repudiation of the Lenin-Stalin teachings on imperialism and colonial revolution which resulted in equating the present stage of Indian revolution to the socialist stage.
- (b) Sabotage of the agrarian revolution and armed struggle and adventurist tactics in towns and villages which brought the mass movement to the verge of total disruption.
- (c) Bringing in of the titoist organizational methods, which resulted in almost disrupting the party organisation, suppressing innerparty democracy and poisoning inner party life.
- (d) Anti-international attitude and violation of the very principles of fraternal relations with brother parties, which resulted in overt and covert slander of brother parties and their leaders, supreme complacency and lack of vigilance against spies, etc.
- (e) Rejection of all creative Marxism under the slogan "we recognize nobody except Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin" and finally distortion of all Marxism-Leninism to suit its own left-sectarian adventurist purposes.

• The polit bureau as a whole was responsible for all the crimes stated above. But this does not mean either that every member of the polit bureau was responsible for all the crimes stated above or that every member was responsible in the same degree, taking each crime singly. The different members of the polit bureau were responsible for the above crimes in varying degrees, which will be given in a short report on the organizational activities of the polit bureau as adopted by the central committee.

Regarding suppression of documents, it was found that, with the purpose of keeping the party politically blind and trading on ignorance, Ranadive, with the help of Adhikari, was responsible for the suppression of international documents. Ranadive was further responsible for suppression of several important innerparty documents.

(7) At the second party congress, a central committee of 31 had been elected. Such a big central committee was elected because the congress failed to take note of the fascist terror and impending illegality facing the party. If the central committee was to really discharge its functions as the effective political leadership of the entire party and the revolutionary movement in India, it ought to have been a compact functioning body, instead of an unwieldy one. Subsequent experience demonstrated the inadvisability of such a big number for the central committee. On the basis of the political organizational discussions and decisions the central committee proceeded to reconstitute itself as a compact functioning body. In the extremely illegal circumstances prevailing at present the central committee could not venture to think of a party congress and decided to proceed on the basis of the other alternative provided in the party constitution. i.e. reconstituting the central committee and convening the plenum (article X, sections 1 and 4 of

the constitution taken together). Out of the central committee of 31, one comrade has died, six were in jail, two had been removed from the central committee and one had to be excluded from the central committee and kept under observation and enquiry because of serious charges of anti party activity pending against him. All except two of the remaining members of the central committee had met and taken the decision of reconstituting itself and fixed the number at eleven, till the plenum is convened to discuss everything and finally decide the issue. In the opinion of the old central committee, the principles which, as far as possible, had to be kept in view in selecting personnel of a new central committee were as follows:

- (a) Unreservedly accept the new line of the party.
- (b) Political and organizational capacities to get things done. In critical situation no vacillations either opportunistic or political, but stand like a rock amidst storm. (The political –organisational capacities of individual have to be judged in relation to his past activities).
- (c) Even if on his own he is not able to give correct solutions to major problems, at least he must have the ear to learn from the party ranks and pose organizational, political and mass problems before the central committee and enrich the central committee with experience.
- (d) The central committee members who had been the propounders and fanatical executors of this sectarian line and adopted Trotskyite-titoist methods of organisation, who have refused even to think about their sectarian line ever after the editorial of the information bureau organ appeared, and who after months of discussion of the new line refused to orientate in spite of the sharp criticism of the ranks, must as far as possible not be entrusted with heavy responsibility of the central committee and polit bureau membership until they prove in practice that they are once again fit for being entrusted with such responsibility.

The election of the new central committee took place based on the selfcriticism of the members of the polit bureau and the central committee.\*

Though the number of members of the reconstituted central committee was fixed at 11 as a provisional arrangement till the plenum is convened, only nine could be chosen for the present from among those members of the old central committee who are outside jail and from other comrades in provinces known to the central committee. On the basis of the guiding principles stated above, it was decided to fill up the rest of the two places by the new central committee from among the comrades in the provinces and the members of the old central committee not elected to the new central committee, in course of time, on the basis of further discussions and practical work.

+ The reconstituted central committee consisted of the following nine members of whom the first three were members of the Polit Bureau: (1) C.Rajeswara Rao (General Secretary), (2) M.Basavapunniah, (3) Bires Misra, (4) P.Sundarayya, (5) D.Venkateswara Rao, (6) Somnath Lahiri, (7) Moni Singh, (8) E.M.S. Namboodiripad, (9) S.V. Parulekar.

Among the nine elected for the new central committee, four members of the central committee are taken from Andhra in which the member of the polit bureau from Andhra is included; one member of the old polit bureau from Bengal who had not been an active participant in the old polit bureau's functioning and had little to do with its Turkish-titoite methods of organisation; a member of the provincial committee from Bengal who had been the leader of the armed struggle in Mymensingh, one of the members of the central committee from Kerala; the member of the central committee from Assam who, though he surrendered to the polit bureau when badgered, had taken to organizing armed guerilla struggle on the basis of his experience; a member of the central committee from Maharashtra who had initiated the agrarian struggle in Ahmednagar, and has wide experience of trade-union and peasant movement. This is by no means an ideal central committee, but a central committee best under the circumstances. If we approach the problem from ideal standards, we cannot have a central committee at all. This does not mean that there are no comrades in the provinces other than the Mymensingh district comrade fit for the central committee, but the old central could not estimate the cadre in the provinces immediately. That is why only nine could be elected inspite of the fixing of the number at eleven. Comrades have to understand that these decisions of the old central committee are of a provisional nature till the meeting of the plenum which is the final authority, intended to unify and rebuild the party and to rehabilitate the mass movement and put it on the rails of armed struggle.

(8) The central committee decided to release the following documents adopted by it to the ranks for discussion and also decided to start a forum for facilitating the inner party discussion:

- (a) Critique on the three polit bureau documents, i.e., "People's Democracy", "Agrarian Question" and "Tactical Line".
- (b) Political Resolution
- (c) Resolution on Mao.
- (d) Organisational report on the left-sectarian activities of the polit bureau.

It also decided to hold a plenum of the new central committee including the representatives of the provincial committees in about six months' time to finalise the drafts and take final organizational decisions about central committee and provincial committees, etc.

Meanwhile the party units have to carry on the day-to-day activity of the party on the basis of the political line given in the drafts for discussion and lead the mass revolutionary movement.

(9) The central committee decided to refer to an inquiry commission the cases of two of its members who had been removed from it by the old polit bureau and the case of a member of the old polit bureau who was reported to have been in contact with party renegades.

(10) The central committee decided to reestablish close fraternal relations with brother parties; to invite the criticism of the Cominform bureau on its political and organizational decisions, and to get the opinion of other parties-specially that of the CPSU (B) and Chinese Communist Party.

### DECISIONS OF THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The new central committee has met and taken the following important decisions besides certain others:

(1) It elected a general secretary (member in the old polit bureau from Andhra) and a polit bureau of three, including the general secretary. The other two members of the polit bureau are one from among the members of the central committee from Andhra and the member of the central committee from Assam. The new central committee has no alternative except to elect a polit bureau of three, because a polit bureau of more than three is out of question in central committee of nine.

(2) The new central committee set itself the task of cleaning the organizational mess created by the left-sectarian line and titoite methods of the old polit bureau. It took important decisions regarding the reorganization of the provincial committees of Bengal, Bihar, Tamilnadu, Kerala, Assam and Maharashtra and Bombay.

It also asked the provincial committees to review such of the cases of disciplinary actions taken against committees and individuals in the last two years, as need to be reconsidered, and take suitable measures in the light of the new political line.

The central committee withdraws the documents of the old polit bureau- "People's Democracy", "Agrarian Question,", "Tactical Line"- for the present. Other documents of the old polit bureau will also be reviewed and necessary action taken later. But it asks the comrades not to take any document or circular of the old polit bureau or fractions of mass fronts as authoritative any longer.

(3) As the new central committee had not had sufficient time to finalise the following documents, it decided that the polit bureau should finalise them and circulate them to the ranks for discussion.

The documents are:

- (a) Tactics and tasks on the working class front.
- (b) Tactics and tasks inside jails.
- (c) Tactics and tasks on the student front.
- (d) Tactics and tasks on the agrarian front (to be prepared). Meanwhile the Andhra documents on the subject are to be circulated and comrades helped with the experience of Telangana and Andhra movements.
- (e) A draft on women's front.

(4) The new central committee decided to circulate the minutes of the meeting of the old central committee and the selfcritical reports of the members of the old polit bureau to the provincial committees in order to give them a better understanding of the decisions of the old and new central committees though it is not the normal practice to circulate the minutes of the central committee to lower units. The provincial committees can utilize this material, along with the documents issued on the new political line, for giving the lower party committees and ranks better conviction about the political and organizational decisions of the old and new central committees. The new central committee hopes this will help the political and organizational unification this will help the political situation.

(5) As enjoined by the old central committee, the new central committee appointed a commission to enquire into the lack of vigilance against titoite spies, on the part of the central organisations of the party.

#### Guarantees for the Correct Political Line

The tradition of our party, specially since the “people’s war” period, has been to swing like a pendulum from one extreme to the other. We need not go into the distant past to prove this. Suffice it to illustrate from the people’s war period. For full six months after the dastardly attack by Hitler on the Soviet Union, our party went along the bourgeois-nationalist path characterizing it as an imperialist war. Then we woke up and suddenly swung to the other extreme of the theory of “automatic liberaton”, of an anti-Japanese front from workers to zamindars and religious preachers, and no-strike, no-struggle tactics in the name of “production”. We continued this reformist policy and practice with some changes, i.e. we formally discarded the slogan of ‘automatic liberation’ but in practice followed the same line by trailing behind the big bourgeoisie and Congress leadership for more than two years after the war. Then we woke up suddenly like Rip Van Winkle at the end of 1947 to jump into left-sectarianism which has brought the party and the mass movement to the present plight of total disruption.

It is not necessary to write in detail how during the long period of 1942 to 1948 every time the central committee met, it used to come out with a resolution beating its breast and saying: “We have underestimated this point”, “over estimated that point”, but this time “We have correctly estimated all points” and come to a “correct conclusion”- only to repeat the same sorrowful tale once again!

Comrades! In this background of our party history, you are perfectly justified in feeling sceptical this time also and asking. “What is the guarantee that this time the central committee has chalked out a correct path?” It is the duty of the central committee to give you a convincing answer.

There exist three guarantees now which did not exist so strongly before:

(1) The direct political guidance of the Cominform bureau and political assistance of the brother parties, i.e. CPSU (B), Communist Party of China, etc. Our political decisions are based on the editorial of the organ of the Cominform bureau, Peking manifesto, documents of the comrades of the CPSU (B) and

documents of Mao Tse tung and the Chinese Communist Party which have rendered not only general political guidance, but also guidance on certain vital details.

We can assure you that we will make the most earnest efforts to seek and obtain regular criticism from the Cominform bureau.

(2) Our decisions are not only based upon the valuable theoretical and political material stated above, but also on the rich practical experience of Telangana. Andhra, the hill border regions of Mymensingh, etc. besides the costly lessons we have learnt from our right and left deviations.

(3) Never in the history of our party, either in the period of reformism or the period of sectarianism, inner-party democracy was properly established, on the contrary it was either crippled or destroyed completely. Never in the history of the party, the ranks and lower committees were associated with the shaping of the party policy, i.e. strategy and tactics. A mechanical division-like that in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties of political and practical functions of the party was made. The right of chalking out political line and taking important political decisions was arrogated to the central committee (which reduced itself to the polit bureau in the days of illegality) and practical work left to the "dumb ranks" of the party. Unity of theory and practice is one of the cardinal principles of Marxism. No mechanical separation of political and practical functions is permissible inside a communist party. Every party committee and every cell has to be a political and practical leader within the limits of their respective areas. Every party member has to participate constantly in innerparty life and contribute his or her share in shaping the party policy and tactics and arriving at important decisions. This is the surest guarantee against either the party going wrong or the party leadership running amuck as in the recent past.

The old and new central committee decided to forge this guarantee by firmly establishing inner party democracy, based on the fundamental organizational principles of democratic centralism. In pursuance of that aim, we have to immediately associate the ranks in hammering out the new line in all details, through organizing widest possible inner party discussions on the basis of international documents and documents of the old and new central committees and finalise the new line at the plenum.

Hence, comrades, you can march forward with confidence and extricate the party and the mass movement out of this dangerous situation, keeping the abovestated guarantees in mind.

## **PRESENT CRITICAL SITUATION & THE MAIN TASK BEFORE THE PARTY**

"We have to remember that the enemies of the party won't sit quiet until we find methods of correcting the past mistakes and evolve a new line. They are already on the move with a view to deliver smashing blows while the party is in

political confusion and they want to wipe it out before it can hammer out a new line and reorientate itself on that basis. The imperialists and their agents, the Indian big business, unleashed a new wave of fascist terror unknown in the history of our country, not only against Telangana and Andhra districts of the Madras province, but on all our strongholds throughout the country, such as Kerala, Tamilnadu, Eastern United Provinces, parts of Bihar, Bengal, Assam, Manipur etc. The white terror and civil war let loose in Telangana and Madras province is no ordinary thing-shooting at sight of our party members and sympathizers, inhuman torture in specially built torture chambers, shooting down comrades by bringing them out of subjeails, etc. Their plan is to wipe out our strong holds before the situation goes out of their control. The Congress government is making serious efforts under the guidance of the Anglo-American imperialists to square up its quarrels with the reactionary puppet government of Pakistan, not only to stem the tide of the revolution in the Indian subcontinent but also to help the imperialists to drown the revolutionary national-liberation movements in the countries of Southeast Asia. Another concrete purpose of these attempts at rapprochement is to sandwich the resistance areas like the hill border regions of Mymensingh district, Manipur, Tippera and others on the borders of India and Pakistan.

“The leadership of the Socialist Party of India, the lackeys of big business, have let loose a barrage of lies and slander against the party. They are not only trying hard to isolate us from other progressive left groups, but also appealing to the Congress government to realise that this policy of armed struggle in the rural side is more dangerous than the previous adventurist tactics of our party, and to suppress us all the more vigorously and help them in their nefarious game.

“The renegades thrown out of the party are making every effort under the leadership of Joshi to disrupt the party and are waiting for a chance to split the party.

“In such a serious situation, the party cannot sit only discussing the new line. It has to carry on a two fold task simultaneously if it is at all serious about the guidance given in the editorial of the information bureau organ and the Peking manifesto.

“Firstly, to clean all the sectarian and reformist rubbish and hammer out a new clearcut strategy and tactics.

“Secondly, to proceed steadily to put the party on the rails of armed struggle in the countryside and rebuild the movement in the cities and workingclass centres on the basis of our new line and tactics.

“To lose sight of either of the above and to forget that both are to be simultaneously fulfilled leads finally to liquidation of the party and the revolutionary movement altogether” (“Short Report on the Organisational Activity of the Polit Bureau” submitted by Andhra members of the central committee).

• To fulfil the above twofold tasks under conditions of such a critical situation, what is needed today is the maintenance of iron discipline inside the party-discipline

based on the Lenin-Stalin principle of full innerparty democracy combined with strict centralization. The central committee is glad to note the struggle that the comrades have already begun for the reassertion of inner party democracy and congratulates the comrades on their invaluable contribution towards evolving the correct party line in the recent period. But the central committee, at the same time, can not but feel concerned at certain harmful tendencies that are raising their head here and there. At places the slogan has been raised for reorganization of leading party committees from below and socalled 'action committees' are sought to be formed which means reducing the party to splinter groups. These slogans do not at all help the party to break the stalemate but will lead the party towards utter disruption, and help the disruptors to undermine its unity. Such slogans strike at the very root of democratic centralization-the struggle for which has begun today in the entire party. While pointing out this dangerous disruptive trend inside the party- a trend born however out of just indignation against the longstanding bureaucratism of the leadership- the central committee has full confidence in the party ranks that they will not allow the undermining of the discipline and unity of the party build through the toil and struggle of the past 20 years.

### **Our Strength and Opportunities**

Comrades! We need not despair. It is true that the party and the mass movement have suffered great loss and they have been brought to the point of total disruption and that they have to be rebuilt on entirely new foundations. It is also true that the enemies of the party are laying plans to wipe them out completely. But there is yet time and material to rebuild the party and the mass movement, if we make an objective estimate of the opportunities and dangers facing the party and if we make a move quickly without wasting any more time and put our shoulders to the wheel as one man.

Comrades! Do not see only our weaknesses but see our strength also, see not only the dangers but also see the opportunities offered by the national and international conditions.

(1) Inspite of innumerable obstacles, both internal and external, the glorious Telangana armed struggle- the beginning of the people's democratic revolution in India- has not only survived but extended to new areas inside the state and outside to Andhra districts of Madras province.

Now armed struggle is being carried on in an area of 40,000 square miles with a population of 120 lakh (total area of Andhradesa is 120 thousand square miles and population 3 crore) situated in the heart of Andhradesa.

Armed warfare is being carried on in the hill border regions of Mymensingh district in an area of 1000 square miles with a population of about one lakh.

In some other areas of Assam, Tippera, Eastern United Provinces, Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra, people are taking to arms to resist Congress fascist terror.

Reports appear in the daily newspapers of local strikes, spontaneous actions of resistance against Congress terror regime, even from the most backward corners of our country. The militant mood and actions of the tribal people everywhere have to be specially noted in this connection. All these point to the red dawn that is appearing on the horizon and show us the path to march forward.

(2) The Congress government is thoroughly exposed before the entire people as the tool of the bloodsuckers, before its own following. They want this fascist raj to end, though they still suffer from legalistic and constitutionalist illusions and have not yet come to the path of armed struggle. It is merely a matter of time before they take to the path of armed struggle, if there is any force capable of boldly leading them. Inspite of all our mistakes, our party stands out before the general mass of the people as the fearless and uncompromising champion of the cause of the toiling masses. It enjoys wide influence and prestige among them.

(3) The ruling class is in crisis, utter confusion and panic. All the signs of crisis inside the ruling class in India are clearly visible now. Tata-Birla conflict, conflict over monopolising air services, resignation of Tata's man Matthai and Birla's people filling up the central cabinet; Dalmia's falling away from the ruling clique of the Congress, his open charges in the press against the two big men of the Congress, Patel and Nehru, Congress going to pieces, open splits in every province, starting of new parties-UP rebel Congress legislators starting a new party, People's Congress, Sachar's group going out of the Congress in Punjab, Prakasham's affair in Andhra province, etc. all these are a few examples of the intensity of crisis and conflicts among the ruling 'class. This shows that the situation is ripe for the smashing of the ruling class by armed action of the peoples and the people taking their destiny into their hands.

(4) The radicalization of the ranks of the left parties and the masses behind them is a very significant factor to be noted. Inspite of the efforts of their leaders to keep them within the four corners of the ballot-box and socalled peaceful methods, they are taking to the path of militant struggles. The conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Party of Maharashtra which has considerable influence among the peasantry recently passed a resolution accepting the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin as its guide and the lead of the editorial of the organ of the Cominform bureau. The United Socialist Organisation passed a resolution condemning the role of the Congress government acting as the tool of the Anglo-American warmongers.

Above all dissatisfaction is growing daily in the ranks of the Socialist Party against the pro-big-business and anti-people policies and practice of its leadership. The recent report of a split in the Bombay branch of the party over the question of militant forms of struggle is an instance to the point.

The urge for trade-union unity in the ranks of the different trade-union centres, the growing united opposition of the ranks to the black labour bills and the progress of the struggle for trade-union unity have shown you how great the opportunities are.

All the above examples are the first signs of the radicalization of the ranks and masses of the left parties.

(5) The international situation is much more favourable for the revolutionary forces in India than ever before. The strength of the people's forces has grown immensely and the balance has further shifted in favour of the world democratic socialist camp, because of the world historic victory of the Chinese revolution against the combined forces of American imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries, the tremendous growth of the peace movement all over the world, specially in Europe, against the Anglo-American warmongers, the victorious advance of the armed liberation struggles of Asian countries-Vietnam, Philippines, South Korea, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, etc., and above all the mighty growth in the strength of the Soviet Union- the imperialists are shaking in their shoes, seeing the writing on the wall. Now the world people's forces are in a position to give moral and material aid to the forces of the Indian people in their struggle for national liberation. In this connection we have to recollect the worldwide agitation carried on against the cruel death sentences on the Telangana heroes, which has at least made the Nehru government retrace its steps though temporarily.

Comrades! Such is our strength and such are the immensely favourable opportunities before us. The future of our party is in our hands. Let us act with confidence in the cause with coolness of judgement, with courage and steadfastness, keeping in mind our strength and opportunities. Let us put our collective and individual effort to fulfil the immediate tasks facing us all.

The central committee appeals to you to:

- (1) Contribute your best in hammering out the new strategy and tactics.
- (2) Fight left and right disruption and rebuild the party firmly on the basis of democratic centralization; keep vigilance against spies and agent-provocateurs.
- (3) Rebuild the mass movement in the town and countryside and put the movement in the agrarian areas on the rails of armed struggle.
- (4) Develop the peace campaign as a part of the struggle for national liberation.
- (5) Fraternise with the ranks of the left parties, mass organizations, groups and individuals to organise joint actions, and build the democratic front.
- (6) Deepen your knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and learn to apply it to your daily problems.

**VICTORY WILL BE OURS!**



# CPI's Organisational Document

*July, 1950*

Left-Sectarianism has got its organisational methods which are in contradiction with the principles of organisational methods and style of work of the Communist Parties as laid down in the "Thesis on Organisation and Structure of the Communist Parties, adopted at the 3rd Congress of the Communist International in 1921, together with the Statutes of the Communist International." These anti-Party organisational methods of Left-Sectarianism together with its politics, especially as pursued by the PB, have worked havoc with the Party and mass organisations during the last two years-since the second Party Congress and have disrupted them and brought them to the point of liquidation. No P.C. - except Andhra P.C. - has been sending organisational reports since the last two years, as to the state of Party and mass organisations, number of Party members, their political level, the functions of cells and Party committees, fractions etc. In fact neither the PB nor the PCs have made any serious efforts in this direction. In these circumstances it is not possible to place before you a comprehensive and detailed report of the damage caused by Left-Sectarianism to the organisation of the Party and the present state of the Party organisation. This will be possible only after the different Provincial Committees have prepared all-sided and detailed organisational reports, which have to be done later. Hence this document confines itself to the functioning of PB and CC, the PB's left-sectarian methods of organisation and style of work, the harm caused due to these to the Party, directives for the proper functioning of the CC and PB, and their reconstitution on the basis of the principles of the Party organisation as laid down by the above mentioned. Thesis of the Communist International and in the light of the revolutionary tasks facing the Party at present.

## **Democratic Centralisation - the main Organisational Principle of the Party.**

"The organic unity in the Communist Party organisation must be attained through Democratic Centralisation" says the C.I. All the other organisational principles of the Party and the style of work emerge from the above-mentioned main organisational principle of Democratic Centralisation. Hence it is necessary to quote in full from the Thesis and the Statutes of the Communist International regarding the question :

"Democratic centralisation in the Communist Party organisation must be real synthesis, a fusion of centralism and proletarian democracy. This fusion can be achieved only on the basis of constant common activity, constant common struggle

of the entire Party organisation. Centralisation in the Communist Party organisation does not mean formal and mechanical centralisation but a centralisation of Communist activities, that is to say, the formation of a strong leadership, ready for war and at the same time capable of adaptability. A formal or mechanical centralisation is the centralisation of the 'power' in the hands of an industrial bureaucracy, dominating over the rest of the membership or over the masses of the revolutionary proletariat standing outside the organisation. Only the enemies of the Communists can assert that the Communist Party conducting the proletarian mass struggle and centralising the Communist leadership is trying to rule over the revolutionary proletariat. Such an assertion is a lie. Neither is any rivalry for power nor any contest for supremacy within the Party at all compatible with the fundamental principles of democratic centralism adopted by the Communist International.

"In the organisation of the old, non-revolutionary labour movement, there has developed an all-pervading dualism of the same nature as that of the bourgeois state, namely, the dualism between the bureaucracy and the 'people'. Under this baneful influence of bourgeois environment there has developed a separation of functions, a substitution of barren, formal democracy for the living association of common endeavour and the splitting up of the organisation into active functionaries and passive masses. Even the revolutionary labour movement inevitably inherits this tendency to dualism and formalism to a certain extent from the bourgeois environment,

"The Communist Party must fundamentally overcome these contrasts by systematic and preserving political and organising work and by constant improvement and revision.

"In transforming a Socialist mass party into a Communist Party, the Party must not confine itself to merely concentrating the authority in the hands of its central leadership while leaving the old order unchanged. Centralisation should not merely exist on paper, but be actually carried out, and this is possible of achievement only when the members at large will feel this authority as a fundamentally efficient instrument in their common activity and struggle. Otherwise, it will appear to the masses as a bureaucracy within the Party and therefore, likely to stimulate opposition to all centralisation, to all leadership, to all stringent discipline. Anarchism is the opposite pole of bureaucracy.

"Merely formal democracy in the organisation cannot remove either bureaucratic or anarchical tendencies, which have found fertile soil on the basis of just that democracy. Therefore, the centralisation of the organisation, i.e., the aim to create a strong leadership, cannot be successful if its achievement is sought on the basis of formal democracy. The necessary preliminary conditions are the development and maintenance of living associations and mutual relations within the Party between the directing organs and members, as well as between the Party and the masses of the proletariat outside the Party," (Principles of Party Organisation", PPH edition, Pp. 2-3)

Further,

"The Communist International and its Sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are : (a) election of all the leading committees of the Party, subordinate and superior (by general meetings of the Party members, conferences. Congresses and international congresses); (b) periodical reports by leading Party Committees to their constituents; (c) decisions of superior Party committees, to be obligatory for subordinate committees, strict Party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International of leading committees and of the leading Party centres.

"Party questions may be discussed by the members of the Party and by Party organisations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent Party committee. After a decision has been taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the Congress of the respective Sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various Sections, these decisions must be unreservedly carried out even if a section of the Party membership or of the local Party organisations are in disagreement with it.

"In cases where a Party exists illegally, the superior Party committees may appoint the subordinate committees and co-opt members on their own committees, subject to subsequent endorsement by the competent superior Party committees." (Ibid: Pp. 33-34)

No further comments are necessary. The question is dealt with clearly and sharply in the above extracts themselves.

### **State of the Party Organisation before the Second Party Congress**

Right Reformism had been the dominant deviation inside the Party for a pretty long time, till the Second Party Congress. It liquidated in practice the conception of the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, though it had been chanting this like a 'mantram', the real meaning of which was masked. It made the Party trail behind the Congress bourgeoisie before the People's War period, and both the Congress and league leaderships since the people's war period till the second party congress i.e., 1943 to 1947 end. Much worse; it had made the Party trail behind the British Imperialist enslavers during the People's War period, under the plea of "saving the Soviet Union" the fatherland of the World Proletariat from Nazi attack and "not disrupting the World Anti-Fascist Front" with the slogans of 'no strike', 'no struggle' etc. This anti-proletarian outlook expressed itself in the practical activity of the Party in the form of not basing on the basic revolutionary classes - proletariat and town poor in the towns, agricultural labour and toiling peasants in the villages, but to base on the vacillating and exploiting classes of the democratic front - petty bourgeoisie in towns, middle and rich peasants in the villages.

During the people's war period we even trailed behind reactionaries and enemies of the democratic revolution like landlords, liberal toadies of imperialism etc. This resulted in trailing behind revolutionary mass upsurge, refusal to organise the struggles of the masses, refusal to lead them on militant lines when those struggles were launched, heading them hesitatingly but sabotaging at the first opportunity. In the people's war period strikes and other mass struggles were altogether banned under the plea of "not hampering production and playing into the hands of the fifth column" and that it might run away with the masses. In essence this outlook is one of class-collaboration and humanitarian approach to the masses.

Right Reformism has its organisational methods consistent with politics. It had smuggled many organisational methods and much style of work of the Social-Democratic Parties and Liberal Bourgeois Parties gradually and stealthily inside the Party. It had departed to the Right too far from the principle of Democratic Centralisation.

1) The liberal bourgeois organisational principle of Federalism and formal democracy had penetrated into the Party indirectly. Party committees were to be elected not on the basis of Democratic Centralisation, but on the basis of representation to groups, regions and other considerations. Hence the liberal bourgeois practice of 'Balance of power' and opportunist compromises between groups and individuals had also permeated inside the Party.

The enforcement of the revolutionary iron discipline became impossible and "substitution of barren, formal democracy for the living association of common endeavour and the splitting up of the organisation into active functionaries and passive masses (i.e. Party members - C.C.)" had come in its place.

2) A mechanical and un-Marxist division was made between political and practical leadership of the Party. The CC was declared political leader while the other Committees and cells practical leader, which in practice meant the other Party committees and cells have to follow blindly the political lead given by the CC and must not discharge their function of actively participating in the inner-Party life for the shaping of the Party line and tactics.

A systematic ideological and political emasculation of the Party was resorted to; reading of classics were discouraged, under the plea of "abstract Marxism"; conducting of Party schools had become a rare thing; even the schools that were conducted, no theoretical education was given; only Party policy and the 'tips' for carrying that policy were given.

3) Bureaucracy from above and formal democracy and indiscipline from below had become a common thing inside the Party. Each unit demands formal democracy from the higher unit, while itself practising bureaucracy on the unit below.

An extract from the document of the Andhra PC called "Organisational Review" prepared soon after the Congress gives a clear picture of the point under consideration.

"The Party leadership and Party members have not been maintaining a living association with the masses, paying heed to their opinions and learning from them. Therefore decisions from above were being forced upon Party members and the masses. The decisions of uniting with zamindars in order to grow more food, giving up strikes for increasing production, one-fourth share-cropping agreement, supporting the demand of separate electorates of the scheduled caste federation, reducing our paper to two pages, banning editorials being written-these and other decisions were since 1943 forced by the Central Committee upon the Party and the masses. The Provincial Committee, while sending its dis-agreements with these decisions to the Central Committee, acted like a post office and imposed these decisions on the Lower committees. Relating to this there were also other decisions which the P.C. forced upon the lower committees. In the same way, District and Taluk Committees forced the Party decisions upon Party members and the masses. Bureaucracy in the Party developed in this form to be the main danger.....

"As a result of Party going along the wrong path and passing contradictory resolutions during the last six years, the confidence in Party policy and Party leadership has become shattered. When the new C.C. resolution came out it became common for Party members to ask : "What guarantee is there that this will not be changed either." Due to Party leadership having forced resolutions and decisions upon them in the past, and as a reaction to bureaucracy, indiscipline (anarchism) has grown inside the Party. Today this has spread like a disease to the whole of the Party. It has become a habit with Party members to gossip outside their units about Party affairs. It is also happening that they carry out only those Party decisions which they like and keep quite about the others, or, even when they know that they are going against Party discipline they show scorn and look for excuses to justify themselves afterwards".

4) Cells were dissolved and general body meetings substituted in their places; the qualifications for the Party membership lowered; fractions in mass organisations dissolved; education and promotion of comrades coming from the toiling classes-especially from working class, agricultural labour and poor peasantry-to leading positions was completely neglected. Hence utter reformists from upper classes-especially petty-bourgeoisie-filled the Party committees and many who never liquidated their upper-class anti-proletarian habits wormed their way into leading positions.

5) Because of the above-mentioned state of affairs the bourgeois habits, morals, propaganda methods, financial methods, style of work, have all come to stay inside the Party.

Because of the long period of reformist politics and practicing of bourgeois organisational methods and style of work, the Party had already become debilitated and devitalised by the time of the Second Party Congress. The state of the organisation was suited for reformist, peaceful and open-legal methods of functioning and not for illegal methods of functioning and the discharging of the revolutionary

tasks posed by the Second Party Congress. Right Reformism had completely eaten away the very vitals of the Party and left the Party in a moth-eaten and truncated condition.

## Left Sectarianism Liquidates the Party

While keeping similar situation in view which our Party faced at the time of the Second Party Congress, the Communist International gave a warning to the Communist Parties that "In transforming a Socialist mass party into a Communist Party the Party must not confine itself to merely concentrating authority while leaving the old order unchanged", that the Centralisation "is possible of achievement only when the members at large feel this authority as a fundamentally efficient instrument in their common activity and struggle. Otherwise it will appear as bureaucracy within the Party....." (emphasis-CC)

In this same connection the Communist International gave a special warning to the leaderships of the Communist Parties thus :

"This fundamental organisational task imposes upon the leading Party organs the obligation of constantly directing and exercising a systematic influence over the Party work. This requires a manifold exertion on the part of those comrades who are active in the leadership of their organisations of the Party. Those in charge of Communist activity must not only see to it that comrades - men and women - should be engaged in Party work in general, they must help and direct such work systematically and with practical knowledge of the business with a precise orientation in regard to special conditions. They must also endeavour to find out any mistake committed in their own activities on the basis of experience, constantly improving the methods of work and not forgetting for a moment the object of the struggle." (Principles of Party Organisaton, PPH edition, p.7.)

What did the new leadership, the PB (CC never met at all) elected at the Second Congress do during these two years ? Did it follow the directives given in the Thesis of the Communist International ? No. Not a jot. It had gone exactly the opposite way to the above-mentioned directives. It tried bureaucratically to carry centralisation only in name and "to merely concentrating the authority in the hands of its Central leadership while leaving the old order unchanged". It refused to "help and direct such work (practical activity of the ranks and lower committees-CC) systematically and with practical knowledge of the business with a precise orientation in regard to special conditions." and "to endeavour to find out any mistake committed in their activities (i.e. leadership's-CC)....."

On the other hand it refused to make any self-criticism and dubbed everybody who dared to raise any doubt as cowards, betrayers, saboteurs etc. and brought ruin on the Party. It completely lost the confidence of the ranks and lower committees, betrayed the trust reposed on it at the time of the Second Party Congress.

Left-sectarian deviation was rampant in majority of the present PBMs by the time of Second Congress itself. The PB perfected itself in that direction since then. While Right Reformism in the name of not disrupting the democratic front liquidated the conception of the hegemony of the proletariat, trailed behind the bourgeoisie and sabotaged mass struggles; the Left-Sectarianism under the plea of upholding the conception of the hegemony of the proletariat isolated the proletariat from its allies in the democratic revolution and sabotaged and disrupted the mass struggles from the opposite end. While Right Reformism sabotaged the revolutionary democratic movement by trailing behind the bourgeoisie, Left-Sectarianism disrupted it by running too far ahead of the movement by its adventurist calls and actions.

In the history of the Communist Party of India, Left-sectarianism practiced its own organisational methods in consonance with its adventurist and dogmatist politics, though some of them might be similar to that of Right Reformism. Both Right Reformism and Left Secretarianism are bourgeois trends - in the final analysis - reflections inside the Party of the social environment outside. While the Right Reformism followed the organisational methods of a Liberal bourgeois Party, i.e., of allowance for factional groups and the top leadership in power manoeuvres to keep its hold over the Party machine through maintaining balance of power between different groups and practising formal democracy, Left-sectarianism followed the bourgeois authoritarian methods i.e., suppression of the opposition groups inside the Party through terror though principle of balance of power is utilised as an auxiliary to it and replacement of formal democracy through the 'iron discipline' of the automations. These are the methods similar to those used by the fascist Tito clique inside the Yugoslav CP which were described by the Communiqué of the Information Bureau thus :

"This type of organisation of the Yugoslav Communist Party cannot be described as anything but a sectarian-bureaucratic organisation. It leads to the liquidation of the Party as an active, self-acting organism, it cultivates military methods of leadership in the Party similar to the methods advocated in his day by Trotsky.

"It is completely intolerable state of affairs when the most elementary rights of members in the Yugoslav Communist Party are suppressed, when the slightest criticism of incorrect measures in the Party is brutally repressed.

"The Information Bureau regards as disgraceful such actions as the expulsion from the Party and the arrest of the Central Committee members, Comrades Djurovic and Hebrang because they dared to criticise the anti-Soviet attitude of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, and called for friendship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

"The Information Bureau considers that such a disgraceful, purely Turkish, terrorist regime cannot be tolerated in the Communist Party. The interests of the very existence and development of the Yugoslav Communist Party demand that an end be put to this regime."

Left-Sectarianism has not yet reached the climax as it had been in Yugoslav Party, but it was well on its way and Titoist methods had come to be used in our Party also. If not for the timely intervention of the Information Bureau and the Peking Conference, Titoite disaster would have faced our Party too.

This is proved by the fact that the General Secretary saw a correction of the Peking Manifesto in the editorial of the Information Bureau organ in one of his letters to another PBM and PB's statement of self-justification on the editorial of the Information Bureau organ while making a formal acceptance of the mistakes. Comrade R.P. Dutta gave a warning as early as July 1949 about the anti-Party ways of our Party in a letter written to an Andhra Comrade in reply to an accusation of reformism on the part of CPGB levelled by the Andhra Comrade He warned thus :

"One last point if I may make it from one who has been a friend and helper to the Indian Party from its earliest days. You are at present conducting a magnificent battle which we are following with the deepest sympathy and admiration but we are a little concerned at the tendency shown at present in some documents to find fault with the majority of other C.Ps, to find the British Party wrong, the French Party wrong, the Chinese Party wrong, Mao Tse-tung wrong etc. This tendency is not a healthy one and if unchecked, could lead to the kind of outlook that has reached a an extreme form in the Yugoslav Party."

This letter was sent to the PB on 15th Aug. 1949.

Before going concretely into the Titoist and anti-Party methods of the PB, let us see what is the main basis of these methods.

A CC of 31 and a PB of 9 were elected at the Second Party Congress. Even though the clouds of fascist repression were looming large and the first shocks of it had already been experienced by Andhra and Kerala before the Party Congress itself, neither the Party Congress which elected the CC nor the CC which elected the PB did actually take this important factor into consideration. Hence a big CC which was technically unwieldy and unsuited to illegal conditions was elected. In the same way a PB, which could not function as a team giving day to day guidance to the lower committees, was elected.

Though the talk of crisis, upsurge, Revolution etc. was too loud, the whole understanding of the period and the nature of civil war which we were in, was formal, harbouring and preaching worst leagalist illusions.

Another point to be noted in this connection is one of the cardinal organisational principle of the Communist Parties laid down in the Thesis of the Communist International, that no person can be a member of more than one Party Committee (for example, one cannot be member of CC and PC simultaneously, but one can be a member of the CC and its executive body the PB, in the same way of PC and PC Secretariat) was violated in practice in the old reformist period though no such change was made in the Party Constitution. Not only this was not negated at the

time of the Party Congress, but followed in the election of the CC. As a consequence not only many of the CCMs but some of the PBMs also had been members of the PCs simultaneously. Later because neither CC nor PB was functioned, such CCMs and PBMs got themselves reduced to virtual PCMs. In case some regular and direct guidance of CC becomes a necessity for any of the PCs, the thesis of C.I. provides for attaching CCMs to those units. This does not mean in particular cases exemptions cannot be given. But the point to be noted is the exemption in course of time virtually becomes a rule to the point of CC becoming a federal body of the PCs. This principle of dual membership in the Party Committees is not only wrong and anomalous as a principle but it also hinders the functioning and evolution of an efficient central Party leadership.

Either due to direct banning of the Party or making the Party virtually illegal through unleashing of white terror, the entire Party faced the problem of illegal functioning. It was obvious that the CC with such a high number could not be functioned. The PB of 9 also could not discharge its functions giving daily and regular guidance to the lower units. The same problem faced the PCs and in some provinces DCs and TCs also. With this white terror and illegality forced upon the Party immediately after the Party Congress, the entire responsibility for reorganising the Party so that it can discharge its revolutionary tasks under these illegal conditions, had fallen on to the shoulders of the PB.

As soon as illegality was forged upon the Party, the PB ought to have met the CC and made it reconstitute itself into a smaller functioning CC suited to the conditions of illegality. As a matter of fact the Party Constitution adopted at the Second Party Congress provides for such a contingency, though it had not been drafted keeping in view the conditions of extreme illegality.

The PB had practically done nothing in this matter but only allowed matters to drift. Not only at the time of the Party Congress but even after the Congress the PB did not care to think seriously about the matter at all. It can be proved by the fact that during the last two years since the Party Congress the PB neither produced a single document on re-organisation for a single circular on Tech, methods for the ranks nor demanded organisational reports from the PCs; consequently no PC, except Andhra PC, sent any organisational reports to the PB. The PB in its one long session of about three months at the end of 1948 could find time to produce hundreds of pages on other issues (produced voluminous documents on PCJ, Acharya and others) but not a document on organisation. The PB made a pitiful attempt at the fag end to produce one, a PBM produced notes for the draft after the PB meeting was over, which was not elaborated later, but was put in cold storage.

This is not accidental. There are very deepseated causes for it. In the days of Right Reformism Party organisation was built up which was suited for peaceful work and parliamentary opposition, not for leading militant class struggles. With the advent of fascist repression after the Second Party Congress, this reformist

organisation began to crumble. The PB instead of realising the state of the Party organisation and making serious efforts to adopt suitable forms of organisation, not only allowed the things to take their own course but also imposed new adventurist organisational methods on the Party which helped the job of the counter-revolutionary government to smash our Party. The PB imagining insurrection round the corner, goaded the Party ranks and cadre to carry on virtually legalistic methods of organisation under the threat of damning them as cowards, saboteurs etc., on the one hand and waving the rod of discipline on the other. This enforcement of discipline as Great Lenin points out, is nothing but 'phrase-mongering and grimacing".

The basic reasons of all this organisational bungling and anti-Party methods of organisation, apart from others, is due to the fact that the PB does not realise the importance of the role of organisation for the successful building of a revolutionary movement and leading the revolution to success. It has an oversimplified formula of crisis-upsurge-revolution; which in practice means in the period of crisis there must be automatic upsurge and then automatic strike struggles and Revolution; no necessity of a well-disciplined and steeled Party and mass organisations. Hence adventurist calls for strikes, continuation of the old legalistic methods of functioning in face of white terror. To continue the same old legalisitic methods of organisation and not realising the necessity of illegal methods suited to the conditions of white terror, is nothing but the non-realisation of the role of organisation and deifying spontaneity from another end. Right Reformism derided spontaneous mass upsurge and sabotaged mass struggles under the plea of organisational unpreparedness. Left Secretarianism deified spontaneous upsurge and sabotaged mass struggles from the other end, without caring for building illegal organisations at all. While Right Reformism counterposed organisation mass upsurge, Left-Sectarianism did the reverse, producing the same vicious effects from opposite ends. Let us see what Lenin had said with regard to this, when he was criticising the early Social Democrats who had no conception of illegal work and who played into the hands of Czarist police.

"We must now deal with the question that has undoubtedly arisen in the mind of every reader. Have these primitive methods, which are a complaint of growth of affecting the whole of the movement, any connection with Economism, which is only one of the tendencies in Russian Social Democracy ? We think that they have. The lack of practical training, the lack of ability to carry on organisational work is certainly common to us all, including those who have stood unwaveringly by the point of view of revolutionary Marxism from the very outset. And, of course, no one can blame the practical workers for their lack of practical training. But the term "primitive methods" embraces something more than mere lack of training : it means the restrictedness of revolutionary work generally, the failure to understand that a good organization of revolutionaries cannot be built upon the basis of such restricted work, and lastly-and most important-it means the attempts to justify this restrictedness and to elevate it to a special "theory" i.e., bowing in worship to

spontaneity in this matter also. As soon as such attempts were observed, it became certain that primitive methods are connected with Economism and that we shall never eliminate this restrictedness of our organizational activity until we eliminate Economism generally (i.e., the narrow conception of Marxian theory, of the role of Social-Democracy and of its political tasks). And these attempts were revealed in a twofold direction. Some began to say : the labour masses themselves have not yet brought forward the broad and militant political tasks that the revolutionaries desire to "impose" upon them; they must continue for the time being to fight for immediate political demands, to conduct "the economic struggle against the employers and the government" (and, naturally corresponding to this struggle which is "easily understood" by the mass movement there must be an organization that will be "easily understood" by the most untrained youth). Others, far removed from "gradualness," began to say: it is possible and necessary to "bring about a political revolution," but this is no reason whatever for building a strong organization of revolutionaries to train the proletariat in the steadfast and stubborn struggle. All we need do it to snatch up our old friend, the "handy" wooden club. Speaking without metaphor it means-we must organize a general strike, or we must stimulate the "spiritless" progress of the labour movement by means of "excitative terror," Both these tendencies, the opportunist and the "revolutionary", bow to the prevailing primitiveness; neither believes that it can be eliminated, neither understands our primary and most imperative practical task, namely, to establish an organisation of revolutionaries capable of maintaining the energy, the stability and continuity of the political struggle." (p. 217-18, Lenin, Selected Works, II Volume edition, Vol. I.)

Apart from the petty-bourgeois vices, this non-realisation of the role of organisation is at the root of the anti-party methods pursued by the PB during two years. Now let us go into the matter concretely.

1) The C.C. is the highest unit inside the Party subservient only to the Party Congress. The PB is a body elected by the CC to give regular guidance to the Party units basing on the decisions of the C.C. and subject to the organisational discipline of the CC. The PB taking advantage of the illegal conditions has topsy-turveyed this important organisational principle of the Party, virtually made the CC subservient to it. No proposal to reduce the CC and PB so as to make them effective functioning units under these conditions of illegality was put. On the other hand, while the P.Cs were being reorganised by the PB into smaller bodies, it did not consider the reorganisation of the CC under the plea that it is "elected by the Second Congress as the Central leadership-organ of political unification-for leading the struggle against reformism to completion-the task is to activise it-to politically unify it." (Notes for the Draft Resolution on Organisation-by a PBM).

Let us see what efforts were made to "activise" and to "politically unify" the CC ? It was suggested in casual talks at the time of the PB meeting of 1948 end, to function the CC in groups. It was attempted after the PB meeting to explain and get the three PB documents-Tactical Line, Agrarian Question and People's

Democracy-accepted. Later postal functioning was attempted to get the opinions of the CCMs through circulating inner CC documents. Even here not all the documents and letters of the CCMs and others were circulated. Only those who supported the PB's sectarian line and anti-Party methods were circulated. Others were suppressed. For instance, while meticulous care was taken to circulate all the resolutions and opinions supporting the incorrect stand of the PB on the March 9th fiasco, the strong criticism of Ram on the PB's stand and "G.S. Letter to Ranks", demanding a meeting of the PB and staying organisational decisions regarding the same was not circulated to CCMs. (Even some PBMs were not shown till after a very long time). While resolution on Tamilnad Committee and a big document on People's Democracy produced by a member of the TNPC Secretariat and bulky "self-critical" reports of that Secretariat members running into tens of pages were circulated, the resolution of that Secretariat on the failure of the March 9th Railway strike was not circulated. The letter of Comrade RPD mentioned earlier, giving a serious warning to the leadership of our Party was not circulated to some of the PBMs, not to speak of the CCMs. While Robi's criticism on Andhra documents and on Ram's letters-written from time to time in which strong criticism was laid regarding the politics and methods of PB was circulated, Andhra documents and Ram's letters were not circulated. Innumerable examples of the type can be given.

Even the opinions of the CCMs on these inner-CC documents were not heeded to. Circulation of inner CC documents was resorted to mainly to gag and suppress opinion of the CCMs opposing the sectarian politics and practices of the PB, and not to "activise" and "politically unify" the C.C.

The treatment of the CCMs by the PB has been against the organisational principles of the Party. The General Secretary gave an ultimatum to a Bombay CCM either to accept the adventurist line of the PB on Jail struggles or to be prepared for a disciplinary action. GS asks one of the CCMs at Yerawda Jail to keep a watch over a PBM, simply because he happened to violently disagree with the PB on jail and T.U. tactics. CCMs were bureaucratically removed from the CC by the PB, for example a Tamilnad CCM, a Bengal CCM etc. The PB has got a right to take a precautionary measure for ensuring the safety of the Party, but has no right to remove a CCM outright from the CC.

This way, one CCM after another were badgered into submission and the CC, the highest authority of the Party between two All-India Party Congresses, had been reduced to the position of subservience to the P.B.

The main propounders of Left Sectarian line-Comrades B.T. Ranadive and Bhowani Sen who had virtually usurped the entire functioning of the PB, resorted to above methods, i.e. avoiding a CC meeting and badgering the CCMs to submission, one after another, because they were not sure of a majority in the CC for their left sectarian adventurist line. Hence, if a CC meeting had at all to be convened, to ensure the acceptance of the left adventurist line of the PB, the majority of the CCMs had to be badgered in toeing the line of the PB in advance. Comrade Bhowani

Sen made a frank admission of this before the CC meeting in course of his speech on his self-critical report.

Thus the highest Party unit inside the CPI had been disabled, the collective effort of the CC members to pool their experiences and to put their heads together and grapple with the serious problems facing the Party, had been obstructed and the Party as a whole had been deprived of the collective leadership of the CC.

2) The PB also did not function as a team. Out of 9 PBMs, 5 remained stuck up with the PCs and one in jail and even the rest of the PBMs did not function together. During these two years the full PB meeting was held only once. The normal method has been the GS consulting with whichever PBM he wanted to and carry on and later get the decisions okayed by the other PBMs. Immediately after the Party Congress when the GS was at the old town he used to consult the other PBM of that place, later after the Tactical line i.e. the whole of 1949 it had become a two-man show of GS and Robi; later after the editorial of the Information Bureau organ and other documents of the Soviet writers on India began to come and Robi began to take a firm stand against GS it became a one-man's show. Even documents like Balabushhevich's article on India was not circulated to the other PBMs for months together.

Along with this, another important point has to be noted. Everybody in the CC and PB except GS and Comrade Bhowani Sen were charged with one or more of the following crimes-reformism, cowardice, betrayal and sabotage-at one time or the other. Only two of the entire Party leadership "stood out" as real Marxists and consistent revolutionaries.

No proper unit functioning and assignment of functions to individual PBMs were there. The rule of Messiah had come to stay. Whatever came out from the mouth and pen of GS became Marxism. He became so much self-conceited that he began to produce big documents on every subject even without serious study.

The logic of left-sectarian politics and organisational methods reached a climax in this matter.

However this does not mean that for all the anti-Party methods of the PB none except the GS is responsible. It means other individual PBMs have to bear the responsibility in varying degrees, which will be concretely assessed in the individual self-critical reports, and the GS has to bear the main responsibility and Bhowani Sen comes next to him.

3) The principle of criticism and self-criticism was applied by the PB for everybody except itself. Certain members of the PB had become conceited against which Comrade Stalin had warned; "This danger (i.e. leaders separating themselves from the masses-CC) may result in the leaders becoming conceited and regarding themselves as infallible. And what good is it if the top leadership grows conceited and begins to look down on the masses ? It is clear that nothing but disaster can come of this for the Party." (July 15, 1948 Lasting Peace-A. Pauker's article on the

CP of Yugoslavia). The PB instead of going into its Himalayan blunders self-critically and correcting itself, threw entire blame for the fiascos committed by itself upon the lower committees and ranks. It refused to learn from the opinions, doubts etc., sometimes raised from the wrong end even.

With utter contempt for the cadre and the masses and self-conceit, it disregarded them. On the other hand, charging them with reformism, cowardice betrayal etc., and threatening them with the rod of discipline, it intimidated them and extracted confessions which ran into hundreds of pages. Out of the inner-Party material produced by the PB during these two years, this type of material consisting of nauseating and self-effacing stories of "My Mistakes" (this does not mean all the comrades who gave self-critical documents are right or all the charges of the PB on them are wrong. The purpose here is to lay bare the anti-Party methods of the PB, of suppressing inner-Party democracy) is a major part of the total material.

Taking advantage of the illegal condition of the Party, those of the CCMs, PCMs and some others who differed with the PB line on some points or other, were kept away from the field of their work-completely denied for months together, thus shattering their resistance through complete isolation. Some of the CCMs who dared to differ with the left sectarian line of the PB were denied the right of getting inner-CC documents, even before any formal disciplinary action was taken against such a CCM, keeping him completely in the dark as to the happenings inside the CC and PB.

The PB thus adopting anti-Party Titoist methods and misusing the inner-Party weapon of criticism and self-criticism, suppressed all inner-Party democracy, the rights of Party members and healthy discussions.

The PB not only did not start an inner-Party forum for carrying on discussions on political and other issues facing the movement, but also suppressed some of the important articles of Chinese Communist leaders-Comrade Mao's article on People's Democratic Dictatorship was not published in English organ, Comrade Liu Shao-chi's speech at the Peking Conference was also not published-and erected a wall between them and the Party ranks. The PB tried to reduce the Party ranks to the position of obedient and blind order-carriers.

To give but a few examples to illustrate what has been mentioned above

- i) The three documents of the PB-Tactical Line, Agrarian Question, People's Democracy-suppressed all genuine doubts and suggestions about the Party line from ranks and lower committees and a consistent Left-sectarian line was worked out.
- ii) The letter of the General Secretary to Ranks, charging everybody who raised doubts about the propriety of the decision of March 9th Railway strike with reformism, cowardice, betrayal etc, suppressing all criticism against the PB. It must be noted that immediately after the fiasco, a good section of the Party ranks and the Party Committees held the view that the decision of March 9th

was wrong. It was only after this letter was sent and all criticism suppressed and after some of the Party Committees which opposed the strike decision dealt very severely, that the thing was silenced.

iii) The first statement of the PB on the editorial of the organ of the Information Bureau, given in justification of its old sectarian line, which was rightly condemned by the entire Party as a piece of self-justification and later accepted by the PB itself as such.

4) The treatment meted out to the PCs was no better. In the days of reformism the then PB under the leadership of renegade Joshi used to keep the PCs in check by balancing between individuals and groups if any. The present PB under the leadership of BTR set itself the task of not only balancing between individuals and groups to push through its sectarian politics but also to disrupt the PCs. The PB dissolved some of them and "reorganised" them with those whom the PB considered fit to push through its anti-Party line and methods. This does not mean that all the "reorganised" PCs or all the members whom the PB had taken, in fulfilled its expectations.

The case of Tamilnad PC Secretariat is the best example in this matter. The members of the Tamilnad PC Secretariat were called, individually badgered into submission with the help of the PBM from Tamilnad and after that only those in whom the PB had confidence of fully kowtowing to the PB line, were taken in. The rest were kept outside their own province.

The case of Andhra Secretariat needs special mention. It had been consistently fighting for a correct line not only since the Second Party Congress but even before that and had been criticising the PB's wrong politics, directives and organisational practices from time to time. Hence the PB could not tolerate such a Committee. At first it tried to find out some weak spots inside it and disrupt it. Having failed in it, the two big men of the PB, GS and Robi, decided on their own to separate the Hyderabad State Committee from the Andhra P.C. and established direct contact with the Hyderabad City Committee which had been moving on a factional line refusion to accept the line of armed struggle of the PC and carrying its old reformist line under the cover of Left-sectarian phrases of the PB. Of course, the State Committee refused to fall in line with this line of the PB. An attempt to set up the Andhra student fraction against the P.C. Secretariat was also made. Many more other pinpricks need not be mentioned here. All this was at a time when the enemy had concentrated tens of thousands of armed forces in Telengana and Madras part of the Andhra to wipe out our revolutionary liberation movement and the Andhra PC was leading the Telengana struggle and extending it to ever new areas against all odds. These factional attempts at disruption of the movement was carried on without intimating a word to Andhra PBM and without least consideration for the movement. For a self-conceited petty-bourgeois individualist, the movement does not matter; it is sufficient if his ego is satisfied. The PB had prepared everything to

suppress the PC Secretariat even circulated to CCMs an adverse note written by Comrade Bhowani Sen, on the Andhra documents without circulating the documents themselves. Meanwhile the editorial of the organ of the Information Bureau appeared and saved the situation. Otherwise, nobody can say what further damage would have been done for the Telengana and Andhra armed struggle and the liberation movement of India as a whole.

Other PCs, though they were not as bold as the Andhra P.C. to come out against the left sectarian line of the PB, they too began raising doubts from their practical experiences. Hence the PB had lost confidence that it could convince the PCs and adopted an organisational trick. It violated an important organisational principle of Communist Parties and the very constitution of the CPI adopted at the Second Congress that, "the fraction is completely controlled by the corresponding Party Committee" though not in words but in practice, and attempted to make the fractions of mass organisations virtually independent of the respective Party Committees and reduce the PCs and other Committees to the status of post-offices of the PB. In this connection another relevant point need be mentioned. The GS while threatening the UP PC Secretariat for not translating and duplicating the bulky documents-including hundreds of pages so-called self-critical reports, declared that it is the only PC which fails to translate and duplicate for the ranks hundreds of pages of the stuff produced by the PB and has no right the exist as a P.C.

Now coming to the point, the PB began its experiment with the Student Front which came in handy. A call for building a strong AISF Fraction for giving "firm centralised guidance" to the student fractions and cells was given in the "PB Note on Students Struggles".

"The immediate task before the Fraction is to coordinate the activity of the AISF under firm centralised guidance (2) for this purpose to ideologically unify first the leadership over all the provinces by constantly checking that all the units are implementing the accepted Party line (3) by constantly guiding them and being in live contact with the developing struggles (4) raising its own and the ideological level of the Provincial and District leaders on the basis of Marxism-Leninism (b) centralise and unify the movement by ruthlessly fighting all treachery and sabotage, all manifestations of reformism and ruthless ejecting from positions all those guilty of hardened reformism, or who neglect Marxist study (5) to lay down the task of the All-India movement and the tasks of each province, to decisive help in giving a bold lead to the student struggles, to raise them to higher level and make them an integral part of the struggle for People's Democratic Revolution led by the Party (6) to give up all reformist organisational methods, study and adopt accepted revolutionary forms of organisation of the movement (b) to study from the masses new forms of resistance and develop them.....".

These are the tasks given to the AISF Fraction. Whether any tasks given to the P.Cs ? None at all ! While meticulous care was taken to write out such a small detail that "no member of the Provincial Fraction to be removed from the Student Front without the consent of the AISF Fraction" and "organisational work of the Provincial Fraction-formation of District Fraction, district functioning to be closely checked by the AISF Fraction" (emphasis-CC), no directive was given to the P.Cs. The meaning is obvious.

The Note of the PB asks the AISF Fraction to "draw a list of say 100 students in the country-including all top leaders of the Fraction and these will be put through a **Correspondent Course (!)**" (emphasis - CC).

The AISF Fraction tries to put this directive of post-box schools into practice. Nothing happened inspite of repeated reminders and calls. Can the organisational bankruptcy of the PB go any further ?

Suppose if all the other all-India fractions also are put on the same rails as AISF, what is to be the job of the P.Cs except acting as post offices of PB and its All-India Fractions ? Obviously if this was not checked, in course of time the P.Cs would have been reduced to the status of post offices. Incidentally this can be compared with the Big Bourgeoisie attempting to reduce the Provincial Governments to the status of Municipalities. The PB starting from disrupting, suppressing and "reorganising" the P.Cs, ended in making them into post offices.

5) The PB practised favouritism and introduced double-standard of treatment of comrades inside the Party. To give a few instances, an important Tech. comrade was involved in a certain manipulation of accounts. A Central Committee Member was also in the same den and when the Tech. comrade asked his advice, he acquiesced in the matter. While action against the Tech. comrade was taken and the thing was circulated to the P.Cs in a long document, the CCM concerned was not even censured.

A certain PBM of Yerawda was singled out for attack, because he refused to submit to the brow-beating of the PB and opposed, in his own way, the tactics of the PB on T.U. and jail issues, though other CCMs have not done less "crimes" in the eyes of the PB. Not only that , GS wrote to another CCM in the jail to keep watch over him.

6) The left-sectarian PB began to speak everything in the name of working class and the toiling masses and began to dub comrades coming from other classes if they raise any doubts about the sectarian line and tactics of the PB, as petty-bourgeois funks or kulak-small nation chauvinists etc. While Right Reformists brought in class discrimination stealthily inside the Party and did nothing to educate and promote proletarian cadre, the Left Sectarianism brought in class discrimination from the other end under the cover of revolutionary slogans like "proletarianise the Party". Though certain comrades coming from proletariat and other toiling classes were promoted to leading positions, nothing was done to educate them. On the

other hand, worst sentiments were roused against the comrades coming from the other classes. In the matter of jail struggles the issue of classification was made an issue of petty-bourgeoisie vs. proletariat and peasants, simply because most of the comrades coming from petty-bourgeois class were put in Class I and others in Class II and some comrades coming from the petty-bourgeoisie had treated comrades from toiling classes badly and cared more for their petty facilities than for the unity and honour of our Party. In the end when it was found that the demand for abolition of classification could not be won in the Bombay Jails, the GS even suggested to a CCM in Yerawda jail, that we might have to discard Class I on our own. This has nothing to do with the ideology of the proletariat, but equalitarianism of a petty-bourgeois-anarchist who does not know how to fight social system based on inequality. Because of the wrong twist given to the revolutionary slogan of proletarianising the Party, making the issue of classification in Jails an issue of petty-bourgeois vs. proletariat and peasants etc, a gulf is being created between comrades coming from the working class and peasantry and comrades coming from petty-bourgeois and other classes. This has expressed itself in its crassest form in Bengal where the Party is very seriously faced with this problem.

7) Because of continuing the old legalistic methods of functioning in face of white terror, adopting methods of slave driving the cadre and Party ranks into adventurist actions under the threat of disciplinary action, resulted in the loss of huge number of cadres and left the Party in a state of liquidation without either proper illegal Tech. apparatus or functioning cells and other units.

8) The self-conceit of the PB-mainly GS- is not confined to the boundaries of India. Under the apparently revolutionary slogan of "We must state emphatically that the CPI has accepted Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as authoritative sources of Marxism. It has not discovered new sources of Marxism beyond these" (Tactical Line), the PB under the leadership of GS had been pursuing a bourgeois-nationalist anti-international masked-Titoite policy. It proceeded with Titoite arrogance not only to refuse to learn from rich revolutionary experiences of brother Parties but also to slander them and their leaders as reformists and ventured to "correct" them. By this it sought to drive a wedge between the International Communist Movement and the CPI.

It pitted Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin against Comrade Mao. Not satisfied with that, it bracketted Comrade Mao with the arch-enemies of the proletariat and renegades like Tito, Browder etc., and brought grist to the mill of imperialists and their lackeys who were spreading slander against Comrade Mao as Eastern Tito and made the leadership of the CPI a butt of ridicule in the eyes of the world progressive forces and Communist fraternity.

The slander campaign against the CPGB and its leader, Comrade RPD, who had been helping our Party since its inception, reached its worst. A systematic gossip-mongering had been carried on by some PBMs, and CCMs among middle

cadres, through whom it had reached the ranks, that the CPGB is utter reformist and they have misled the CPI several times into the reformist mire as if the CPI would have achieved its object but for this "intervention" on the part of CPGB. This slander campaign reached its zenith with a pamphlet published by the People's Publishing House, under the instructions of the General Secretary, containing the Correspondence between the Australian Communist Party and the CPGB. This pamphlet contains an arrogant introduction the essence of which is that the leadership of the CPGB is refusing self-criticism while pursuing a reformist policy.

The CPGB in the beginning sent us some of their leaders who taught us elementary Marxism and Communist trade union work, and since then has been regularly helping us with political guidance. Comrade RPD inspite of his preoccupation with the problems of Great Britain and its Party, has been taking special interest on the problems of India and the CPI, and teaching us to apply Marxism to Indian conditions through his books on India.

A series of editions of Comrade RPD's book "India Today" is the only authoritative book till today on Indian National Liberation movement, on which the Party ranks and leadership is being educated. The leadership of the CPI could do the least in this direction. Whatever it has done is arrant nonsense, for example, "Agrarian Question" by the PB. At times political differences might have arisen between the CPGB and the CPI. But it is sheer foolishness to embark upon this type of slander campaign without waiting to look back how on so many critical occasions the CPGB and Comrade RPD had corrected us - the Three Party Letter of 1933, Dutt-Bradley Thesis of 1936 CPGB's letters of 1941 after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union. Comrade RPD's criticism regarding our wrong stand with regard to the Muslim League and finally his letter of warning to an Andhra Comrade in 1949.

By its slander campaign against the CPGB and Comrade RPD, the PB has done great harm to the cause of Indian revolution. It has helped objectively the British imperialists, the common enemy of both, by driving a wedge between the British working class and Indian masses. It is indispensable for the revolutionary movement of India that closest possible ties are forged between the CPGB and the CPI and fraternal political help is secured from the CPGB and specially from Comrade RPD.

In the same way gossip-mongering had been carried on against other brother Parties and their leaders.

It is really a pity that a comrade like Dr. Adhikari who has been a member of our Central Committee since its inception had also fallen a victim to such gossip-mongering started by the General Secretary. Comrade Adhikari, in his self-critical report has made a frank admission in this regard.

"The masked Titoite trend expressed itself in a specific theory, which was never put down on paper upto that time but was widely gossiped among PBMs and

certain CCMs as well and also among leading cadres since the Party Congress. The postulates of this Thesis were as follows :

1) After the end of the second world war there was a recrudescence of revisionism in a number of important Communist Parties of the world (as at the end of the first world war) which expressed itself in the repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat (Statements of Thores, Gottwald, Dimitrov, Pollitt etc. of '47 were hinted at).

2) Inside the CPI such a trend of course dominated upto the end of 1947. But from 1947 "Marxist-Leninist" trend inside the CPI took up the fight against the "Right Reformist revisionist" trend and vanquished it at the Second Congress. This "Marxist-Leninist" trend had achieved this victory and had come to the 'correct' Marxist-Leninist line for the new stage of the Indian revolution almost on its own without any direct help of the leadership of the International Communist movement and almost simultaneously with the inaugural meeting of the Information Bureau.

3) We accept the authority of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and the CPSU(B) and none else.

These were the postulates of a theory which was being popularised among leading comrades since the Second Party Congress in private gossip. - A systematic slander of the leaders of the important Communist Parties of Europe, and of Mao by indirect innuendoes and suggestions was a feature of the gossip in the central dens since the end of the Party Congress right from the Second Congress to the middle of 1949 and later. Comrade Choudhury is the originator and proponent of this theory and used to initiate such gossip. "I became a supporter of this theory under Choudhury's influence already in the days when I was making the turn from my utter Right Reformism, and from my conciliation to Joshism. I also used to participate in this slanderous gossip." (Dr. Adhikari's self-critical report, P.4).

Later the General Secretary advanced a step further and produced an article called "Revisionism", criticised the other brother Parties who had carried on heroic fight against fascism during the Second World War and rallying crores of people against Anglo-American Imperialist domination-some Parties indirectly and some others directly-assuming the pose of Lenin to save the world Communist movement from Reformism, and throwing the very principles regarding the fraternal relations between Communist Parties to winds not to speak of anti-Marxist politics pursued by the PB. Curiously enough no PBM objected to this atrocious article of the GS; some of them even approved it as a great Marxist contribution.

See the choicest piece of that atrocious Article :

"Revisionist tendencies, however, once more began to appear, often to an alarming degree, in a number of Parties. The end of the anti-fascist war saw the accumulated effect of the gradual accretion of revisionist influence. In a number of Parties, some leaders took up an openly revisionist attitude, repudiating the central propositions of Marxism-Leninism, under the guise of seeking new "national" forms

of preaching Socialism. Thus, leaders of a number of Parties in Europe made statements about the dictatorship of the proletariat not being necessary, being an outmoded conception....."

This bourgeois-nationalist anti-international line of the PB had landed it in suppressing international documents and distortion of the very teachings of our great teachers, behind whom the PB tried to hide its ugly head to attack and slander other brother Parties and their leaders. This proves that the PB's slogan of not recognising anybody except Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is not merely an attempt at reducing the living Marxism to a dogma but also a cover to carry on its anti-Marxist politics.

The PB starting from censuring the articles of the Chinese Communist Party leaders, ended in censuring the Information Bureau itself (not publishing of People's Democratic Dictatorship of Mao, Liu Shao-chi's article on Internationalism and Nationalism and his speech at the Peking Conference which were published in the organ of the Information Bureau) and delaying the publication of Peking Manifesto, Editorial of the organ of the Information Bureau etc. while at the same time publishing Comrade Stalin's speech at the University of the Toilers of the East with a misleading note in justification of the left-sectarian line of the PB.

The distortion of Zhdanov's report to the Nine Parties Conference in the PB's document on "People's Democracy" written in 1948, is another glaring example apart from the one mentioned above in relation to the publication of Comrade Stalin's speech to the University of the Toilers of the East in the English weekly with a misleading introductory note. Quotations regarding post-war international situation and People's Democracy were taken and outright distortion was made to suit the sectarian line of the PB. Quotations from Lenin were given to prove that capitalist relations have become dominant in agriculture in India, in the document on "Agrarian Question". To give long quotations from Classics and to distort them had become a common practice during the last two years.

Suppression of the reports and resolutions of the 7th Congress of the C.I. and Comrade Stalin's teachings regarding colonial revolutions-especially Chinese revolution-were also done, because they would not suit the left-sectarian line of the PB.

The bourgeois-nationalist anti-international attitude and suppression and distortion of the teachings of our great teachers, is not a particular feature of the left-sectarian period alone. It is a long-standing disease with the leadership of our Party. Recollect how in the days of reformism the then PB under the leadership of Joshi took a bourgeois-nationalist attitude towards the problem of war on Soviet Union, the fatherland of the world proletariat and how the war was characterised as an imperialist war even after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, how references to the reactionary nature of Gandhism were deleted unscrupulously from Comrade Stalin's 16th Party Congress Report. Here is a passage from Com. Adhikari's outspoken self-critical report :

"(1) I wrote articles extolling the progressive role of Gandhism in N.F- "Heritage we carry forward" (1938); "Gandhism-A Review" (1940).

(2) In the PB of 1936 I was party to the line of R.D.B.'s article in Congress Socialist which took a bourgeois-nationalist stand on the question of our attitude on contingency of a fascist attack on the USSR.

(3) After the Fascist attack on the USSR in June 1941 I initiated in the then PB the bourgeois-nationalist line of continuing to regard the war as an imperialist war and resisted any change despite hints from Deoli Jail sent by B.T.R. until their full document reached us simultaneously with CPGB documents in November end 1941.

(4) In the war period, as has been pointed out I was the initiator of the rabid bourgeois-nationalist deviation in applying Lenin-Stalin teachings to the question of Pakistan and National Question in India-I together with the old PB (1945-46) disregarded the clear hint against our wrong line contained in Dyakov's article and joined with B.T.R. in writing a letter to Dange then in London, asking him to write to New Times not to publish such articles or something of that sort.

(5) In the same period I was guilty of deleting from Stalin's 16th Party Congress report a reference to Gandhi-which has been condemned in the Second Congress self-critical report. It showed how low I had sunk in the period of Right Reformism-grovelling before bourgeois-nationalist leader and repudiating the great leader of the International workers' movement-leader of all progressive humanity" (Dr. Adhikari's self-critical report, p.1)

This long-standing disease of bourgeois-nationalist, anti-international attitude which is common to both Reformism and Sectarianism has corroded our Party very deeply. A conscious, uncompromising and steadfast struggle has to be waged against this disease if our Party has to get rid of it once for all.

(9) The PB's Titoist methods finally landed the GS in the distorting of the history of our Party, inspite of the International documents regarding the same. We cannot go into all the details of the twisting of the history of the Party by the GS. We will go into one salient point as an example. GS in his document "PB Note on Tamilnad" dated 18-8-1949, regarding the period 1930-34 of our Party History writes thus :

"In Bombay left-Congressism was given up and proletariat entered into a fight against the bourgeois political movement-in 1930- There were sectarian mistakes in approach etc. but basically it was correct to expose and unmask. The bourgeoisie threw themselves against the new force with all their full force and resources, temporarily isolated the Communists from the working class itself-yet Communist cadres were born and within a couple of years all lost ground recovered. So quick was the recovery that Gandhi's meeting in 1931 could be captured.

"Yet the petty-bourgeois Congressism decried this as sectarian and made it a cardinal principle to repudiate this past, this formation of proletarian party-foundation of Joshism. In this they primarily based themselves on the vacillating class petty bourgeoisie which was equated with the people."

Here we are not concerned about the evaluation of that period by Joshian reformism. We are interested in only showing how the evaluation of the General Secretary of that period is in contradiction with that of the documents of the Communist International.

If it is only a question of "sectarian mistakes in approach etc. but basically correct...." why the three Parties - Chinese, German and British C.Ps. - had to address an Open Letter to Indian Communists in 1933 ? Why the Seventh Congress of the C.I. had to make a special mention of the sectarian mistakes of the CPI in Wang Ming's report on Colonial Liberation Movements ? Compare the above para with what is written in Wang Ming's report :

"Our comrades in India have suffered for a long time from "Left" sectarian errors : they did not participate in all the mass demonstrations organised by the National Congress or organisations affiliated with it. At the same time, the Indian Communists did not possess sufficient forces independently to organise a really powerful and mass anti-imperialist movement. Therefore, the Indian Communists until very recently were to a considerable extent isolated from the mass of the people, from the mass anti-imperialist struggle. The toiling masses of India could not be convinced of the fact that the Communists not only really desire to struggle themselves, but can also lead the millions in a struggle against the principal mortal enemy of the Indian people-British imperialism. In this connection for a long time the small, scattered groups of Communists could not become a united, mass all-Indian Communist Party. By their sectarian policy and isolation from the mass anti-imperialist movement, these small Communist groups objectively helped to retain the influence of Gandhism and national reformism over the masses. It was only recently that the all-Indian Communist Party, which has already taken shape, began to rid itself of its sectarian errors and made the first steps towards the creation of an anti-imperialist united front. Nevertheless, our young Indian comrades, having taken this road, showed a great lack of understanding of the united front tactics. This may be borne out even by the fact that our Indian comrades in attempting to establish a united anti-imperialist front with the National Congress in December of last year put before the letter such demands as "the establishment of an Indian Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic," "confiscation of all lands belonging to the Zamindars (land owners) without compensation," "a general strike as the only effective programme of action," **Such demands on the part of our Indian comrades can serve as an example of how not to carry on the tactics of the anti-imperialist united front..... (this emphasis-CC).**

"In the interests of the further successful struggle against British imperialism, the Indian Communists must put a decisive stop to sectarianism and must actively

participate in the mass anti-imperialist movement. The Indian Communists should in no case disregard work within the National Congress and the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organisations affiliated with it, maintaining at the same time their complete political and organisational independence. Both within and without the National Congress the Indian Communists must consolidate all the genuine anti-imperialist forces of the country, broadening and leading the struggle of the masses against the imperialist oppressors."

In this connection one fact needs special mention. The PB in its various documents has time and again made reference to the Thesis and Programme of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. It is good that it has done so and nobody can find anything wrong in it. But how is it that in course of its two and a half years' of functioning the PB did hardly refer to the valuable Reports and Resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International ? While the PB got the Thesis and the Programme of the Sixth Congress printed and circulated to the ranks, and rightly so, how is it that they did not think it necessary to get the various Reports and Resolutions of the Seventh Congress printed and circulated ?

Such withholding of the Seventh Congress Reports etc. from the ranks can only be explained by the fact that the Seventh Congress dealt a mortal blow to the left sectarianism in a thorough-going manner and the Left-sectarian PB did not think it to the advantage of the line it pursued to popularise the precious documents of the historic Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

10) While the attitude of the PB and mainly of the General Secretary towards the world Communist Parties is hostile, what is his attitude to renegades and spies ? see the tone of the General Secretary's statement on the resolution of the Information Bureau on Yugoslav C.P! While the resolution of the Information Bureau, and the resolutions of the other Communist Parties unequivocally condemns the renegades of the leadership of the Yugoslav CP, the General Secretary praises the past "heroic role" of those enemies of the working class and spies of the Imperialists. The whole tone of the statement is that of persuasion of a misguided revolutionary, and not condemnation in sharp terms of a renegade who deserted the camp of socialism to that of imperialists.

With the "Great shock" he had got with the defection of the yugoslav renegade, he appeals thus :

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, regarded as the fighting symbol of a people taking rapid strides to Socialism, drew respect and admiration from Communists in all countries.

"In our country, our Party had consistently broadcast the story of the heroic fight and achievements of the Yugoslav people. At the Second Congress of our Party the delegates from Yugoslavia who attended the session drew a tumultuous applause, next only to that given to the Soviet Union." (Emphasis - CC)

It is true that the GS supported the stand of the Information Bureau, but it loses its meaning in the background of the tone of persuasion. Most of the comrades

felt this statement to be bad at that time, but those who dared to express against it got a kick.

This same liberal attitude to the Yugoslav renegades continued even after. The present editor of the Central legal organ continued to be representative of the Yugoslav renegade "Tanjug News Agency" long after Yugoslavia was thrown out of the Information Bureau. It was only after the intervention from abroad that the thing was stopped and open declaration to that effect made in our legal organ.

While neither the Information Bureau nor the other brother C. Ps cared to publish the rag of the reply of Yugoslav leadership to the resolution of the Information Bureau, PHQ in Bombay duplicated that reply and circulated to the ranks while the General Secretary was at Bombay at that time. The PB was so blind to this that it had to be reminded of this by the ranks after the Editorial of the Information Bureau.

Full one year after the Information Bureau's resolution one of the PHQ staff at Bombay had a talk with two members of the Yugoslav Trade Delegation somewhere outside and later when one of them visited the PHQ at Bombay attempts were made to win him over instead of showing him the door. The GS knowing this neither proposed any action nor reported it to the PB, till somebody brought the matter up.

The General Secretary is personally responsible for all the above because he was in charge of the PHQ at Bombay.

Even after the open warning of the Information Bureau, about the activities of the Yugoslav spies in India, nothing was done. No serious note of the warning was taken by the PB.

It has now come to light that the Yugoslav renegades who attended our Second Party Congress played a significant part in the amending of our Political Thesis further in the direction of Sectarianism. The renegade Kardelj's book "Problems of International Development" was printed and widely circulated as an authoritative book on post-war international situation. It is very strange that not one CCM has raised this matter and demanded self-criticism, after the Information Bureau's resolution on Yugoslav renegades was published. This shows to what extent bourgeois-nationalism had corroded the Party.

### **Individual Responsibility of the PBMs.**

The PB as a whole is responsible for the above-stated crimes. But this does not mean either that every member of the PB is responsible for all of them or in the same degree taking each crime singly. The members of the PB are responsible for different crimes in different degrees.

A Polit Bureau of 9 comrades was elected at the time of the Second Congress by the Central Committee.

Comrade B.T. Ranadive is responsible for all the above-stated crimes, not only in the political sense of the term as the initiator, executor and dogged defender of the Trotskyite-Titoite type of Left-sectarian political line which is the basis for

those Titoite methods of organisation, but also in the practical sense of the term as the initiator and executor of those crimes.

Comrade Bhowani Sen, though not the initiator of those crimes, is one of the abettors of Comrade B.T. Ranadive in his Left-sectarian line and Titoite methods of organisation. He is not personally responsible for all those crimes. But his responsibility as the chief abetter in the suppression of the CC and badgering of the CCMs into submission, non-functioning of the PB, suppression and disruption of the PCs, has to be specially noted. He is not personally responsible for suppression of the international documents, incidents in the Bombay PHQ like circulation of Yugoslav renegades' slanderous reply to the Information Bureau's resolution etc., distortion of Party history, favouritism and double standards.

Comrade Adhikari is also one of the abettors of Comrade B.T. Ranadive in his left-sectarian line and Titoite organisational methods. He is not personally responsible for the suppression of the CC, non-functioning of the PB, suppression and disruption of the PCs, favouritism and double standards. But he bears the main responsibility in aiding Comrade B.T. Ranadive in suppressing the international documents and the distortion of the teachings of our great teachers and Party history.

Comrade Lahiri, from a reformist outlook, had, in the beginning, doubts about the Tactical Line. This was realised by the General Secretary and Bhowani Sen who considered him an utter reformist not to be relied upon to push through the Left Sectarian line and Titoite methods of the two leaders of the P.B. (Bhowani Sen and General Secretary). This is accepted by Comrade Bhowani Sen in his speech on his self-critical report. It was for this reason that he was virtually reduced by the P.B. to the position of a P.C. member and there too, to take the responsibility of technical-organisational matters only, like Tech. and Special. Under the circumstances he had not much to do with the functioning of the P.B. and with its methods. But, gradually, he began to grow into an ardent convert to the left-sectarian line, in cases going even to more extremes than some others viz., his stand on Sarat Bose election, on the April shootings in Calcutta, in his suggestions for adventurist actions against the police etc. However, he lacked both the conceit and the conviction (for the left-sectarian line) which the PB leaders possessed and, as late as July 1949, had offered to resign from the P.B.

It is not possible here to assess in full his responsibilities in relation to his work in the P.C. But it is clear that though he was not put in the P.C. to give political guidance (that was Bhowani Sen's job) yet, as a member of the PB attached to the PC, he is politically responsible for the crass adventurist policy of the PC. He is also responsible for the anti-Party organisational methods practised by the P.C. some of which he put into practice himself and some of which he acquiesced in. The only extenuating factor is that he was, to some extent, a victim of the PB leaders and, in that sense, had to force himself to quickly conform to the PB's line and methods. However, he continued to be looked upon with suspicion by the GS

and more victimisation was in store for him-as is shown by the extraction by the G.S. of bogus confessions from Comrade N.K. Krishnan alleging Lahiri's factional 'conspiracies' at the time of the Second Party Congress. This extracted allegation against Lahiri was kept hidden away by the GS obviously to be used against Lahiri at the next opportunity.

Comrade N.K. Krishnan also has been a virtual PCM for the last two years except for brief periods when he was at the Centre. Hence he had not much to do with the Titoite methods of the PB, except for the anti-international attitude and slander-mongering against the international parties and their leaders which he admitted in this speech on his self-criticism. But he wobbled on the issue of March 9th, took an opportunist stand with regard to the PB's resolution dissolving the Tamilnad PC Secretariat and acted as the main instrument of the PB in liquidating the Party and the mass movement in Tamilnad by using Titoite-Turkish methods. The details could be got in his self-critical report.

Comrade Rajeswar Rao also functioned as a virtual PCM except for the brief period at the time of the PB meeting which took place at the end of 1948. He is not responsible for any of the above-stated crimes of the PB, except for making an opportunist surrender in accepting the three PB documents, which gave the PB a green signal to embark upon adventurist tactics on all fronts. But within a couple of months after his going to his Province, he raised controversy on almost all the main points of the PB documents and has been continuously writing on them basing both on the experience of the mass movement and the international documents. He, supported by PC Secretariat, had been opposing vigorously the Titoist organisational methods of the PB, in the matter of suppressing and liquidating Provincial Committees, intimidating the ranks by labelling them as 'cowards' ' betrayers' etc. and brandishing against them the rod of discipline. He wrote a letter on the issue of March 9th debacle, in which the self-justificatory and abusive letter of the General Secretary to the ranks on it was severely condemned, all disciplinary actions - particularly re : Tamilnad PC Secretariat were demanded to be stopped, and an immediate PB meeting was demanded. Later he refused to be cowed down inspite of all the PCs - including Tamilnad PC Secretariat - falling in line with the PB's sectarian line on this issue. All his letters to the PB were suppressed and were not circulated to the CCMs and even to some of the PBMs.

He and the Andhra Secretariat while conducting Telengana armed struggle and extending it to newer and newer areas, had been unified and prepared the Party in Andhra to a final show-down against the Trotskyite political line and Titoite methods of the PB. All these details can be seen in his self-critical report.

With regard to the other three PBMs who are or were in Jail, another PB member from Andhra, Comrade Chandram, had been one of the votaries of the first Andhra document of 1948 in which all the fundamental issues on the strategy and tactics were raised. Immediately after the document was drafted, he was

caught and sent to prison. Even from the jail, with the meagre material at his disposal, he has been opposing the Left-sectarian politics and Titoite methods of the PB. He has no part in any of the crimes of the PB.

Another PBM Comrade A.K. Ghose had also not opposed the sectarian analysis regarding the state and strategy of the revolution and wrong perspective of the PB regarding the growth of our revolution. He had opposed the Titoist methods of the PB. He opposed the Trade Union tactics of the PB as adventurist. He wrote out a critical note on this issue, which was suppressed by the General Secretary and was not circulated to CCMs. He submitted his resignation of the membership of the PB and Jail Committee protesting against the anti-Party methods of the PB in the matter of jail struggles in Bombay Presidency. He is a victim of the PB's Titoite methods.

Another PBM Comrade Yusuf was inside jail during the last two years and has nothing to do with the Titoite methods of the PB. Because he has not written anything to the PB, nothing is definitely known about his political views.

### **PB after the editorial of the Information Bureau's organ.**

After the Editorial of the Information Bureau organ, Peking Manifesto and Comrade Liu Shao-chi's speech at the Peking Conference, and the documents of the comrades of the CPSU(B) even, the PB as a whole-with a few exceptions-remained sunk deep in the left-sectarianism, refused to see that it had committed fundamental left-sectarian mistakes, had brought the Party to the verge of destruction by Left-sectarian line and Titoist methods and had even gone to the extent of not only slandering brother Parties and their leaders but also distorting the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. The most "atrocious" thing was that Comrade B.T. Ranadive "discovered" in the Peking Manifesto "an atrocious formulation" in calling upon the working class to rally the national bourgeoisie (i.e. the middle bourgeoisie-CC) and saw a correction of it in the Editorial of the Information Bureau organ. Comrade Rajeswar Rao who had been fighting against the left-sectarian line of the PB and for a correct line did not come to the Party Centre by that time. Comrade Bhowani Sen was the only PBM among those at the Centre at that time who first saw-though vaguely and not with deep understanding - that the PB's line was fundamentally wrong. He was the comrade among those at the Centre who first brought to the notice of the PB the seriousness of the situation and tried his best to make sense to the other PBMs at the Centre. The rest of the PBMs-Comrades Adhikari, Lahiri and N.K. Krishnan-were also not realising the seriousness of the mistakes and crimes of the PB. The result was the first self-justificatory statement of the PB to the ranks on the editorial of the Information Bureau organ which sought to explain away the fundamental political mistakes and Titoist crimes of the PB only as "tactical errors", "lag" between the immense possibilities" and the "actual achievements", under cover of the formal acceptance of the editorial; and which got the universal condemnation from the Party ranks. Even Comrade Bhowani Sen who had brought out the seriousness and the fundamental nature of the mistakes

of the PB also voted for this statement, because his understanding too was not yet deep.

Basing on this sandy foundation the PB embarked upon producing different documents without making a sharp, deep and comprehensive criticism of the PB's sectarian line. These documents attempted to give positive lead, while making a piece-meal and superficial criticism of Left-Sectarianism. These are :

- i) Main features of the Indian People's Democratic Struggles and the Main Tasks of Communist Party ..... by Com. Bhowani Sen.
- ii) Resolution on "People's Democracy" ..... by Com. Bhowani Sen.
- iii) Resolution on PB's criticism of Comrade Mao ..... by Com. Adhikari.
- iv) Tactics on the Working Class Front ..... by Com. Lahiri
- v) Resolution on "Agrarian Question" ..... by Com. B.T. Ranadive.

All except the last document were circulated to the CC members.

By this time, i.e. April 1st week, Comrade Rajeswar Rao also reached the Party Centre. Here one thing needs mention. Comrade Krishnan was granted leave because of his ill-health and hence he has not been participating in the PB meetings. After this the PB began discussing the above-mentioned documents and adopted the documents on Main Features.....etc., on criticism of Comrade Mao, People's Democracy, with certain amendments. The document on Trade Union tactics was discussed and it was decided to redraft it, which Comrade Lahiri subsequently did. Document on Agrarian Question was rejected. Comrade Rajeswar Rao prepared a document on Jail struggle, which was not discussed by the PB for lack of time.

By this time the PB had realised, because of the sharp criticism from the ranks and the cadre of the PB's statement on the Information Bureau's editorial, that not only its political capacity but also its very bonafides are also in question. Hence it decided to undo the harm done by its above-mentioned statement to the ranks. It drafted an appeal in which it accepted that it had committed fundamental Trotskyite left-sectarian mistakes, assured the ranks that it will not maintain any Titoite opposition to international Communist movement, and appealed to the ranks to carry on Party activity. It decided to circulate to the ranks this appeal, document on "Main Features...", Resolution in Criticism of Comrade Mao, in the hope of allaying the honest suspicions of the ranks about the PB and helping them to think on correct lines. It also started inner-Party Forum as a weapon of inner-Party democracy.

Almost all the CCMs present here at that time (only two CCMs from Andhra and CCM from Assam were due to arrive) opposed violently the circulation of the Appeal, publication of the Forum and certain formulations in the "Main Features" document. They argued that our acceptance of the formulations that we had committed Trotskyite-Titoite type of mistakes would give a handle to the disruptors

and cause unnecessary panic among the ranks. They objected to the circulation of the Appeal and document "Main Features" unless their amendments, which amounted to minimising the seriousness of the mistakes of the PB and the harm done by Left-sectarianism, were accepted. They said that the second issue of the Forum should not be issued unless it is approved by them. Hence the PB had to drop the Appeal and stop publication of the Forum altogether. It circulated the document on "Main Features" and Resolution on Criticism of Com. Mao to the ranks.

Comrade Rajeswar Rao too voted for the circulation of the above-named documents while criticising some of the important formulations of the document on "Main Features". His reason for releasing them to the ranks was that though the documents suffered from many limitations they would be useful to undo some of the harm done by the PB's first statement on the editorial of the Information Bureau organ.

Apart from the shallow political understanding, the procedure followed by the PB in clearing its own sectarian understanding, in preparing drafts for the CC meeting and in conducting inner-Party discussions was also wrong. Hence it was neither able to help itself, nor the CCMs, nor the ranks, to any appreciable extent. It always lagged behind the consciousness and the vigilance of the ranks and cadres. Because of that, the few honest attempts it made of undoing the harm it had done, met with failure.

Firstly it ought not have embarked upon a long and detailed statement on the Editorial of the organ of the Information Bureau, when its understanding could not but be faulty and inadequate. Later basing on that understanding it ought not have undertaken the drafting of documents without first fully settling accounts with the past sectarian line. Instead of that it should have come out with a short statement on the editorial, accepting it without reservation and stating that the editorial and the other international documents demanded a basic examination of the strategy and tactics pursued by the PB, which the PB would take up immediately with the help of the entire Party. Then it should have attempted to draft a small document giving a clear understanding of the main formulations as such of the editorial of the Information Bureau organ with the help of the other International documents. Then on the basis of that document it should have attempted a self-critical report of the PB reviewing the struggles and movements of the last two years in all their aspects. Then on that basis it should have attempted documents giving positive lead. This procedure would have helped itself and the CCMs and the ranks best. But this is what they exactly did not do.

### **Responsibility of the CCMs**

All this does not mean that CCMs have no responsibility in landing the Party in this mess. It is true the PB under the leadership of GS had been guilty of not calling the CC meeting and of badgering individual CCMs into submission. But the CC is the highest Party unit inside the Party and the integrity, grit and self-sacrificing

nature expected of a CCM should be of the highest order. It is with this confidence alone that they would steer the Party through the white terror and fascist illegality to our goal, that the Party Congress elected them to the CC. But the hopes of the Party Congress had been belied.

It is only the PBMs and CCMs from Andhra that put up a somewhat consistent fight against the sectarian line and Titoist methods of the PB-sepcially that of the General Secretary-though at times they also vacillated. A good number of CCMs tried to put up a weak fight against PB methods at first, but they collapsed at the first attack. Not only that. Some of them had gone to the extent of allowing themselves to be made the tools to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the PB. They later supported the PB in its anti-Party methods. A few though collapsed at the first attack, were honest enough not to actively support the PB in subduing the other Party units or individuals unwilling to accept the anti-proletarian line and methods of the PB. But even then it is wrong to say they discharged their responsibility to stand up against the anti-proletarian line and methods of the PB. But what we have to note is that they are a bit better than those who outright began to support PB's anti-Party politics and methods after being badgered into submission.

There are a number of CCMs with whom the left-sectarianism has become as much a "natural thing" as to some members of the PB; some of them even excelled the PB. They have been almost consistently supporting the PB's anti-working class politics and Titoist methods.

It is true, after the Editorial of the organ of the Information Bureau appeared, the CCMs generally have been struggling hard to understand the past mistakes and reorientate themselves along correct path, like the members of the PB. But their subjective desire could not fully be translated into objective reality.

A section of them having been badgered by the PB surrendered to the left-sectarian politics and methods and themselves imbibed them. Hence they were unable to make a quick turn. But when things were explained to them properly they were able to see their mistakes and make a turn.

For another section of the CCMs, Left-Sectarianism had been as "natural" as with some of the PBMs. They practised it with a zeal. Some of them have acted as "shocktroopers" of the PB in badgering CCMs and PCMs. Completely immersed in the old rut and unable to come out of it, they refused to understand the horrible implications of the Political line and organisational methods pursued by the PB, they refused to understand that these were completely anti-Marxist and anti-Party. They refused to see the immense harm done to the Party by the Trotskyite left-Sectarian line and Titoist methods of the PB. Because of their being overwhelmed by the subjective feelings they objected to the very comparison of the Left-sectarian analysis of the PB with those of the Chinese Trotskyites in 1926 and also objected to the very mention of the term Titoist methods in any document of the PB. They refused to take a turn till the very last, untill the CC meeting.

The PB's wrong procedure cannot be put up as a serious argument for the CCMs not making a quick turn. As members of the highest unit of the Party, their responsibility is not less than the PB. In spite of the PB they should have been able to make a turn in such critical situations on their own and discharge their responsibilities as members of the highest unit inside the Party.

It is impossible to give even a short account of the role of each CCM during these two years and after the editorial of the Information Bureau organ, in this short report. A short account of each CCM can be found in the Minutes of the CC meeting, which are being circulated along with this report.

The Party has to learn a big lesson out of this blackest page in the history of our Party. This should be the last time where the CCMs failed to check the anti-proletarian methods and line of the PB. They must stand up independently inspite of all odds for correct things fearlessly and boldly.

In this connection it is also necessary for every CCM to self-critically examine why and how this surrender had taken place. It is generally true and correct to say that our Marxism-Leninism is so weak that has not given us courage to take a bold stand and fight for the correct line. But it is not enough to say this and thus satisfy ourselves. Besides this general truth, there are cases of opportunist surrender and skin-saving attempts in toeing this openly left-sectarian line, despite the fact, they possess certain fundamental knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and that they see in practice the havoc the sectarian line is causing. Unless and until this kind of refusal to draw lessons from our practice with a view to test the correctness or otherwise of our policies, is put an end to; unless the un-Bolshevik shirking of expressing their point of view is not discarded once and for all and subjective, opportunist and careerist surrendering tendencies are not fought out and, liquidated, the future of our Party leadership as a whole and of individual comrade concerned will be dark and dismal. Besides improving, steeling and tempering in the theory of Marxism and Leninism all CCMs must consciously cultivate the habit of uncompromising inner-Party struggle for the correct line and practice.

In this connection it is necessary and useful to quote a relevant passage from the Report on the Fundamental Lessons of the episode of the Traitor Kostov, delivered to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party by the Secretary Comrade Vulko Chervenkov. In the passage quoted below Com. Chervenkov gives in a masterly way the qualities required of a member of the highest unit of the Party, the CC. Here is what he says :

"Apart from the collective spirit, which must become an unbroken rule in the work of the Politbureau and the Central Committee, we must strengthen a deep adherence to principle admitting of no withdrawals or compromises. In the Politbureau and the Central Committee, Comrades, we must strengthen a perfectly clear and pure Bolshevik atmosphere. Only those party workers may remain and work in the Central Committee and the Politbureau, who are as pure as the waters of the Rila lake, who are upright, who have no secrets kept from others and from

the group, who say what they think, do not mince words like diplomats, do not flatter, do not forgive anyone when it is a case of bad work, who are enacting with regard to themselves and others; who do not suffer from liberalism, are not afraid to criticise most severely even their closest friend when the interests of work demand it; who do not grow giddy with past services, do not rest on their laurels; for whom the unity of our Party and its strengthening is the highest good in life; who have no greater care than their care for the Party, have no other interests apart from the interests of the Party; who study, do not remain at the same stage in their learning, and not only do not abandon their studies and live on their old capital, but who go forward, continually raise their political and specialist qualifications; who develop as men with a profound knowledge of the work under their immediate direction; who look into the heart of matters, are never content with what has been achieved, do not suffer from garrulity, are intolerant of shortcomings, never forget that they are leaders and bear historic responsibility before the people and the country, that they are the servants of the Party and of the people, mandated by them and accountable to them." (Fundamental Lessons of the Discovery of Traicho Kostov's group and of the Struggle for its destruction. On the shortcomings in Party work and our tasks-P.35)

Apart from the CCMs the rest of the Party Committees and entire Party ranks should also fearlessly and regularly participate in the inner-Party discussions and do their duty in shaping the political policy and tactics and decisions on important issues that face the Party from time to time. This is the only and sure guarantee against any such Himalayan debacle in future.

### **Serious Situation inside the Party and Mass Organisations**

The orders of the PB to go into reckless battles, with adventurist forms of struggle, the repeated 'bold calls' for general strikes etc. which hardly materialised, the signal failure not only to correctly lead the agrarian revolution in the countryside but advancing crude sectarian strategy and tactics which resulted in the defeats and disruption of the agrarian struggles and the utter contempt with which the cadres were treated and the way in which discipline minus correct political line was sought to be enforced, threw the Party ranks into frustration and demoralisation. The Party rank and file and the lower Party Committees faced with the hard realities of life, began to realise that the sectarian line pursued by the PB is completely wrong and they were disgusted with the anti-Party methods of the PB and lost all faith and confidence in the Central leadership of the Party.

In the absence of any organisational reports from different provinces except Andhra for the last two and a half years, it is difficult to draw a concrete picture as to what devastating damage has been done to the Party and mass organisations in an all-India scale. But from the stray oral reports as is gathered from the individual CCMs, we get a dismal picture-a picture of Party organisation and different mass organisations being on the verge of liquidation.

Most of the provincial committees and their Centres got thoroughly disorganised and some even went out of existence. Most of the cells and lower committees are not properly functioning. The other Party Committees have been carrying on lifeless functioning and unable to tackle the problems facing them-not knowing a way out - mutual recrimination, throwing the blame upon each other, finally some committees reached the stage of factionalism and got disrupted. The whole of the inner-Party life got poisoned. There is no frank expression of one's own views. The ranks and the Party members, even CCMs, unable to participate in the free inner-Party discussions, for fear of being dubbed as cowards, betrayers, saboteurs, petty-bourgeois funks and what not! A stinking "barrack-like atmosphere" of suspicion, intrigue, tension, and "sealed lips" prevailed inside the Party till the editorial of the organ of the Information bureau. This is an ideal ground and fertile soil for the growth of disruptors, careerists and spies. This situation is much worse than before the Second Congress in the days of reformism. The inner-life of the Party can best be described by an extract from "Son of the People", the autobiography of Comrade Thorez, the French Communist leader. The only difference is that there in France it was a local branch of the Party which had worked havoc with the Party through its left-sectarian craziness and the leadership of the Communist Party of France with such an experienced leader as Thorez at its head, while here the leadership of the CPI with exceptions of a tiny minority had gone completely Left-sectarian and wrought havoc with the whole Party. Hence our job is many times more hard and difficult now.

Comrade Thorez writes thus, in "Son of the People" his autobiography.

"The Communist Party did its utmost to unite the working class and the impoverished sections of the middle class in action against the ruling class. Within the Party itself there were certain elements who did not understand the tactics of 'class against class' which the change in the general situation had made necessary. Before long some of them were even going to desert us. As a reaction against this attitude, the Left-wing extremists of the Paris region, deluding themselves as to the real strength of the Party and its power of winning over the masses, embarked upon a wildly impracticable policy. Its only result was a succession of bureaucratic and mechanical decisions which neither could be, nor were, applied, of skeleton demonstrations brutally broken up by the police, of insistent demands to Party members to call a strike as an example, of expulsions on the slightest pretext, of savage attacks against anybody suspected of reformism, and so on and so forth. As an inevitable result of this crazy policy the Party tended to become a sect completely cut off from the masses and, to complete the picture, some of the old Party leaders, themselves directly responsible for this wild and futile policy, went over to the Trotskyist camp, blaming the Party and the Comintern for the mistakes they had made and the results of them.

"It was absolutely necessary to carry on the fight on both fronts : against opportunism on the one hand, and against leftism on the other. This was the job I had to undertake to the best of my ability." (P. 70).

"Further, the particular group which had managed to secure all the key position had completely forsaken the Leninist line ..... The membership of the Party had fallen off. They interpreted the democratic centralism laid down by Lenin in terms of arbitrary decisions from above, passive obedience from all ranks, stifling of all free discussion, suspicion, timid acquiescence or else silence, sealed lips, no fruitful criticism and, in short a barrack-like atmosphere. The party sank to a caricature of itself, reduced to impotence and condemned to vegetate hopelessly instead of being, as it should be the conscious spearhead of the working class." (P, 182).

The condition of different mass organisations-such as Trade Unions, Kisan Sabha, Students' Federation etc. is also on the verge of liquidation. They continued working as long as their full legal functioning was allowed by the class enemy. Sectarian policy and adventurist tactics thrust upon them, disrupted their unity, exposed them to the brutal attack from the ruthless enemy, made them helpless and vulnerable before such attacks. With total banning of them in many provinces and virtual illegalisation of them in others, these mass organisations went out of existence for all practical purposes except in name. Non-realisation of the immense necessity of illegal organisation and functioning of the Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas etc., and non-adoption of the method of skilful combination of legal with illegal methods of organisation and mode of work led to practical liquidation of them before the brutal onslaught of the enemy.

It is clear from the above that whereas in the former days our main form of conducting Party and mass organisations was **legal**, the present conditions impose upon us the **illegal** Party and mass organisations as the **main form**. Either one has to adapt to it or get liquidated.

### **Remarkable political initiative of the ranks since the Editorial of the organ of the Information Bureau.**

The eyes of the Party ranks and the Committees were opened by the editorial of the organ of the Information Bureau, Peking Manifesto and Comrade Liu Shao-chi's speech at the Peking Conference, and the articles of the leaders of the CPSU(B) on India and other colonial countries. They have broadly found out the reason for this serious state of affairs inside the Party. For the first time in the history of the Party, the Party ranks and cadres have begun to think very seriously about the political line and tactics the Party has to follow in future. They are showing justified bitterness and anger against the top Party leadership - mainly against the PB - for having led the Party into such an abyss. For the first time they are showing unprecedented political initiative in the history of the Party, which is a sign of hopeful future for our Party. The best proof of this is the unequivocal condemnation by the entire ranks of the self-justificatory statement of the PB on the editorial of the organ of the Information Bureau. Some of the PCs and comrades had criticised and condemned the statement sharply and brought important fundamental points, which made the PB and CCMs to wake up and make serious efforts to go deeper into the roots of the matter. The later documents of the PB were also criticised

correctly by them, as not making a sharp turn and suffering from the left-sectarian understanding. The ranks and the cadres for the first time in the history of the Party have been making a strong political criticism of the leadership and contributing their share in hammering out a new political line. It is true that at the time of the Second Party Congress ranks and cadres had also shown some political initiative, which of course had been subsequently retarded and crippled by the PB. But the political initiative and the vigilance as are shown by the Party ranks and Party units of different levels during this period of inner-Party struggle for a correct line have no parallel in the history of our Party.

Though because of these inner-Party discussions the foul "barrack-like atmosphere" is gradually getting shattered, still there is no room for complacency. Even before the party Congress, the very vitals of the Party were eaten a way by the practice of Right Reformism for a very long time and a moth-eaten frame was left of it. Left sectarian elements took charge of it afterwards. Instead of repairing it and rebuilding the Party into a strong Bolshevik party, they began to smash the very frame itself. Not a single evil such as bourgeois liberal methods of organisation, style of work etc. of the Right reformist period was smashed. On the other hand bourgeois authoritarian and Titoist methods of organisation and style of work had been super-imposed by Left Sectarianism during the last two years. Hence the position has became extremely complicated. It has become very difficult to discern and demarcate right reformist politics and methods with that of Left-sectarianism. It is not impossible to find people practising right reformism under cover of Left Sectarian slogans, (i.e. revolutionaries in words and reformists in action) and vice versa. While left-sectarian tendencies are still resisting correction, the right reformist tendencies which lay low till now, have been raising their ugly heads and openly carrying on the disruption. They are moving heaven and earth to take the Party back to reformism under the cover of fighting Left-sectarianism, while paying lip-service to the line of Information Bureau. In this atmosphere some careerists, opportunists and disgruntled elements also are trying to make use of the present confused situation inside the Party and bag honest elements for carrying on their anti-Party aims.

The Colonial Thesis on Party organisation has very sharply pointed out that "anarchism is the opposite pole of bureaucracy". The organisational methods pursued by the PB and permeated to all levels of Party organisation is something more than mere bureaucracy, - it is authoritarianism, pure and simple. As a result of prolonged suppression of inner-Party democracy and arbitrary actions in dealing with individual members and Party committees and due to sudden awakening of the ranks to the overwhelming state of affairs inside the Party-a violent reaction leading to the other end is bound to be there. Already the signs of opposition to all Centralisation, to all leadership, to all stringent discipline are visible inside the Party. Both in Calcutta as well as in Bombay, important Party units and Party comrades have raised the slogan of "reorganisation of the Party from below with rank and file initiative" threatening higher units with implementation of the above slogan by- passing the

higher committees. Taking advantage of the prevailing confusion inside the Party and angry mood of the Party ranks against the policy and practise of the PB, the just and healthy urge of the Party ranks for restoring the inner-Party democracy-i.e. their right to participate in shaping the policy of the Party and to set up a Party leadership on the basis of election, is sought to be exploited at the opportunist and disruptive elements for their own end. Such instances are not many, but these are dangerous tendencies which, if allowed to grow, can only end in disrupting and liquidating the Party.

The Central Committee has to wage a simultaneous battle both for rooting out the authoritarian Titoite methods of organisation of the old PB as well as the anarchic tendencies that have begun to rear their heads inside the Party as a reaction to those methods and in the name of inner-Party democracy.

Neither mere formal democracy nor mere waving the rod of discipline to enforce Central authority can rid the Party organisation of such dangerous poisons. The necessary preliminary conditions for fighting both the evils "are the development and maintenance of living associations and mutual relations within the Party between the directing organs and members, as well as between the Party and the masses of the proletariat outside the Party," - the way out shown by the Communist International Thesis on Party Organisation.

The conditions, as now prevail inside the Party, provide fertile soil for breeding spies and provocateurs and enemy agents. It is only through a constant vigilance on the part of all Party units and each. Party member and also by sticking to the correct organisational principles inspite of all provocations that the real danger that threatens the Party from this end can be successfully averted.

It is a long, hard and difficult job for the CC and PB to fulfil the task of cleansing the "Augean stables" created by both Right Reformism and Left-Sectarianism, with the aid of the P.Cs, D.Cs and other committees and of the ever-vigilant political initiative of the ranks.

### **Main organisational Tasks before C.C.**

What are the main organisational tasks that emerge out of the situation as narrated above ?

1) The CC shall have to put an end to the "barrack-like" and "sealed-lip" atmosphere inside the Party once for all. The CC shall have to forge effective methods to establish complete inner-Party democracy and create conditions in which all Party members can get the full opportunity to participate in the inner-Party discussion for hammering out the new correct strategy and tactics of Indian people's democratic revolution for national liberation.

2) As a condition for creating such an atmosphere all disciplinary actions taken against individuals and Party units by the PB and also by different Party committees under its guidance, shall have to be reviewed and reconsidered in the background of the wrong political line and organisational methods pursued by the PB and other

lower units of the Party, In reviewing, existing conditions of the individuals and Party committees against which actions were taken shall also have to be taken into consideration.

3) The CC has to take steps for re-organising the PCs, DCs, and other Party committees, wherever such reorganisation is necessary, basing on the principle of proletarian democracy and strict centralisation; - i.e. in evolving the Party leadership at different levels of Party organisation, conscious association of the Party ranks in selecting such leadership has to be ensured, keeping, however, in view the present illegal condition of the Party and condition of white terror prevailing inside the country. Such reorganisation can take place on the basis of a full discussion of the new Party line and on the basis of full criticism and self-criticism of the activities of different comrades and Party Committees and of review of past activities and struggles, in light of the new understanding of the Party policy.

However, to start work immediately, wherever situation demands, the CC will appoint Provisional Committees for breaking the immediate deadlock in the Party organisation with those comrades who can command the general confidence of the ranks and who are capable of fulfilling the tasks facing the respective Party unit in this critical juncture.

4) Keeping in view the present illegal condition of the Party and the condition of white terror let loose by the Nehru-Patel regime, the illegal Party apparatus has to be thoroughly reorganised on a sound scientific basis, the method of combining the legal and illegal functioning of the Party and mass organisations has to be mastered and measures have to be taken to ensure the full utilisation of the legal possibilities that still exist.

5) The entire Party leadership and the Party ranks have to be educated in Marxism-Leninism and serious efforts have to be made to raise the theoretical level of the entire Party. This equipping the Party with the knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory coupled with the free participation of all Party members and Party units and shaping the Party policy can alone guarantee to keep the Party on the correct road and also enable the comrades to carry on their practical activities with initiative and Bolshevik efficiency.

6) The CC must make conscious and consistent efforts to root out all old anti-Party bourgeois organisational ideas, methods, habits, and style of work-both Right Reformist as well as Left-Sectarian. It must instal Bolshevik organisational ideas, methods, habits and style of work, basing itself on the teaching of the Lenin and Stalin on the same and the organisational principles laid down in the "Thesis on Organisation and Structure of the Communist Parties adopted at the 3rd Congress of the Communist International in 1921, together with the Statutes of the C.I." and forge the CPI as an effective vanguard of working class for the successful leading of the armed struggle as the main form of the struggle and combining the armed struggle with other forms of struggles.

7) The CC has to keep in view the warning of the organ of the Information Bureau about the nefarious attempts of the Titoist spies and agent provocateurs in India and lead the continued vigilance of the ranks in keeping the Party away from those vipers.

8) The CC has to make serious efforts to clear the misunderstandings and bridge the gulf that has been created between International Communist movement- above all the Communist Party of China. CPGB and its leader Com. R.P. Dutt who has been helping our Party in innumerable ways since its inception - by the bourgeois chauvinist and sectarian blunders of the PB. The CC has to make unswerving efforts to re-establish the bona fides of the CPI with the International Communist movement and forge healthy and fraternal relations with the brother Parties of the world - above all, CPSU(B), the C.P. of China and C.P.G.B. The CC has to make conscious endeavour to trace closely and counteract the poison spread over a long period - overtly or covertly - by both Left Sectarian and Right Reformist trends inside the leadership - against the brother Parties and their leaders.

Hereafter the CC should make available to the ranks all the important documents, articles and other materials of the brother Parties. All the important documents of the Information Bureau also to be made available to the ranks, to make them keep a vigilant eye against any anti-proletarian tendencies that are likely to raise their head inside the Party in future and help them to counteract the poison already spread.

9) The CC must make conscious and consistent endeavour to discard the old practice of CC to be virtually the federation of provincial units and PB to be the coordinating committee of that federation. It must build itself up as a united political team and leadership of the entire Party and mass movement through collective functioning, gaining by imbibing the experience of the movement of all the provinces, improving the capacities of the CC as a whole and individually and collectively by increasing their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and its correct application, and behaving in an ideal way in the matter of hard work, revolutionary honesty integrity and self-sacrifice etc.

10) The PB must improve its functioning as a subordinate body of the C.C. and work under the political guidance of the C.C.

No person or persons however big he or they might be, should be allowed to be placed above the CC or PB. No decision of importance to be allowed to be taken by one or a few individuals on their own without the sanction of the CC or PB. Every comrade must be made to subject himself to the iron discipline of the Party in general and his unit in particular based on democratic centralism.

### **The Best Course out of this Critical Situation**

What is the proper course before the CC to get the - Party out of this morass and to have its organisational tasks implemented ?

The serious political mistakes and the colossal organisational mess which the entire Party has been subjected to, demand the convening of a Party Congress for hammering out a correct line and also for evolving a new leadership to put this line into practice.

But the Party in India is passing through the condition of complete illegality for all practical purposes. Today nobody can think of holding a Party Congress openly and legally when, under condition of white terror, even an ordinary Trade Union or Kisan Sabha executive meeting cannot be openly and legally held.

A Party Congress presupposes, and our Party Constitution enjoins, the election of delegates for the Party Congress with the participation of every Party unit all over the country which means a series of Party Conferences in all the provinces - at different organisational levels. Those who are aware of the thoroughly disorganised and devastating condition of Party organisation and its Tech. in different provinces, the unmistakable existence of enemy agents very close to its periphery who are making every effort to blow up the Party and also the condition of white terror through which the country as a whole, and some provinces in particular, have been passing, would not advise to embark upon the adventure of holding series of Conferences on an all-country scale. There may be exceptional cases where holding of local, district or provincial conferences would be an imperative necessity even taking the gravest possible risks but to prescribe it on an all-country scale is not to realise the dangerous reality of the situation at all.

To hold a Party Congress without properly elected delegates from *all* the provinces with the participation of the *entire* Party ranks is to play false with the very idea of a Party Congress which we have no right to do.

Moreover, under u.g.condition, to hold a Party Congress worth its name, even with minimum delegates is to run the gravest possible risk. We have yet neither a liberated area of our own, nor a safe and easily approachable country near our border where we can go and hold such a Congress with safety.

Taking all these factors into consideration, an enlarged session or the Plenum of the Central Committee with the participation of the representatives of the Provincial Committees emerges as the proper solution for giving final shape to the decisions of the CC in evolving a correct line and electing proper Central leadership of the Party.

But the CC, by all means, shall have to ensure the full discussion over the new line among the entire Party ranks. Each party unit and every comrade should take initiative to contribute his best in evolving the correct line. This will unify the Party as a solid rock on a correct Party policy and ensure the success of the CC Plenum. The Party Constitution adopted at the Second Party Congress provides for a plenum of the Central Committee in place of a Party Congress under critical circumstances when it is impossible to call a Party Congress :

"Extraordinary Congresses are called by the Central Committee on its own initiative or at the demand of Party units having a representation of not less than one-third of the total Party members represented at the last Party Congress. The extraordinary Congress is to be considered as having full powers if it has delegates representing not less than half the membership of the Party represented at the last regular Party Congress. Representation quotas at the Congress and the method of election are decided by the Central Committee.

**Note :** If it is impossible to call a Congress of the Party, the Central Committee will call an enlarged session or the Plenum of the Central Committee with the participation of the representatives of the Provincial Committees". (Constitution of CPI).

Further provision is made for the reconstitution of the CC but on the condition that confirmation of the same is got at an all-India Congress or Conference.

"The Central Committee, under exceptional circumstances, is empowered to reconstitute itself and other committees and fractions and to frame new rules. This reconstitution should be confirmed as soon as possible in an All-India Congress or an All-India Party Conference, called by the Central Committee". (Ibid).

If both the above provisions taken together, the position boils down to this :

- 1) In such critical situations when the Party has to hammer out a new strategy and tactics, a Party Congress or at least an extended Plenum has to be held.
- 2) Reconstitution of the CC can either be made at the Party Congress and extended Plenum of CC or have to be subsequently ratified by any one of them.

Hence in these circumstances we can and have to hold the extended Plenum of the CC as the best possible course.

We have to remember that the enemies of Party won't sit quiet until we find methods of correcting the past mistakes and evolve a new line. They are already on the move with a view to deliver smashing blows while the Party is in political confusion and wipe it out before it can hammer out a new line and reorientate itself on that basis. The imperialists and their agents, the Indian big business unleashed a new wave of fascist terror unknown in the history of our country, not only against Telengana and Andhra districts of the madras Presidency but on all our strongholds throughout the country, such as-Kerala, Tamilnad, Easter UP, parts of Bihar, Assam, Manipur, Tripura etc. The white terror and civil war let loose in Telengana and Madras Presidency is no ordinary thing - shooting down our Party members, and sympathisers at sight, inhuman torture in specially made torture chambers, shooting down comrades by bringing them out of sub-jails etc. Their plan is to wipe out our strongholds before the situation goes out of their control. The Congress Government is making serious efforts under the guidance of the Anglo-American imperialists to square up its quarrels with the reactionary puppet Government of Pakistan, not only to stem the tide of the revolution in the Indian sub-continent but also to help the

imperialists to drown the revolutionary national liberation movements of South East Asia. Another concrete purpose of these attempts at rapprochement is to sandwich the resistance areas like Hill border regions of Mymensigh district, Manipur, Tripura etc. on the borders of India and Pakistan.

The leadership of the Socialsit Party of India, lackeys of big business have let loose a barrage of lies and slander against the Party. They are not only trying hard to isolate us from other progressive left groups, but also-appealing to the Congress Government to realise that this policy of armed struggle in the rural side is more dangerous than the previous adventurist tactics of our Party and to suppress us all the more vigorously and help them in their nefarious game.

The renegades thrown out of the Party are making every effort under the leadership of Joshi to disrupt the Party from inside and are waiting for their chance to split the Party.

In such a serious situation, the Party cannot sit on discussing the new line alone. It has to carry on two-fold task simultaneously, if it is serious at all about the guidance given in the Editorial of the Information Bureau organ and the Peking Manifesto.

The Party has firstly to get out of the old sectarian an reformist rut and hammer out a new clear-cut strategy and tactics.

Secondly to proceed steadily to put the Party on the rails of armed struggle in the countryside and rebuild the unity of the working class and the movement in the cities on the basis of one new line and tactics.

The lose sight of either of the above and to forget that both are to be simultaneously fulfilled leads finally to liquidate the Party and the revolutionary movement altogether. With this aim in view, the CC has to find a way out of this critical situation facing the Party.

In this situation, the only way out before the Party is that the present CC has to act with responsibility, coolness of judgement and courage. The CC while on the one hand has to take the necessary and immediate steps to fulfil the above stated two-fold aim, at the same time, it has to evolve such methods as to enable the ranks to participate fully and contribute their maximum to the hammering out of a new clear-cut strategy and tactics.

For this, the present CC has to do the following things :

1) Chalk out broad lines of new strategy and tactics on the basis of the editorial of the Information Bureau organ and on the basis of Peking Conference discussions etc.

2) Reconstitute the present CC on the basis of the above-stated broad lines of the new strategy and tactics and the self-critical evaluation of the PBMs and CCMs etc. There should be no bar to include Party leaders from outside the present CC, to be included in the reconstituted CC.

3) This reconstituted CC will elect a PB. The new CC and PB will prepare the final drafts, on the basis of the discussion and decisions of the outgoing CC and circulate them to the ranks for discussion. The reconstituted CC will conduct widespread and intense discussions.

Extended Plenum of the reconstituted CC including the representatives of the PCs will have to conclude the discussions and take the political and organisational decisions in the course of 6 months.

Meanwhile the new CC has to put the Party on the rails of new line enunciated in the drafts that are put for discussion and decision.

4) The new CC will arrange to get the opinion of the Information Bureau and the International comrades on the documents released for discussion and organisational decisions taken by the present CC.

### **Dissolution of the PB**

Before taking up the question of its reconstitution, the CC has to dissolve the PB and remove Comrade B.T. Ranadive from the General Secretaryship for the following reasons :

Comrade Ranadive has been the initiator, executor and dogged defender of the Trotsky-Tito type of left-sectarian political line. The Polit Bureau had fallen in line, conciliated and abetted him in carrying out his anti-Leninist, liquidationist line, which has resulted in the Party and mass movement being brought to the point of total disruption. The manifestations of that line are :

- a) Repudiation of the Lenin-Stalin teachings on Imperialism and colonial revolutions, which resulted in equating the present stage of Indian revolution to the Socialist stage.
- b) Sabotage of the agrarian revolution and armed struggle and adventurist tactics in towns and villages which brought the mass movement to the verge of total disruption.
- c) Bringing in of the Titoist organisational methods - which resulted in almost disrupting the Party organisation, suppressing inner-Party democracy and poisoning inner-Party life.
- d) Anti-international attitude and violation of the very principles of fraternal relations with brother Parties, which resulted in overt and covert slander of brother Parties and their leaders, supreme complacency and lack of vigilance against spies etc.
- e) Rejection of all creative Marxism under the slogan "we recognise nobody except Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin" and finally distortion of all Marxism-Leninism to suit its own left-sectarian adventurist purposes.

The Polit Bureau as a whole was responsible for all the crimes stated above. But this does not mean either that every member of the Polit Bureau was responsible for all the crimes stated above or that every member was responsible in the same

degree taking each crime singly. The different members of the Polit Bureau were responsible for the above crimes in varying degrees.

This has been already given in the earlier part of the document.

## Reconstitution of the CC and the PB

The CC, if it has to be a functioning body under the present conditions of white terror, has to be a considerably smaller body than elected at the time of the Party Congress, say 11 or 13. The number can be increased as the movement develops and requires a bigger CC by including new competent cadre thrown up by the movement.

The "Thesis on the organisation and structure of the Communist Parties" of the CI gives the guiding rule for the constitution of CC and PB thus :

"In order to study the general and political situation and gain a clear idea of the state of affairs in the Party, it is necessary to have various localities represented on the Central Committee whenever decisions are to be passed affecting the life of the entire Party. For the same reason, differences of opinion regarding tactics should not be suppressed by the Central Committees if they are of a serious nature. On the contrary, these opinions should get representation upon the Central Committee. But the smaller bureau (Polit Bureau) should be conducted along uniform lines, and in order to carry on a firm and sure policy, it must be able to rely upon its own authority as well as upon a considerable majority of the Central Committee".

This means :

- 1) Political level and capacities of member is the main criterion, the CC must collectively represent the experience of the entire movement.
- 2) "Considerable majority" of the CC must consist of those who are firmly convinced of the new line and can carry it out effectively.

"Differences of opinion regarding tactics..... if they are of a serious nature" as told above, should get represented on the CC.

3) The PB must be a politically united team with no tactical differences accommodated inside it. It "should be conducted along uniform lines" as the Thesis of the Communist International says. Otherwise, the united and regular functioning becomes impossible.

In the condition of inner-Party situation and particularly in the CC, it is not possible to completely realise the directives given by the CI as regards the constituting of the CC and the PB. But we must bear in mind the directives and struggle hard to arrive at organisational decisions approximating to them.

What should be the criterion for the election of the members of CC ?

- 1) Unreservedly accept the new-line of the Party.
- 2) Political and organisational capacities to get things done. In critical situation, no vacillations either opportunistic or political, but stand like a rock amidst storm,

(The political-organisational capacities of individuals has to be judged in relation to his past activities).

3) Even if one, on his own, is not able to give correct solutions to major problems, at least he must have an ear to learn from the Party ranks and masses and pose organisational, political and mass problems before the CC and enrich the CC with experience.

4) The CCMs who had been the propounders and fanatical executors of this sectarian line and adopted Turkish, Titoist methods of organisation, who have refused to even think about their sectarian line even after the editorial of the Information Bureau appeared, and who after months of discussion of the new line refused to orientate in spite of the sharp criticism of the ranks, must not, as far as possible, be entrusted with heavy responsibility of the CC and PB membership until they prove in practice that they are once again fit for being entrusted with such responsibility.

### **Directive for the functioning of the CC and PB**

The Central Committee must be developed into a "supreme collective leader" and "a monolithic hammer which strikes at one point" of the Party, which will be able to collectively tackle big problems arising out of the movement and gain the confidence of the entire Party. Here is what Comrade Chervenkov says about it in his report to the Plenum of the CC of Bulgarian Communist Party.

"It follows from this that the harm ensuing from every infringement of the collective character of work in the Party leadership, from every underestimation of the Central Committee as the supreme directing staff in the country must be fully and thoroughly acknowledged.

"It follows from this that the non-Bolshevik methods indicated must be entirely and mercilessly sent to the devil, not a vestige of them must remain, and Bolshevik methods of work must be established forever in the Central Committee, the collective character of work must be consolidated with all our might, the Central Committee must be advanced more and more as the supreme collective leader of the entire political, public, economic and cultural life of the country. No institute, no organisation, no personality in our country can or may stand above the Central Committee, above the Politbureau. No decision of importance to the country may be taken, no action of importance for our country and the workers may be undertaken without its agreement and confirmation. This must become an iron law for all." (Fundamental Lessons of the discovery of Traicho Kostov's Group and of the struggle for its destruction. On the shortcomings in Party work and our Tasks - V. Chervenkov.P.24)

1) The aim of the CC functioning must be to develop a politically united, competent all-India leadership. The past practice of double-membership except in specific cases, has to go. CCMs can be attached to PCs wherever necessary.

2) CC to meet on all important political and organisational issues and take decisions. It must meet at least once in 4 months.

3) The PB to be in continuous session and take collective decisions and is entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out the decisions and the work of the Central Committee between its sessions. The Secretary has to act with initiative within these limits. Though the PB can and has to take initiative on major political and organisational issues also, they have to be got confirmed by the CC as soon as possible.

4) The slip-shod and chaotic methods of functioning has to be put an end to. Division of functions and principle of individual responsibility has to be introduced if the jobs have to be properly done and done in time. These following functions of the CC have to be collectively discharged or divided between PBMs and CCMs. To discharge these functions, committees have to be organised whenever necessary.

- General Pol-org. guidance
- Guidance to different PCs.
- Fronts - Trade Union and Student Fraction committees. Kisan and Ag. Labour.
- Committees for Agit-Prop. Legal journals and illegal journals. Publication of agit-prop. literature.
- Party education. Legal theoretical journal. Illegal Party forum and publication of theoretical books.
- Tech.
- Finance and treasury.
- Special.
- Fraternal relations with brother Parties.
- Women and Youth.
- No special department for grading and checking up cadre at present, but should be one of the tasks of the PB.

5) The mass front fraction committees have to work under the close guidance of the CC. They must keep in touch with the mass movement not only through reports but direct contact with the important centres of that front. A circular on the functioning of the fractions to be prepared.

## **Reorganisation of the Provincial Committees and District Committees and Tasks of the PCs**

In view of the wholesale dissolution and reorganisation of PCs carried on by the PB to push through its own-Trotskyite politics, and the consequent reorganisation of certain D.Cs by the PCs on the same lines, it is imperative on the part of the CC to reorganise the PCs and make arrangements for the reorganisation of the DCs and other committees with capable comrades who command the confidence of the ranks, if the tasks set before the CC are to be fulfilled.

Some comrades are raising the slogan that the present PCs, DCs and other Party committees have to be thrown out wholesale and these have to be reconstituted with others outside the present committees, because these are Trotskyite - Titoite committees organised by the Trotskyite-Titoite PB.

This slogan is as disruptive, if not more, as the Titoite methods of the PB. This means that the same methods as applied by the old PB have to be adopted towards the present committees. This has nothing in common with the Party of the proletariat whose single aim is to bring the people's democratic revolution to success and lead the battle for building up socialism.

As matter of fact it is wrong to characterise PB as a Trotskyite-Titoite body, simply because it had adopted Trotskyite-Titoite political line and organisational methods. It is doubly wrong to characterise the PCs and DCs and other Party Committees as Trotskyite-Titoite bodies because either they were reorganised by the PB or they carried the directions of the PB. This is the formal logic of a bourgeois logician but not of a dialectical materialist. Whether those comrades who raise this slogan mean it or not, this is opening wide the gates of the Party to those who have taken the path of renegacy after having been thrown out of the Party and to stinking right reformism. This is the same contempt for cadres which the left-sectarian PB has been guilty of. Cadre is not created in a day. They are created over a long period through not only their individual efforts but also the hard collective efforts of the Party and they embody the collective experience of the Party as a whole. The Party that treats the cadre shabbily like dirt, cannot be a revolutionary Party.

It is true that hard-boiled incorrigibles both of the left-sectarian and Right reformist variety who have become fossilised and who are immune to any change, have to be kept out of responsible positions and if necessary thrown out of the Party. But the method to be applied on the whole to the cadre in the Party of the proletariat is the **method of correction**, especially in times of crisis like ours at present, unless the very honesty and Bolshevik devotion to the cause of the comrades is in question. This is the method followed by the brother Parties, even the CPSU(B) the leader of the world Communist movement. You can find innumerable instances from the history of the CPSU(B) as well as histories of brother Parties. The proposed wholesale removal of the present Party Committees is as much disruptive and harmful to our cause, as the wholesale reorganisation of the Party Committees, the PB has been carrying on till now.

Here the comrades have to remember another important point. In the Party the main political responsibility of a wrong political line lies with the highest committees of the Party, i.e. the PB and the CC and it increasingly lessens as we go to the lower committees. Hence the Party has to adopt more liberal attitude towards the lower committees. The principles which are applied for the reconstitution of the CC has to be applied more and more liberally as we go down the ladder of our Party organisation.

Keeping the above principles in view the PCs or POCs, DCs, and other Party Committees have to be reorganised from those who are at present in the Committees and others outside, on the following lines :

1. The POCs or PCs have to consist of 7 members and a Secretariat of 3, or only a PC of 5 without a Secretariat as occasion demands.

2. The members accept the new line. Those who oppose the line either from Left-sectarian or from Right reformist angles have to be kept out.

This does not mean that every syllable of the interpretation of the CC of the lead of the Information Bureau should be accepted. But the agrarian revolution and the guerilla armed struggle as the main form of struggle and the strategy given by the Information Bureau should be accepted.

3. Those comrades who have got political and organisational capacities to get things done.

4. Those comrades of the proletarian or peasant origin who have got an ear for the Party ranks and the masses and who can at least pose problems before their Committees, even though they may not be able to give solutions on their own because of lack of Marxist theoretical foundation.

5. Those comrades who have practised Titoist organisational methods in the extreme and have lost the confidence of the ranks completely have to be kept out of the committees.

6. Those comrades who had opposed either the Trotskyite politics or the Titoist methods of the PB even feebly, have to be given preference.

### **Plenums and Conferences**

The Party in the present conditions of extreme illegality and delicate national and international situation, cannot embark upon a **complete** system of conferences and elections from bottom to top.

Hence Plenums and Conferences have to be organised wherever indispensable after fullest possible political discussions and perfect tech. arrangements, consistent with the conditions of white terror and safety of the Party. New Committees have to be elected at those Plenums or Conferences after full political discussions and self-criticism.

At other places Committees can be reorganised from top at the meeting of important comrades basing on the general discussions on the new line.

### **Some Directives to the PCs**

1. The old organisation on the basis of Government administrative divisions has to go. The Party has to be reorganised entirely on a new basis suited to the present line. This is to be the form in which it has to be reorganised. i.e. PCs., Regional Committees where the Party has spread to sufficiently wide areas, Area Committees, Zonal Committees etc. This does not mean that this has to be done with a pen-stroke overnight. The Party has to be put on a new basis gradually as the movement develops along new lines. A separate circular has to be sent giving details about the new organisational form.

2. The present apparatus of the PCs are top heavy both organisationally, technically and financially. There is no division of jobs and individual responsibility. The PCs' finances are in a chaos. They collect very little money. Most of them

- either are living on the sale of the property or subsidies of the CC. The state of CC finances is much more horrible.

This state of affairs cannot continue any longer, if the Party is to come out of this mess and survive at all. The present apparatus of the PCs has to be dismantled and simplified, in consonance with the strength and resources of the Party in different provinces, and not on either sale of properties or subsidies from the CC. The principle of division of jobs and individual responsibility has to be applied as far as possible.

3. The Provincial Committees have to review cases of disciplinary actions taken against Committees and individuals in the last two years as need be considered, and take suitable measures in the light of the new political line.

4. The PCs must be vigilant against spies and agent provocateurs who are trying to utilise the present confused situation inside the Party to spread scandals and rumours and disrupt the Party from within. Special care has to be taken against the activities of the Titoite spies, about whom the Information Bureau has given an open warning. This can effectively be done by making the entire ranks vigilant over the matter. However this should not be allowed to develop into a spy-scare.

5. Inner-Party discussions have to be organised on the widest possible scale, basing on the International documents and the documents of the CC. The PCs have to start forums in their respective national languages, for conducting these inner-Party discussions.

6. The PCs have to prepare the political organisational reviews of the movement of the last 2 years with the past background in respective Provinces, basing on the understanding given in the new line. This is absolutely necessary for getting a correct understanding of the past for the unification of the Party. Unless the job is done in a thorough-going fashion, remnants of the past wrong understanding will persist and obstruct the path forward every time. This is also necessary for the CC to get a consolidated picture of the all-India movement and to prepare a consolidated report which will be the basis for evolving clear-cut tasks.

7. While fulfilling the above tasks, the PCs and the POCs have to fulfil their day to day tasks of a Provincial unit, must stand at the head of mass movements on every live issue, must unite them and develop armed struggle in the rural areas on the basis of agrarian revolution.

Comrades of the CC,

Our Party is facing a most critical situation in its entire history. All the enemies of the Party, Anglo-American imperialists, big business lackeys, the reactionary leadership of the Socialist Party and renegades thrown out of the Party are making every effort to spread demoralisation and confusion inside the Party and the masses behind it, in order to smash it from both inside and outside. The reactionary Nehru-Patel Government has launched another wave of fascist terror campaign on our strong-holds to wipe them out altogether.

The Party is not only facing a serious danger but also extremely favourable opportunities. The enemies' camp is torn by conflicts and is disrupting. The peoples are everywhere very much discontented and disillusioned about the Congress and

its fascist rule. They are rising in their own way in defence of their interests and resisting the fascist onslaught. There is a general left-ward swing among the rank and file of the left parties. The international situation is extremely favourable. If we make a quick turn; evolve a new line and put our shoulders collectively to the wheel, our Party will be able to again make a turn, to utilise the extremely favourable situation offered before it and march forward steadily on the path of guerilla armed struggle basing on agrarian revolution for the success of the people's democratic revolution.

Comrades of the CC! We are the members of the highest unit of our Party and the political leadership of the entire Party. A great responsibility lies on our heads. Let us keep only the interests of our Party and the revolutionary movement at heart, and make a united effort to understand our past mistakes in the light of the editorial of the Information Bureau organ and other international documents, strengthened by the sharp criticisms from the ranks and cadres that have been pouring in since the editorial of the Information Bureau organ appeared. Let us act upto the trust the ranks still are reposing in us inspite of our past mistakes. Let us take momentous political and organisational decisions, which will be the basis for getting the Party out of the morass. Otherwise history will not forgive us !



# TELANGANA DOCUMENTS

(The New CC of CPC, which was formed in June, 1950 with Com. Chandra Rajeshwar Rao as the General Secretary has published these documents in Aug, 1950 in two parts and circulated the same among the Party ranks)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
AUGUST, 1950

# Introductory Note to Andhra Documents

*Comrades,*

We are sending herewith two sets of Andhra documents, which the Central Committee has decided to send as Information Documents to the Provincial Committees. Before we go to introduce briefly their content, we would like to make one point clear to you all, i.e. though their content and the lessons drawn in them are basically correct, yet they have written within the formal framework of the "Tactical Line" issued by the old Polit Bureau. Hence the entire bourgeois class was talked of as collaborationist, the entire rich peasant class was placed in the enemy camp and the middle peasant was described as the vacillating ally. Of course it is now evident to you all how the above narrated strategy is wrong and sectarian. The Polit Bureau requests you to read and understand the contents of these documents bearing in mind the latest political correction to our old left-sectarian line and the formulations of the Tactical Line.

Secondly, all these documents were originally written in Telugu and subsequently translated into English for the information of the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee. The translation was badly done in a hurry and that too not by experienced and efficient hands at the job. Consequently, a number of grammatical errors, inappropriate words and phrases, and bad construction of sentences, etc., are found in abundance in the English translated copies. The Central Committee has decided to send them as they are, so that they may reach you as soon as possible and immensely help you to understand the new line in the background of the rich practical experience embodied in these documents. Neither the summarisation of these documents nor good retranslation of them could be undertaken by the Central Committee in the circumstances as we find it today. So please take pains to appreciate the contents, even though sometimes at certain places it may strain your patience to pick up the correct idea so as to fully grasp it.

The first set of the Andhra documents are the two letters that deal directly with the problems facing in the areas of armed guerilla resistance and agrarian revolution in Telangana. These are addressed to the Telangana Party units in two different stages and periods, when the armed struggle faced an extremely critical situation. The first letter is addressed in February 1949 when, in the face of sweeping military offensive of the combined forces of the Indian Union and the Nizam, the party began to reel under the heavy blows of the enemy and different trends of deviation had raised their head- the two most important of them were- one advanced the slogan of "desperate adventurist armed resistance" and the

other for a "total retreat". The Provincial Secretariat had to fight these two deviations. analyse their root, examine the mistakes such as "merging the Party and guerilla squads", "negligence of illegal methods of Party organisations", "ignoring the necessity of separate mass class organisations while building the Andhra Mahasabha" and "violation of guerilla methods of fighting and in their place adapting the tactics of positioal warfare", etc., and issued correct positive slogans for the armed struggle and agrarian revolution.

The second letter was issued in the first week of September 1949, when, after the failure of March 9 Railway strike etc., was witnessed, another wave of depression and demoralisation cropped up and the majority of the middle leadership including all "area committees excepting one or so, in Telangana and some leading district committees in Andhra areas, raised all sorts of doubts on the continuation of armed struggle demanding a "call" for retreat. The disorganisation which resulted- some of which was partly inevitable in the fight and some partly resulted because of our mistakes in conducting the struggle-was seized upon by these comrades to press for their line of retreat with all types of ingeneous. "arguments and reasons". Some of them took the stand arguing that "before the Party and mass organisations are strongly built, armed struggle and agrarian revolution cannot be conducted and so all armed resistance be immediately stopped". Still some more began to quote the passages from Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism" where he had catalogued conditions for starting an insurrection and from that argue that the present conditions in India as a whole are not in line with; and so to continue armed resistance is nothing but "individual terrorism and adventurism". There were others who went to the length of lequidationist stand of the entire past mass revolutionary movement characterising it as only "an anti-Nizam sentimental wave". There were also comrades who quoted passages from the "Tactical Line" trying to prove the armed resistance in Telangana was nothing but "petty bourgeois revolutionism". The P.C. Secretariat had to ward off all these attacks on the Telangana armed struggle and issue positive slogans for the fighting front.

If comrades read these two letters and assimilate the lessons drawn in them, a good number of the same type of mistakes that are likely to be committed in different localities and areas, can be avoided and even if they occur at all, they can be immediately rectified. Infact, it is very necessary that all our leading comrades equip themselves with these rich lessons drawn from Telangana armed agrarian struggle.

Then coming to the second set of Andhra documents, they are four in number, which were issued by the P.C. Secretariat between February, 1949 and February, 1950 mainly dealing with the question of organising militant resistance to the white terror unleashed by the collaborationist Government. In these documents, the problem of linking the agrarian revolution with armed resistance is also discussed. Finally in the circular "New Forms of struggle" the full perspective of armed guerilla resistance is given. These documents reveal to you the inner-party struggle and

different type of vacillations and deviations on the issue of armed resistance, that had cropped up in the "Andhra" part of the Province. This experience is different in character from that of Telangana, because the armed struggle in Telangana was taken up along with (and in some respects after) the issue of the land distribution taken up and in "Andhra" part of it, the revolutionary armed struggle had to go from organising militant and armed resistance against the counter-revolutionary terror to the question of land distribution, etc. Another very important issue discussed in the circular "New Forms of Struggle" is about the armed resistance and the historical background in justification of this form of struggle as the main form of struggle. Comrades who fail to examine this question of new forms of struggle in their correct perspective usually raise all sorts of doubts, which provide grist to the mill of the reformists who are opposing the armed struggle as the main form of struggle for the Indian Revolution today. This document answers a good many questions and restores the correct perspective.

All the limitations pointed out above hold good with these documents too. So comrades have to appreciate the difficulties and make use of the material.

#### **POLIT BUREAU**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

We are sending the following Party Letter, explaining how armed guerilla war has today become the main form of struggle in the revolutionary movement in Andhra. It is natural for the readers to raise doubts why so much delay occurred in realising to take up this form of struggle and why in the different circulars issued by Andhra PC on the resistance tactics, this full-fledged form was not developed. Here we try to answer these doubts, briefly. It is the Revolutionary Telangana movement that dragged us into the armed guerilla struggle. We were able to carry forward the struggle, evolving the perspective and forms of struggle with the aid of literature dealing with Chinese Revolution.

But when this problem was posed in practice in connection with the movement in the Union Andhra (Madras), we vacillated very much. Andhra PC recognised the serious nature of the bourgeois offensive on the Party which started immediately after Gandhiji's murder and continued upto April. It realised that the time had come when the movement in Andhra area had to be guided in Telangana way. Hence, in the draft prepared by the Andhra. Sectt., at the end of April, 1948 and circulated for discussion among all DCS-these had gone to some taluqs also-the following was written:

The offensive launched by Nehru Government against CPI is a part of the international offensive started by world imperialism. It is an offensive by which it ranges itself against all progressive and democratic forces of the world. To put it bluntly, this offensive is practically nothing but a cruel civil war let loose by the imperial-bourgeois-feudal combine against working class, peasants and other toiling masses. The stage has come wherein day-to-day partial struggle have to be fought

armed or semi-armed. Armed resistance has been forced on to the agenda of Revolution by this offensive of bourgeoisie. Either we resist inch by inch the civil war and offensive let loose against us, by all means at the disposal of the people or allow the bourgeoisie a free hand to crush the forces of Revolution and end in the victory of the counter-revolution.

Keeping all this in view, in areas where we are a good proportion in the masses like certain parts of Andhra, Kerala, Bengal etc. , the time has come to think in terms of guerilla warfare (Chinese way) against the military onslaught of Nehru Government, which is bent upon mercilessly liquidating us. Unless with a clear perspective we plan out methods of resistance, and if we leave it to spontaneity, future history will charge us with the gross betrayal of the Revolution.

The liberation struggle in the form of Telangana is almost a pointer in the possible direction of forming two governments, which in process, must lead to general uprising and capture of power by the people. There are many more territories such as Telangana with a similar social -political-economic and terrain conditions spread throughout the length and breadth of our country. They can and must be utilised as guerilla districts to begin with, which afford ample scope to deveiop them as resistance bases. For example, in Andhra alone, areas like Royalseema, Telangana border areas like Munagala, Nuzvid, Chintalpudi, and agency belt, where agriculture is primitive and undeveloped, where landlordism is dominant, with poor peasant and wage labour forming overwhelming majority of population, where already there is sufficient stir in the direction of agrarian revolt. Present before us huge reserves of revolutionary potentialities. Backward communications system, topographic and terrain conditions are exceptionally suited for prolonged guerialla battles which will lead to establishment of resistance bases. It is with such a perspective we have to successfully plan out the future course of our revolution. Not to have such clear perspective and allow ourselves to drift into spontaneity is a crime against Revolution. "The era of contempt for perspective must end along with the era of reformism" and a clear cut reorientation and well-defined strategy must open along with the revolutionary perspective. The Chinese liberation struggle offers us a living example from which we have to adopt many invaluable lessons.

But, did the PC, with this understanding, advance forward without vacillating! No. This is proved by the hisotry of our very movement. The reason is firstly, in the Union Andhra, the majority of our PMs were not ready and confident theoretically or politically to advance with the above understanding and plan. They were not ready either mentally or organisationally for this. It is just at this time that the enemy's police and goondas started their furious offensive. The ranks and cadre began to vacillate and get confused. Andhra PC also seeing the vacillations in the cadre and the furious on slaught of the enemy, vacillated. It came to a wrong decision that before we could take up the guerialla struggle, some time was

necessary to prepare the Party ranks and the people and in the interval, new and different forms and general struggle and resistance tactics were to be given. The second reason is, that due to the many severe criticisms levelled against the Andhra PC line, it was forced into the defensive. This aspect is fully discussed in "Goonda attacks- our experience and lessons" and hence we are not dealing about this, any further here.

But, Lenin has said: "Theory lags behind practice". The experience of our revolutionary struggle itself exposed in all its nakedness, the defects in our struggle tactics. The PC, because of the criticism levelled against its "Guerilla struggle line", hesitantly and gropingly advanced. Today, it definitely asserts and places before our movement the truth that the armed guerilla struggle is the main form of struggle. Till recently, many comrades and many important committees opposed the continuation of armed guerilla struggle in Telangana. They opposed the resistance tactics advanced in Madras Andhra as tactics not based on people's participation and isolated from them. The PC; only in the course of long inner-Party-struggle, against these trends and their arguments advanced by them, could finally and fully take up this line.

The PC appeals to all the Party members, to understand this reality of inner-Party struggle, and to read and understand this Party letter in that background.

Another point to which the PC draws attention is that in this Party letter, we have not discussed the perspective of struggle forms for All-India revolutionary movement. It is neither an easy subject nor do we propose to discuss it here. Just as we, here, in our province, applied our knowledge to our movement and conditions and adopted the armed guerilla warfare as the main form of struggle, if other provinces review their movement and the problems facing their movement and the obstacles they have to overcome and come to a decision then it becomes easy to evolve clearly the perspective for forms of struggle, for All India. We appeal to the cadre, not to enter into dogmatic discussion that without deciding the path of struggle and perspective of struggle-forms for all India revolutionary movement, it would be wrong to decide the path and struggle perspective for Andhra. Whatever the path be for All India, this much can be said that it will not disprove the correctness of the path we have adopted here. The very interests of the Andhra revolutionary movement forced us to adopt these tactics and this path. We are already late and have, as a result, suffered loss to some extent. If we delay even for a moment more, history will not forgive us. "Terror must be met with counter-terror", or else, the enemy liquidates the revolutionary forces with his brutal terror. We can carry out our task, only if we take to armed guerilla struggle, decisively and on a very extensive scale. It is only then that we could take forward the revolutionary struggle, weaken the enemy in a prolonged struggle, delivering blow after blow and finally destroy him and win. This is our revolutionary responsibility to-day.

ANDHRA PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
(FEBRUARY, 1950)

*Comrades,*

Since the last two years assuming the leadership of the oppressed, and poverty stricken heroic Telengana masses you are carrying on the resistance movement. Undaunted steadfastness, courage and great sacrifices which you have displayed is stirring and thrilling the whole Andhra People. Establishment of Panchayat Raj and armed guerilla squads on a wide territory of 2500 villages inhabited by 25,00,000 people, and the implementation of the just and democratic slogan—"land to the tiller"—is the very foundation stone for greater Andhra (Vishal Andhra); to new India, it is a new dawn, and to the oppressed and exploited Indian masses it is a beacon light and ray of hope.

The disintegrating and decomposing old social order, its representatives like the Nizam Nawab, his immediate retinue, the jagirdars, zamindars, deshmukhs and Muktedars and the Indian bourgeoisie (who betraying the Indian freedom movement joined hands with British Imperialism and its bootlickers, the native rulers, and took power in its hands); all such exploiting classes including the State Congress leaders, are struck with terror, by the fire that kindled liberation flame in the hearts of many a million oppressed workers, peasants, and toilers and by the foundations that are being laid down by the gallant sons and daughters of Telengana, like Komariah, Antiah, Yadigiri, Seshagiri Rao, etc., who shed their blood, offered their lives at the altar, for the cause of the oppressed and for a Vishala Andhra. The exploiter classes are also panic stricken by this new dawn which represents the future of India and the end of their medieval era.

Accumulating the discontent the entire people's upsurge of Andhra may burst forth any moment like a volcano. Before this upsurge bursts out and annihilates totally the decaying old social order, all the reactionary evil forces are uniting together. They are also united together to nip in the bud the embryonic form of people's raj and stop the rays of this new sun from being spread and to extinguish the liberation candle kindled in the hearts of the millions of oppressed people. But at the outset agreement was not reached amongst them, regarding their shares, hence the inhuman Nazi Nawab and his followers took to the usual Fascist methods. But Telengana's heroic sons and daughters, workers and peasants did not bend. Not only this, but like wild fire the resistance movement began to embrace entire Telengana and also the Andhra parts in Madras Presidency beyond the borders of the State.

Hitherto, Telengana was gallantly fighting against the Nizam Nawab, but to stab it in the back the Indian bourgeoisie and the Congress leaders, finding no use of keeping quiet, resorted to a direct attack on the Telengana resistance movement by marching the Indian Union military forces into the State on September 13. After a formal resistance for a week the Nizam's forces which were already thoroughly worn out by the attacks of revolutionary Telengana, surrendered before the Indian bourgeois leadership. All the exploiting classes, Jagirdars, Deshmukhs, and the zamindars are uniting amongst themselves and straining every effort to put down

revolutionary Telangana. Choudhury challenged that within two months Telangana resistance movement would be put down, and yet six months have elapsed and the challenge remains a fiasco. Congress leaders, like the mad dogs that bite every man they come across, with their huge military forces in every village, setting up military camps and using the machine gun, are making serious efforts to drench the revolutionary Telangana movement in torrents of blood.

After reaping the high crops which are rendering great assistance for the protection of the guerilla squads, the enemy is hastening with a summer plan of hunting them down in the open maidans with jeep cars and cavalry and is making all efforts to launch its final offensive. Before the enemy launches its final offensive and inflicts effective blows on us, we should make all needful political, military and technical preparations adopting suitable tactics according to the situation. This constitutes the major and primary task of today. If we execute our plans, concentrating all our forces, accomplishment of this task is not impossible.

Telangana's workers, peasants and toilers, who have carried on revolutionary resistance relentlessly against the Nizam and the Razakars for two long years, and who are now facing the inhuman and cruel atrocities of the Indian military forces- their revolutionary energy, steadfastness, courage and boldness is immeasurable, inexhaustable and limitless.

They are waiting for the leadership of our Party. A supreme task has been laid on our shoulders by Telangana's oppressed masses- if we don't fulfil it, history won't forgive us.

The heroic Telangana fighters are putting up stern resistance since last six months against the Indian Union army which is far better equipped with modern weapons than the previous Razakar forces.

Andhra Committee, with full confidence in their success, offers them Red salute.

It is expressing a hopeful wish that they will accomplish the work laid on their shoulders and ensure success. It also extends the revolutionary greetings of the Andhra people of the Indian Union to them.

Regarding the basic changes that are to be brought about in the tactics in accordance with the changed conditions that arose after Hyderabad's integration with India with the military action, Andhra Committee expresses its deep regret for not having given, up to this date, suitable and concrete suggestions excepting a general line.

The main reason was that the Andhra Committee was overwhelmed by the deep rooted, long standing reformism of the past period. Today, coming out from this orbit of reformism and analysing all issues concretely, Andhra Committee is endorsing this letter which contains concrete and important suggestions.

Being away from the front and relying mainly on incomplete reports, to give detailed suggestions for the different areas of the movement, whose stages differ in different places, is really an impossible task.

It is not the intention of the Committee to review the problems, i.e. the programme to be executed throughout the State and the programme in the fighting areas on the question of "land distribution" and agricultural workers' demands, etc., and give concrete suggestions. Therefore this letter of the Andhra Committee aims primarily to analyse the present conditions and clarify some important necessary principles to carry forward the armed resistance movement and also to point out detailed suggestions to the extent possible.

Therefore, Andhra Committee hopes that, comrades understanding these principles clearly and estimating the stage of the movement, the tactics of the enemy and the geographical conditions etc., correctly and basing themselves on these principles, will evolve the needful measures, and will carry forward the resistance movement.

It also expects that, the comrades will analyse carefully the changing tactics of the enemy as they take effect and with the help of these principles will effect corresponding changes in methods and shall march ahead.

Before determining the suitable tactics according to the present day conditions it is necessary to note the following things. (1) What are the important changes that have taken place politically after the occupation of Nizam's state by the Indian Union military forces? (2) What changes have resulted in the correlation of forces and the class relationship? (3) What were the defects in our political estimation, tactics and organisational methods as a result of pursuing reformist policy before the Indian Union forces occupied Nizam's State? (4) How far were our tactics adopted after the occupation by Indian Union forces in accordance with the changed situation? (5) To what extent could we upset the enemy's plans with them? (6) What is the strength of enemy forces vis-a-vis our forces? What tactics should be adopted to completely paralyse the enemy forces? Etc.

At first let us analyse the main changes effected in the political field and in class relationships after the entry of the Indian union military. Prior to the entry of the Union military, there were, in the main, three forces operating in the politics of the State: they were:

(1) The Nizam and his followers - jagirdars, deshmukhs (mainly Muslim jagirdars, deshmukhs and Muslim capitalists)

(2) The Hindu capitalists of the State Congress, some Hindu deshmukhs, landlords and rich peasants working under the leadership of the Indian Union.

(3) The conscious oppressed toiling masses working under the leadership of the C.P., Andhra Mahasabha, and Trade Unions.

Although the Congress leadership, compromising with British imperialism, native rulers of states, took political power and although it is carrying its rule representing all reactionary classes, in Hyderabad State, it is the Nizam along with his followers, Jagirdars, and deshmukhs and relying on British Imperialism and Pakistan that rules as the leader of State reaction.

Though foreign affairs, defence, postal and telegraphic communications, etc., were left to the Indian union Government, yet in reality the Nizam was making all endeavours to maintain Hyderabad as an "independent sovereign state". To put down the people's upsurge, he let loose the military and the Razakar forces.

While the Nizam was pursuing fascist rule, the Congress High Command without maintaining any link with the people, was endeavouring hard to bring round the Nizam by bringing economic pressure, using the political power it had newly secured. But the Nizam got adamant with the support of British Imperialism and Pakistan.

The State people, who had illusions about the Congress were tired of protracted negotiations that were going on between the Congress and the State authorities. As their discontent mounted, they began to incline towards the armed struggle that was being carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Andhra Mahasabha.

Seeing the rapid realisation that was mounting up in the people towards armed struggle, the central Congress leadership got very much frightened. It began the satyagraha movement to cheat the people clinging towards armed-struggle and to bend the Nizam. But all their estimations proved futile. On the other hand, armed struggle spread far and wide with leaps and bounds.

Then Congress leadership seeing their attempts ending futile made another endeavour to divert the people from rallying round the armed struggle. It concluded a standstill agreement with Nizam and stabbed the armed struggle in the back. It joined hands with the Nizam to smash the people's guerilla squads on the borders. It also launched severe repression on the Communist Party and the people's organisations in the Andhra parts of Madras Presidency, which were giving help to their brother people across the border. Even the formal "satyagraha" movement of State Congress also fizzled out.

While Nizam's military and Razakar forces were attacking guerilla squads from the front, Congressmen wearing Gandhi caps, with the help of the Indian Union police were attacking them from behind. Severe propaganda campaign was let loose and the heroic, gallant sons and daughters of Telangana who with a cheerful smile on their lips were laying down their lives in the sacred war of liberation from the oppressive Nizam feudal yoke, were called goondas and bandits.

The armed struggle was forging ahead, overcoming all hurdles inspite of the obstacles laid by the State Congress. By the time of the occupation of the State by the Indian Union forces, armed struggle had already spread to a wide territory of 3000 villages inhabited by 30 lakhs of people. It was still expanding like a wild forest fire. The mere sounds "Bhar-Mar" (muzzle-loaders) were enough to scatter Razakar goondas like deer and make them run for their lives. The Nizam too got cold feet.

The Congress Government of the Indian Union which had already surrendered on the question of sterling balances, realising the gravity of the People's struggle and the fast spreading armed struggle thought that if any more time was lost the movement would go out of control; hence securing the silent consent by British imperialism, at a fine moment on September, 13 they launched the military action. Nizam, whose military forces were already driven to the point of exhaustion, by Telangana's revolution, and seeing no aid forthcoming from Churchill & Co. and Pakistan, surrendered within a week to the Indian Union.

How the rapidly extending revolutionary Telengana movement, was the only effective factor which forced the Indian Union Government to resort to military action can be seen very clearly from the words of Patel, who is reported to have said: "Already two districts have been occupied by the Communists, and had we not entered, the Whole State would have been occupied by them".

What are the major changes that have come in the political field with the police action? Previously the revolutionary movement that was spreading under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Andhra Mahasabha had been now facing two enemies- Congress on the one side, and Nizam Nawab on the other. Both were enemies, but as the Nizam was in power he became the main enemy and hence we entered into direct battle against him. As Congress was not in power as yet, we considered it as the secondary enemy.

As great majority of the people had illusions about the Congress leadership, we only carried on defence against it when it attacked us while avoiding a direct fight with it and properly exposing its reactionary role.

Though both the Congress and Nizam were enemies of the revolutionary movement, yet the methods of struggle directed against them were different for the specific reasons mentioned above; properly speaking, the struggle in that period was a triangular fight.

With the occupation by Indian Union military forces, there remained only two contending forces, the reactionary forces on the one side and the progressive forces on the other.

In the battlefield, on the one side under the leadership of the Indian Union stood Hyderabad State's Hindu bourgeoisie, Hindu jagirdars and deshmukhs and Muslim jagirdars and deshmukhs all united together.

On the opposite side of the battle field stand the working class (along with the agricultural workers), toiling poor and middle peasants, the pauperised middle class intelligentsia, small employees and other oppressed toilers constantly joining the front.

Though the various exploiting classes on the question of their respective share in the political power and in the exploitation of the oppressed masses differ and may fight with each other, yet when the questions of "land to the tiller", just and living wage to the working class and revolutionary Telangana village panchayat rule faced them, they were haunted and terrified by a nightmare. They knew well

that allowing the existence of revolutionary Telangana and the spread of the rays of the flame of liberation, lit by Telangana, means the inevitable extension of the revolutionary path not only to the oppressed masses of other parts of the State, but also beyond its borders, into areas of Krishna and Guntur, the Andhra parts of Madras Presidency. So, they are determined to totally put an end to the revolutionary Telengana struggle without leaving any trace. Accordingly, no sooner had Nizam surrendered to the union forces than the Union military in hundreds and thousands along with the Nizam's military and police fell on Telengana and carried on continuous raids. Cruel fascist atrocities, far exceeding those of the Razakar goonda bands, were let loose on the poor Telengana masses. Intense propaganda was carried on against the heroic sons and daughters of Telengana who had formed their own guerilla squads, and rescued the people from the onslaught of the goonda Razakar gangs, slandering them as bandits, murderers and robbers. Not only this, fearing that the strong supporting areas, Krishna and Guntur and Kurnool may render help to Telengana, they tightened up the brutal repression on these areas also. Revenue and police officials of the above districts and the State, from time to time held joint conferences to suppress the movement with a firm hand in Nalgonda and Warangal on one side and Krishna and Guntur on the other side, and concentrate the military and police forces to unitedly execute the plans.

Under the political circumstances how small we break through the enemy plans, how shall we save the revolutionary Telengana movement and what sort of tactics shall we adopt? Before deciding on the tactics, what important things should we not ignore.

### **Changes in class Relationships**

Changes carried in the class relationship in the areas where armed struggle is being continued after the police action. This constitutes the first change.

Revolutionary agricultural workers and poor peasants never had any illusions that Congress would abolish the zamindari system and give land to the tiller. At first, with the occupation of the union military, people thought that the Razakar atrocities will come to an end and Congress Government will not be so bad as Nizam's.

But the concentration of raids from the very next day after Nizam's surrender by the Union military along with the very same Nizam's military and police forces, that had tortured them and destroyed their homes, raids which by far succeeded the atrocities of Nizam and fascist Razakars' and continuation of the same old Nizam's rule with the same oppressive bureaucratic anti-social officialdom with only slight modifications had burst the illusions of those few who had these in the begining. These illusions scisted only for a few days.

The agricultural labourers and the poor peasants began to think as to how to defend, "land, fair wage and the village panchayat rule", all the achievements secured through struggle during anti-Nizam period at the cost of heavy sacrifices from the attack of the Union forces.

The question confronting them was how to defend the revolutionary gains of the anti-Nizam struggle period, breaking the sabotative activities of the rich peasants who had joined hands with the landlords and the Union military which was far better equipped with modern weapons. This is the main question before them today.

Agricultural workers and poor peasants in all parts, seeing the treacherous anti-people deeds of rich peasants, in collaboration with landlords, are expressing indignation. But the stage of their movement and their political consciousness differs from area to area.

(1) In Suryapet area, where in the anti-Nizam struggle period class consciousness in the revolutionary classes, i.e. the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, were roused and these classes were mobilised against the compromising rich peasantry and where land distribution was properly executed, the Party has gained strong independent political base.

In these areas, fighting not only against the landlords but also against the rich peasants, they came forward to defend their revolutionary gains.

(2) In Bhongir, Palvancha and Jangaon areas where class consciousness was not created in the revolutionary classes (agricultural workers and poor peasants), agricultural workers' strikes were not conducted and where village Panchayats were kept either in the hands of rich peasants or their stooges and land distribution effected according to their wishes and whims, Party has unstable influence, but no independent base.

(3) In Palaru, Madira and Rayanapadu areas where neither proper distribution of land, and agricultural workers' struggles have taken place nor had serious armed struggle against Nizam continued, class consciousness amongst the agricultural workers and poor peasants is very low. In these areas we can say anti-Nizam struggle had been carried on under the leadership of the rich peasantry.

With the entry of the Union forces the middle peasants thought that the Razakar atrocities would end and they could lead a peaceful life. But the reign of cruel atrocities that is being pursued by the Union military has shattered all their dreams of a peaceful life. Middle peasants are coming under the influence of the propaganda regarding Consambly and the fear that "we cannot fight against the Union Forces" being spread by the rich peasants. They are vacillating between us and the rich peasants. Since they have received land, the problem facing them to-day is how to defend it. As agricultural labourers and poor peasants march ahead fighting against the landlords and rich peasants, middle peasantry will join them.

The vacillation of the middle peasantry is not the same in all parts. In Suryapet area where Party has a strong base in the poor peasants, and agricultural labourers, middle peasants are seeing through the reactionary role of the rich peasants. They are having confidence in the revolutionary forces. In the areas of Bhongir, Jangaon and Palvancha, where the Party has an unstable influence, the middle peasantry is getting influenced by the fear propaganda being carried on by the rich peasants. In Rayampadu and Madhira where the movement was entirely under the rich peasant leadership, the middle peasantry is completely under their influence.

While such is the position of the middle peasantry, as with the occupation of the state by the Union forces, the rich peasants thought that their own Government had been achieved, and hence a fine opportunity had come to loot the toiling masses in collaboraiton with the landlords. Carried away by the neutral position of the rich peasants, which these are adopting due to the fear of our guerilla squads, we should not have any illusion or good impression about them.

As the Union forces were intensifying their raids the rich peasants, getting courage, began spreading panic and dangerous fear—that “we cannnot withstand against the mighty Indian military”— amongst the people and especially in the middle peasants and began sabotaging our resistance movement.

Whenever it was possible to carry the people along with them they directly went for a compromise with the Government. In Suryapet and Nagarkalu where our movement was strong they kept mum. Where our movement had an unstable base as in Bhongir and Jangaon they openly advocated a compromise; and in Rayamapet where their game went unopposed they joined hands with the Indian Union forces from the very beginning and opposed our struggles directly.

This way a class stronger than the landlords joined the enemy camp. Now to expect the rich peasantry to be either on our side or even keep natural hereafter would be a gross mistake. In the last days of anti-Nizam struggle period wherein democratic revolution was actually forging ahead, rich peasantry took the position of neutrality. Now in the period of their own class Government there is no doubt that they will go against us.

In other parts of the State where our movement is in the elementary stage, in the local fights against feudal lords, rich peasants may be neutral and we may utilise them to the possible extent, but not in the least should it be conceived that they will come with us or be neutral throughout the stage of the democratic revolution. The influence of our revolutionary movement is not only affecting the other parts of Telangana but also the people of the whole State. Therefore the feudal class too for its own defence tries to unite with the rich peasantry. Even if there be any difference on the question of sharing the exploitation of the masses, yet with the beginning of our struggle they solidly unite together against our movement, inspite of their differences.

To the question as to whether we are weakened with the breaking off of the rich peasantry, we should reply, ‘No’. Because even in the anti-Nizam struggle period, this class always at every step was obstructing our movement from being led on to the revolutionary path and was a mill-stone found the neck of our armed struggle.

With the breaking off of the rich peasantry from the people’s United Front, our struggle took a clear form. The possibility of our masses being led on wrong channels by the rich peasants in the garb of supporters, was no more and the revolutionary class of agricultural workers and poor peasants are able to clearly understand the reactionary role of rich peasants.

They are coming forward against the rich peasants. An opportunity to unite all revolutionary classes, agricultural labourers, poor peasants and the middle peasants in the people's United Front against the feudal, rich peasants and all the exploiting classes has come.

One thing we have to notice is that, with the joining of the rich peasants in the enemy camp, the base of the enemy has widened. In the anti-Nizam struggle period, Nizam and the feudal lords were completely isolated from the people. Not only that, the landlords were in small number but they had no strong economic, and social relations with the people, whereas with the rich peasants the position is not like that. Not only are they in considerable numbers but also through exchange loans, family relations, and physical labour and various other means they have innumerable ties with the oppressed people, mainly with the middle peasants. Hence it is a hard job to isolate them from the people.

Statistics in agriculture collected so far reveal the following strength of the various classes in the rural areas of Telangana:

Rich peasants and feudal landlords....10 to 20%

Middle peasants households....10 to 15%

Agricultural labourers and poor peasants....70 to 75%

Though the rich peasants break away from the United Front, yet the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants constitute a large majority; if we create the necessary political consciousness in them and evolve tactics in accordance with the present situation and if in this manner the movement is carried on against the rich peasants and the feudal lords, the numerical strength and the influence of the rich peasantry will not come in the way of our progress.

Not only this, as our movement intensifies and consolidates, creating confidence in the middle peasantry, we can carry them ahead along with the revolutionary classes, in our struggle.

The level of the Revolutionary Movement in other parts of the State and all over India.

Before evolving suitable new tactics to carry forward the armed struggle on new lines, we have to take into consideration the level of the revolutionary movement in other parts of the State and all over India.

The armed struggle that has been conducted so far against the isolated and deserted Nizam has now to be waged directly against the political and military forces of the Indian Union, after the entry of its forces. We have to face the Indian Union Congress which is so mighty and powerful; hence while deciding the tactics against such an enemy we should carefully note the strength of the different forces and the revolutionary stage and the depth of the upsurge throughout India.

#### Other Parts of Nizam's State

People in this parts too are downtrodden, trampled and driven to desperation, and are leading a wretched life under the oppressive reign of deshmukhs, jagirdars

and the Nizam. The revolutionary movement of Telangana has not only enthused and inspired the bulk of the people in other taluks and districts, but the entire people of the whole State. The influence of our struggle was spreading to the other parts, but our party was completely submerged in the armed struggle which is confined to a few areas only. There was none else to unite and enthuse the oppressed masses in other parts of the State and carry ahead the movement on revolutionary lines. Added to the absence of our leadership and of any one else to lead, the leadership of the State Congress, leaving people to their own fate fled away outside the State to other parts as Vijayawada, Madras and Bombay and dwelling there in big hotels and enjoying luxuries, were just issuing statements after statements in their bourgeois papers and carrying on the anti-Nizam war only on paper.

Utilising the Congress volunteers, they have stabbed the revolutionary movement in the back by joining hands with the Nizam as well as the Union Congress police forces and acting as veritable goondas and have failed to show a path of resistance to the people.

Congress not only did not create confidence in the people, in their fighting capacity and unbendable energy, leading the masses against the inhuman Razakar brutalities; it sowed and nursed illusions that Nehru-Patel military is the only remedy, that they only can liberate the people that Congress Government alone can bend down the Nizam and establish people's rule, etc. With the entry of the Union forces, the people were temporarily carried away by these illusions. This factor, the influence of the enemy is standing to-day as a weakness in our revolutionary movement.

But the continuation of the bureaucratic officialdom, with no relief for the people from the same oppressive and exploiting deshmukhs, jagirdars and zamindari rule, on the one side, and the far extending influence of the revolutionary Telangana peasant upsurge, the flashing light of the revolutionary flame that is sweeping with leaps and bounds throughout India and the whole world, on the other, will burst and cast off all these illusions.

If our party does not go to the masses in these areas with courage and confidence and organisationally unite the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, the influence of our armed struggle in Nalgonda and Warangal cannot be extended far and wide to the four corners of the land, and it will also be impossible to strike the enemy from all sides. This should be noted very carefully.

Similarly the conditions existing throughout India have to be noted.

Post war economic crisis which is mounting high with devastating effects in India is a part and parcel of the world economic crisis that is sweeping all over.

Government is exploiting the poor masses immensely through inflation. Prices of the articles are soaring high and as a result the purchasing power of the rupee has been reduced to half. Working class in towns, agricultural labourers, oppressed peasantry, shop employees, teachers and the middle class are being put to heavy

hardships, privations of high magnitude and unspeakable grief. They are being driven to desperation. Their life has become unbearable.

The bourgeois Congress Government is refusing to abolish the feudal zamindari system and to effect the slogan of "land to the poor peasants and agricultural workers", to nationalise the industries and to accept a just living wage for the workers in the cities.

The Government of the exploiting classes which is not providing food and cloth to the people, is not arranging for dwelling houses, is overwhelmed by the deep economic crisis; and is trying to solve it at the expense of the poor toiling masses by thrusting all the burden of the economic crisis on their shoulders.

It is endeavouring hard to rule with the force of repressive manoeuvres, ordinances, and security acts by casting away all the promises it had made at the time of the elections. People, who since last two years were waiting with patience to see what the Congress Government would do, are reaching the limit of exhaustion, disgust and despair; and are coming into the streets demonstrating their determined will to realise their demands. Hundreds of workers' strikes are sweeping all over the country. Agricultural labourers and poor peasants' upsurge is bursting out in all Provinces. Boldly and courageously facing the heavy repression of bourgeois Government, mass movements in Andhra, Kerala and Madras are getting ready to move forward.

It is clear that the country wide day-to-day struggles of the toiling millions and anti-repression political battles are already delivering heavy blows at the enemy, the bourgeois Government. But it must be clearly understood that either to estimate that the present revolutionary upsurge would burst forth into a country wide armed insurrection immediately and thus get our Telangana armed resistance merged with the former or to be demoralised with the idea that only armed struggles in other parts of India would be of help to our Telangana resistance movement and all other peoples' struggles that have not grown to such a high level would give only some formal assistance-both these ideas are incorrect and absurd.

Armed resistance that is being carried on in Telangana represents the highest form of class struggle. It exhausts the enemy and effects its defeat and finally it also enables us to totally annihilate the enemy.

Similarly the mass movements of the workers, peasants and the middle classes that are sweeping the whole country, are economically and politically effecting blows on the enemy and are immensely weakening it. They are wrecking all the plans and tactics of the exploiting classes, who are endeavouring hard to grow big and fill their coffers by shifting the burden of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling masses. This is the objective situation existing today.

If the Telangana armed resistance is carried on persistently and on the correct tactics, the countrywide mass movement in and outside the state, which has not yet reached the stage of armed struggle, will very soon reach this highest stage. Till

that time, enemy will be able to concentrate all his military forces in Telangana. Hence, keeping this in view, we have to decide the tactics regarding the struggle concerning the armed resistance.

Another historical and significant thing that has to be noticed is that the Telangana armed revolutionary struggle is the leader and symbol of the people's democratic revolution of India. Drowned in deep reformism, our Party did not recognise the profoundity of such an historical event till the second Party Congress.

In Andhra the revolutionary gains of Telangana were popularised, but the popularisation was done only in the spirit of expressing sympathy. Telangana revolutionary consciousness was not roused in a proper way, in the hearts of the oppressed.

Taken on the whole, it is for the first time at the Second Party Congress at Caucutta that the revolutionary struggle of Telangana was recognised as the leader of the democratic revolution.

Two or three months prior to the Party Congress, the bourgeois Government let loose fascist repression in all the Provinces, specially in the Andhra Province which was actively supporting Telangana. Fascist raids were carried on in Krishna, Guntur, West Godavari districts including some parts of Kurnool. Before our Party recovered from these blows in those parts, the Indian Union military entered the State.

By the time of the entry of the Indian Union forces we were unable to carry the message of revolutionary Telangana to the oppressed masses all over India. Even to the oppressed working class, peasantry and the middle class that is under the influence of the Communist Party, we failed to carry the Telangana message, we failed to make it a part of their own revolutionary consciousness.

On account of the same reasons we were unable to organise workers' strikes and demonstrations against the Congress Government protesting against its military attacks on Telangana and its cruel fascist atrocities.

Temporarily the enemy was able to isolate the Telangana armed struggle politically. It was able to concentrate its military forces there.

With the entry of the Union forces suitable and necessary tactics had to be formulated, as mentioned above, analysing clearly the conditions, and the revolutionary stage of the movement existing in other parts of the State and the whole of India. Have we done so? We should say—"No". We just brought about some minor changes i.e. the numerical strength of guerilla squads was reduced and only to some extent a few unavoidable changes were brought about in order to facilitate the work of the squads. But on the whole, our entire armed struggle was being led in the same old fashion, i.e. open methods that were in practice in the anti-Nizam struggle period.

In accordance with the great changes that had come in the situation, we did not formulate tactics suitable to the changed conditions, tactics helpful in strengthening the movement politically and organisationally.

Subsequently, in this document, analysing the consequences that befell us as a result of following the same old methods shall elucidate the present situation and clarify the necessary changes in tactics. Before we do this we have also to discuss another thing. It is also necessary to discuss briefly about the consequences that followed from the pursuance of incorrect political, organisational and military tactics in the period of anti-Nizam armed resistance movement.

In that period, the enemy who was directly facing us was completely isolated from the people. As he was isolated and left alone, whatever mistakes we committed did not affect our movement. It went ahead considerably. But the moment when he had to face the well equipped Indian Union military all the defects of our past political, organisational and military tactics, came to the top and did great harm to the resistance movement. Inspite of all such heavy losses heroically facing the enemy, offering their lives in the battle field, the Telangana heroes upheld the banner of their revolutionary resistance struggle. For such a great contribution which they have rendered Andhra Committee conveys its revolutionary greetings to them all, Andhra Committee pays its homage to those comrades who faced the gallows.

Formulating the necessary tactics in accordance with the present day situation, we have now to carry forward the movement. Let us first briefly discuss the political, organisational and military tactics of the anti-Nizam struggle period.

In order to find out the political roots, of the incorrect tactics referred to above, and subject them to self-criticism, we have to take into account the various stages of the movement, its political slogans and their practice, in Hyderabad State and discuss them.

We have to review in details and understand the development of the movement in the State regarding the following periods:

The people's war policy period, post-war period of Kadavandi and Aknoor struggles, the period following after the August resolution of the Party in 1946 and the period that followed after the Party's resolution on "Mountbatten Award" after August 15, 1947, and the period of revolutionary policy after the Calcutta Congress.

Till we do this, we wont be able to completely understand the depth of the poisonous influence of our Party's reformist policy, on the revolutionary Telangana movement upto that time. It becomes impossible till then to remould and unite our outlook on the political and organisational tactics, in the light of our revolutionary policy, and to put them in practice.

If we fail to do above, the deeprooted reformism that overwhelmed our Party life in the past period, will not leave us, and will continue to overwhelm and harass us in connection with any movement,

In order to completely get out from the orbit of such a grave danger, to carry on an internal struggle based on strong organisational foundations in the Party, we have to place before comrades an analytical, clear, self-critical picture of the review. Provincial Committee will make efforts to prepare such a review for the

Telangana fighting front. But for the time being let us discuss some of the necessary important incorrect trends that reigned after the Calcutta Party Congress in the Telangana movement. All these incorrect trends were closely with us, since the long past reformist period. We ended in failure in coming out from the orbit of it and to put the movement on the new rails.

### **What are our Political and Organisational Mistakes?**

Firstly, the absence of clear views on the class analysis, having no clear outlook on the role of various classes in the phase of the new democratic revolution. We wrongly estimated the class nature of the satyagraha movement of the Hyderabad State Congress after "August 15, 1947". We conceived every Gandhi cap wearer as a patriot and left untouched the land of the big deshmukhs, owning up to 500 acres. Leaving such a big section of the landlord class, the land distribution programme that was executed became formal and its edge was blunted. Instead of building our revolutionary movement, relying and basing on the revolutionary classes, we relied and based our movement on the alien classes, i.e. the rich peasantry, deshmukhs, landlords and the middle peasantry which is vacillating between the rich peasant and the agricultural labourers. We hesitated and were afraid to mobilise agricultural works and the poor peasants against the rich peasants and landlords.

With the fear that landlords and rich peasants may go out of the anti-Nizam struggle if we mobilise the agricultural workers and poor peasants against them, on the basis of their demands and yet perplexed, we hesitated to undertake such a task. Hence, we did not build the movement on the basis of the agricultural labourers and poor peasant battles, mobilising them on their genuine demands "land distribution and just wages".

As our movement was build up on the basis of fight against levy, slave labour and prohibition and of anti-Nizam propaganda, rich peasantry assumed the leadership of the movement. So the revolutionary classes who ought to be in the forefront, i.e. the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, froiled behind the rich peasantry. Not only this, we were not having a clear conception of the classes in the villages. Classification of rural population was not done on the basis of the fundamental principles of Leninism.

We considered persons who carried on cultivation without themselves working as rich peasants. Persons who were themselves working and who employed extra labour-we called them middle peasants, we characterised persons employing workers also as poor peasants. It means we characterised landlords as rich peasants, rich peasants as middle peasants, and middle peasants as poor peasants.

Subsequently we understood, albeit unclearly, the defects of the movement on account of this reformist policy to a certain extent, as expressed in not tackling fully the agricultural labourers' problem and the mistakes in the land distribution programme.

We realised that without bringing the agricultural workers and poor peasants to the forefront, the slackness of the movement could not be removed. Meanwhile the new revolutionary policy came into being and gave a clear revolutionary line

on these issues. Though there was still confusion on the issue of the grouping of classes, yet even to the extent of Andhra Committee's partially correct suggestion this issue of the grouping of classes was not implemented.

In Bhongir 20 acres wet land and 100 acres dry land, Mankota 200 acres dry land, Suryapet 10 acres wet land and 100 acres dry; in these areas land distribution programme did not touch the lands below these limits. In Madhira, Khamameth, border taluks, land distribution programme has not been properly carried out at all.

That the movement has to be built up mainly basing on the revolutionary classes, i.e., agricultural labourers, and poor peasants, is an indisputable fact. Non acceptance or the formal acceptance of this truth also amounts to nothing except underestimating the revolutionary energy, and the fighting capacity of the revolutionary classes, Viz., the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants.

On the issue of agricultural workers, Andhra Committee's reformist outlook (a wrong conception of putting the demands of the agricultural labourers only to the extent of the employers being able to bear the economic burden, so that the middle peasant may not get frightened, and consequently leave and weaken the anti-Nizam war front) failed to organise the agricultural labour as the spearhead of the democratic front on the basis of their struggle for their basic demands.

Comrades in Suryapet area from the very begining moving the agricultural workers and poor peasants, and were organising them for struggles but the Andhra Committee's incorrect line to some extent laid an obstacle in their way and obstruct them.

There is another fundamental error of our past reformist understanding. Our teacher and our leader, the great Lenin, in an address to the Communists about the struggle that has to be directed against our enemy, and about the question of alliance with other classes for this struggle, has taught us: Communists in such cases should "march separately and strike together".

It means the revolutionary classes, agricultural workers and poor peasants should be organised in their separate class organisations and in them no position should be given to the rich peasants and the vacillating middle peasants. Not only that, but in the struggle committees also, alien classes and vacillating middle peasants should never be kept in key positions.

Whenever we fight the main enemy in alliance with the rich peasant, we should keep a watchful eye on the latter so that he may not betray us to the enemy and thus stab us in the back in the course of the struggle. This is the principle that should be adopted when the proletariat unites with an alien class to fight the main enemy. This is the revolutionary tactic that Soviet Union adopted in allying with the British and American imperialism while inflicting blows on the German and Japanese fascism.

Then how far did we adopt this revolutionary working class tactic? It should be said, we did not adopt it at all, we threw it aside completely.

to go Rich peasant inspite of being Congress minded, was forced to go with us only to the extent of facing and resisting the onslaught and atrocities of the deshmukhs and Razakars, because he labours hard and owns a bit of land; but on the question of land distribution and agricultural workers' demands he was opposing.

It is correct in these circumstances to take the rich peasants with us as far as the problem of facing the onslaught and the atrocities of the deshmukhs and Razakars is concerned. But not to see the reactionary role of the rich peasants on the question of land distribution and agricultural workers' demands is something that cannot be excused. That is why we failed to organise the revolutionary classes, agricultural workers and the poor peasants, in their respective class organisations, on the basis of their demands for land distribution and fair wages, for the fight against not only the deshmukhs and landlords but against the rich peasants also.

b) ~~Andhra Mahasabha~~ We thought that Andhra Mahasabha which was functioning as the Democratic Front was enough and that it would fulfil the functions of all other mass organisation.

That is why in the Village Panch Committees, we kept the rich peasant as well as the vacillating middle peasant in key positions. In the Panch Committee of 5, one rich peasant and one middle peasant was inevitably included. In certain cases, these constituted the majority in the Panch Committees. Because of the confusion in the definition of classes among peasantry, landlords were also considered as rich peasants and as such in certain cases they too found a place in the Panch Committees; there was no necessity to give a place for rich peasants in every village Panch Committee.

Even where it became necessary to give them a place, then we should have taken care to see that 90% of the seats were filled with agricultural labourers and the poor peasants. In no circumstances should we have allowed the rich peasant or the vacillating middle peasants to occupy key positions. (With the intervention of the Indian army, the role of the rich peasant has changed completely. To day the rich peasant is as much an enemy as the landlord to the People's Democratic Revolution! So, we must not allow them to come anywhere near our village Panch Committees). The rich peasants from their positions in the village Committees, utilising the vacillations of the middle peasant, were applying brakes to the anti-Nizam struggle! They were sabotaging the land distribution programme and the demands of the agricultural labourers. Our wrong outlook had caused immense harm to our armed struggle.

In all our guerilla areas, on the whole, the Party has tremendous influence among the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants. They responded to the call of the Party, and participated en masse in digging up and destroying the roads, and destroying the mansions and fortresses of deshmukhs, and surrounding and destroying the Razakar centres. With the military intervention, the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants rose, and swept off the rest of the deshmukhs' fortresses and the mansions and Razakar centres. They have killed many of the hated enemy.

But we must not forget one thing. The rich peasant tried to divert this upsurge in their own interests and to some extent succeeded. They utilised their positions in village committees and deprived the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants of the land and cattle in distribution, of all that was due to the latter. They and the middle peasants who were supporting them got the major portion and the rich consolidated their influence among the middle peasants. Except in Suryapet, and that too only to some extent, in all the other areas, because of this reformist conception, we could not fight out these rich peasants and consolidate the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants politically. Thus, though we have tremendous influence among the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, we did not base our revolutionary struggle completely on them.

Let us see, how this reformism gets reflected in the organisation of the Party. There was no recruitment of the Party members nor the functioning of the Party cells. We used to estimate approximately, the number of all those who were participating in activities enthusiastically and considered them as Party members. There were no separate organisations for agricultural labourers and for the poor peasants, and still worse, even the Andhra Mahasabha did not have any organisational form. What remained was, area committees, zonal and central organisers, central guerilla squads, and the village punch committees. In short, it was the area committees and the guerilla squads that were functioning in place of Party or mass organisations.

We used to recruit even in the regular guerilla squads all those who just expressed their willingness to enlist. We did not develop their political consciousness. Hence there was no stability in the squads. There was a regular influx and exodus. There were only 50% who continued to remain in the squads for long.

When centre and zonal organisers or squad leaders were chosen, we did not see from what class they came, to what extent they had the working class ideals, to what extent they had overcome their class weakness and how far they had got proletarianised. Without looking into these, we promoted to key positions even those who had come from the exploiting classes. That is why, when the critical situation came, some organisers and squad members coming from the exploiting classes betrayed the revolutionary cause and joined the enemy camp or ran away from the field, from the responsible jobs they were entrusted with. Added to this though we have promoted some of those coming from the oppressed classes, we did not make serious efforts to politically develop them further and to promote them to still more important key positions.

Though there were enemy military camps in our area, and though the enemy and their agents continue to live among us, yet we carried on our activities as if we were in liberated areas with no remnants of the enemy. There was no secrecy observed. All the people used to know where the organisers were coming from, where the squads were taking shelter, from where the meals were to come, etc. The enemy agents hiding among the people, used to pass on this information,

immediately, to the enemy military camps. Our organisers, squads were often surrounded by the enemy and used to escape with some losses and at some other times were even completely wiped out.

We did not conduct our activities adopting secret methods, we did not even have any correct conceptions of what guerilla struggle itself was. With this, our methods of struggle, our organisation of guerilla squads, all assumed wrong forms, which were all beyond the level of our movement. What is the level of our movement? What are the guerilla tactics that are appropriate to this level of movement? This we must have understood. The first thing which we must realise, is that we are not fighting in areas which can be called liberated areas completely free of the enemy. There are still enemy's military camps. He is able to raid any place at any time he likes. That is why our areas are still only guerilla areas but not liberated areas. What are the tactics that we must adopt to weaken the enemy step by step and clean him out completely and convert them into liberated areas?

We must work in very small guerilla squads without wearing military dress during day time and live in such a way that the enemy cannot distinguish them from the people. The squads must live in the very neighbourhood of the enemy camps. (There is no necessity for all the people except a very few, to know where the squads live). They must attack the enemy at night suddenly and destroy the enemy, without falling into his hands. Destroy his communications. Thus harass the enemy day in and day out, giving him no rest, destroy his morale. Whenever there is an opportunity, mobilise necessary squads according to a plan and destroy the small, isolated enemy camps. Guerilla fighters after participating in small encounters and actions will get self-confidence and will be able to carryout these guerilla actions. By continuing these tactics, we could have developed our struggle to a very high level and built liberation areas and established People's Government.

But instead of this, we allowed guerilla squads to parade with uniforms even during the day time; and the enemy began to attack us with increasing numbers, we also increased the numbers in our squads. We continued to fight the enemy in actions that lasted for hours and even that during the day time. In order to enlarge the squads, we mobilised all the weapons and all the capable persons, from the villages into these big squads. So with this, the squads were forced to do the political agitation and propaganda and carry on mass activity, and fight the enemy with arms as well. In short we wanted to compete with the enemy, in numbers and in modern weapons; we wanted to defeat the enemy with the same means, which he was using against us. How ridiculous is this! As per this theory, decision was taken to increase the number in squads to 100. But by the time we increased the number of the squads to 30 to 40 all the serious mistakes in these tactics became patent. The Madhira squad increased to 70 to 80. This enabled the enemy to take rest without any fear of harassment. Because of these tactics of ours the enemy could raid and commit atrocities on the people, when he was in small numbers, in those villages taking advantage of the absence of our squads. He was able to attack our big squads and surround them and destroy them when he was in sufficiently large

numbers. Our squads had lost quick mobility to go from one place to another. The enemy used to know in no time where we were staying and where we were going to. The food and shelter for these huge squads could not be arranged. It was because of these tactics that Karimnagar squad including the whole of the district leadership was wiped out. With that blow the guerilla struggle in that district got tremendously weakened. We could not reorganise it up-to-date. The Madhira squad was surrounded by the enemy, but escaped from the danger of being wiped out with some loss only due to the bravery and presence of mind of the squad leader. The most surprising thing was that on this occasion it was the Nizam's forces that launched a guerilla attack on us in the garb of peasants! Some other squads were surrounded but escaped with some loss. This does not mean that we did not inflict any losses on the enemy. What we must see is not a few temporary victories. But if we had continued these tactics, where would have been our guerilla struggle?

The Provincial Committee, seeing these losses, decided that all the squads should be reduced to consist of 11 members, that all the old tactics should be given up and adopt new tactics suited to the level of the movement adopted. But those leading comrades who were in charge of the State movement directly and some local leaders, did not agree with this decision. So though squad members were reduced in other methods there was no important change made. Secrecy was not observed, the wearing of uniform during the day time continued, fighting with enemy face to face for hours, continued as before. Though we escaped complete destruction because of our reduction of number of members in each squad, we still continued to suffer losses. We tried to explain our losses away as due to technical failures such as the negligence of sentry, or because of cowardice of such and such individual etc. We did not go to the root of our defects. We found out a trick to escape the enemy. We called it "mobility". In the morning take tiffin in one village, dinner in another village and the night meal in still another village and sleep in another place. This increased unnecessarily the physical strain on the squads without any success in our objective of escaping the enemy's attention. But then, how did we last in spite of so many mistakes? How could we spread the movement, at least to the extent to which it did? The reply is that Nizam was totally isolated politically from the people.

Comrades, we must see another fact also. If we had not committed these mistakes how much more could we have extended our struggle. To what higher level could we have developed it. How much initiative and resistance we could have shown during the period, after the Indian Union military intervention. We must ask ourselves these questions to realise what severe damage our old tactics cause to our movement.

### **Two wrong Trends**

When such were our political and organisational weaknesses even during anti-Nizam struggle, we were faced after the military intervention with having to fight

Union Government which was politically, military far more strong than the Nizam. During the critical situation, there arose two wrong trends in connection with the question of continuing the armed struggle:

**The first was, Desperationist trend.**

**WE WILL FIGHT TILL DEATH.**

**COME WHAT MAY**

The essence of this argument was: "We must bring about strikes and armed struggles outside the State too so that the enemy cannot concentrate all his forces on Telangana and so as to divert some of his military forces. If not it is impossible for the armed struggle to be continued. But yet, once we have taken up arms, there is no question of laying them down, irrespective of whether the strikes and armed struggle flare up in the rest of the country or not. We have to continue the armed struggle as of old. Even if it is suppressed, at least revolutionary traditions would remain".

**The second was the trend of Defeatism**

The essence of this is "We could not bring out strike and armed struggles in the rest of India, to divert the enemy forces from being concentrated on Telangana. So it is useless to continue the armed struggle in Telangana. So give it up temporarily and concentrate on day to day people's problems and retreat gradually to the level of the movement outside the State".

As an example of desperationist trend, here is the letter which a comrade addressed to the Provincial Secretariat:

"Here we are holding public meetings in every village exposing the Congress leadership. We are planning to face the Union armies. When we are carrying on here (in the State), armed struggle, there (in Madras Andhra districts), our cadres are offering satyagraha before the police, this, in my opinion is wrong. They are now detaining even village leaders. I think that the time is coming there shortly to start guerilla struggle in all our strong areas. Here as our struggle against the Union armies gets intensified, there you must start wherever you can. We must intensify the agitation in the army and in the police. Please think over it".

Here we must remove certain misconceptions. This comrade is of the opinion that the suggestion given by the Andhra Committee to counteract the atrocities of the police and Congress goondas, in Andhra districts of Madras, is satyagraha. How far this is correct can be seen if one sees the circular addressed:

"If 10 to 15 police come and raid a village, mobilise the masses and teach them a lesson of their life. If they come in hundreds, you should not adopt such resistance. But even when hundreds of police raid, and try to molest women and try to torture any Party member, seize any weapon and kill even one or two police.....If we let the Congress goondas go scot free, these will indulge in murders, rapes and lootings.

They will do excesses before which the Razakars' atrocities would pale into insignificance. So before these vipers could raise their heads, beat them to pulp at every place. Without our Party, crushing them, we cannot resist the military and police raids, we cannot launch a successful counterattack. Whatever sacrifices we have to make in destroying these goondas and spies our Party will not suffer... Even if we have to sacrifice plenty of lives in destroying these goondas and spies, still the balance of revolutionary gains would be in our favour....If the police ask you, women, to come singly, refuse to go. Go in crowds. If anything happens to anyone, let all the others rush to her help. If they abuse, reply to them very sharply. If they try to rape, use chilly powder, kathi peeta (knife used to cut vegetables), or chutney powder to kill him. Seize and pull his testicles. Break his fingers. Bite him wherever you can get at him. Strike at his vital spots with whatever you can get hold of".

Are all these calls, calls for satyagraha methods? Has Gandhi ever given such suggestion in satyagraha struggle? What this comrade wants are not these methods alone. But he wants, irrespective of whether conditions are ripe or not, to organise regular guerilla squads in Madras Andhra districts as well as to launch immediately guerilla struggle. Just three months before this, this very comrade had written a report on Telangana, stating that since the conditions in Andhra were not suitable for launching guerilla warfare, the armed struggle in Telangana should be given up the moment the Indian armies enter and that we must lie low for the time being. If the conditions were not ripe 3 months earlier how could they become ripe within such a short time, God alone knows. (About this question, we will discuss further later on).

Another important comrade took this argument a step further. He wanted that revolutionary struggle should be launched not only in Andhra but in the whole of India. In the letter he wrote on 27.9.48, he had written thus:

"In Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, the armed struggle that is being waged frightens the Indian Government. It wants to destroy Veera Telangana at its very birth. It is making every effort to liquidate us without giving us any time. So this problem should not be approached as to what are the tasks in Telangana alone? All this has to be seen as a part of the reactionaries' plan in the whole of South East Asia. Especially we must have an immediate programme for the whole of the country. This does not mean that we are not going to do anything meanwhile in Telangana. Telangana struggle will be continued. But along with it, in all other provinces in the rest of the Indian Union we must simultaneously carry on the revolutionary struggle. And thus we must prevent them from concentrating in Telangana alone. We must divert their military forces in different directions. This is the line and programme which the Central Committee must give".

In this comrade's outlook people are nothing but blind soldiers. As we transfer armies from one front to another, as we retreat and advance, similarly, he thinks that we can launch strikes and struggles as and when it is necessary.

This argument has very close relations with the arguments of the defeatists: this can be seen from the following. The first comrade who put forth the desperationist argument "Let us fight to death but must continue the armed struggle as before" has written the following in his report of 19.6.48 to the higher committee before the Indian Army entered Telangana.

"If the Indian armies launch upon us (Telangana) severe raids, can we launch armed struggle in the Indian Union and in the State, under the existing conditions? This is the question to be answered. In the rest of Andhra, in all our villages, people are being subjected to fascist raids. Yet there is no possibility of launching armed struggle against the Union army. We do not have enough strength. Before we can go to that stage in the rest of Andhra (Union Andhra) we must purge the cowards from the Party, and strengthen the Party organisation, and especially build close relations with the masses, by building agricultural labour and poor peasant movements. It is difficult to estimate, how quickly we can do this, or how quick the economic crisis would ripen and give us the opportunity of intensifying our struggles, and how quick the path for armed struggle against the Congress fascists can be taken.

"Unlike in all other countries, all other revolutionary struggles, armies and armed police-at least a section of them-have not revolted and not joined us. And when there was no possibility of armed struggle either in Andhra (Union) or in other Provinces of the Indian Union, is it correct to carry on the Armed Struggle with the Little Forces we have in Telangana when the Indian Army enters the state?

"Or are we to lie low strengthening out organisation, and continuing defensive battles, wait for a better opportunity? We want your advice and decision on all these important problems".

"When there is no possibility of launching armed struggle in other provinces of India", this Comrade says that it is impossible to continue armed struggle in Telangana! That is, for this comrade, the basis for armed struggle is not the strength of the revolutionary movement in Telangana, but the movement outside!! The P.C. Secretariat had criticised thrice this wrong trend of this Comrade. Before the entry of the Indian army, this comrade had agreed that his policy of retreat was wrong. But he had not seen the root of his wrong trend; i.e. basing the armed struggle not on the strength of the movement in Telengana but on the strength of the outside movement. This was evident from his letters. First his position was: the movement outside Telengana was not in a position to take up armed struggle. Therefore we must retreat in Telengana too'. Now, his argument is that since we have taken up arms once we cannot lay them down and retreat, so in defence of Telengana movement, guerilla struggle has to be launched outside the State too. In short the essence of this argument is: "We must either conduct Armed Struggle on All India scale or not conduct it any where".

Now let us examine the arguments of the defeatists. Here is the letter dated 5.11.48 of a district committee who expounded this argument clearly:

“To-day direct relations (link) have been established between the movement in the Union Andhra and Telangana. The strength and weaknesses of this movement here, has a direct effect on the struggle in Telangana. So long, the sympathies and support of Union people, direct or indirect, were with the Telangana people in their struggle against the Nizam. But to-day, if we have to fight the Indian Union armies, we will not get the people’s sympathy to that extent from the vast majority of them. The Union government will try to mobilise the majority of the masses behind it and at the present stage of mass democratic struggle, it looks as if the Government will be able to get away its plan. The reason is the Bourgeoisie has got the upper hand. To-day to defend our people’s councils in Telangana with armed struggle, we cannot mobilise the masses outside the state. The movement here does not have this strength. If we keep this in mind, then it becomes evident that Telangana movement has not got that strength to overcome this and go forward. In these conditions we must adopt tactics of orderly retreat to safeguard our gains and gradually prepare ourselves and the people for resistance...Under the present conditions we think that orderly retreat must be our tactics. That is, we must hide our weapons in such a way as not to allow them to fall into the hands of the enemy, the guerilla squads must stop their armed struggle, but get mixed with the people and try to bring the masses to participate in defence of their old gains Mass resistance must be our fighting slogan”.

Some other district comrades have written giving similar suggestions. Some other important comrades had written, without recognising that the illusions that might have been present among the people in fighting areas of Telangana were of a temporary character and that they would be soon shattered. Under-estimating the revolutionary consciousness of Telangana people on the one hand, and showing our organisational weakness on the other, they argued that continuation of armed struggle immediately is not possible. To destroy illusions, they suggested mass resistance. All these are trends that did not realise the level of Telangana struggle.

The District Committee quoted above, wrote that “people are not coming forward for land distribution and mostly they are spectators”. This is entirely wrong. This might have been true to some extent, at the beginning when we started land distribution. But by the time the Union armies entered, the people, especially, the agricultural labour and the poor peasants had come forward and participated not only in land distribution, but in digging up of roads, in destroying deshmukh’s mansions and fortresses, and in-raiding the Nizam’s police and Razakar centre. In certain weak areas, people might be afraid. But on the whole, in the whole of fighting area, this is not true. About this, we have written already in detail.

The second mistake this Committee makes is this, “that because the people of other areas have not got strength to take up arms in defence of the armed struggle of another area, it becomes impossible for the people of that area too, to continue the armed struggle”. This way of argument is absolutely wrong. The level of people’s movement on all India scale will not be of the same level. It will be very uneven. When in Telangana armed struggle is being waged, in another place, we may be

arguing before an adjudication tribunal and exposing the Government. In to-day's conditions, when the economic crisis is so severe, when the bourgeoisie cannot solve one single small problem, even though in the rest of the country it may not be possible to wage militant struggles, there is every possibility of continuing the armed struggle in Telangana. If we take into consideration the level of the movement, in the neighbouring areas, basing ourselves on the level of the movement there, we will carry forward the revolutionary struggle by adopting tactics suited to each, from adjudications courts to armed struggle. This is the way, today to carry on People's democratic revolution. Failure to realise this, leads this committee to this wrong line. Inspite of certain organisational weaknesses if we adopt new tactics of armed struggle suited to the new conditions we can defend our armed struggle from the enemy attack and take it forward. The Telangana revolutionary movement has got this much strength. (It will be dealt with in detail later).

Though the methods which these two trends suggest, are different, yet they start from the same foundation. Both arise from the failure of not basing our tactics and plan of action, on the strength of Telangana revolutionary movement, but basing it instead on the strength of movement outside the State. The first advocates continuation of the armed struggle with no important changes in tactics suited to the new conditions, and leaving the result to fate! The second advocates the laying down of arms. We have carried on revolutionary armed struggle, so many heroes have laid their lives, the heroic struggle has been carried on by Telangana people so doggedly, all this is not merely in order to leave behind a few revolutionary traditions, but in order to establish the democratic Government of toilers. It is for laying down arms at the first moment that we faced a critical situation and not for laying at the feet of the enemy, to be hacked to pieces, Veera Telangana that is built with the blood of hundreds of heroes and on the unlimited sacrifices and devotions and struggle of millions of oppressed masses!

#### **The methods adopted after police action and their bad consequences**

Of the two above mentioned incorrect tendencies, the result of putting into practice the former tendency, i.e. the desperationist tendency, was the non-pursuance of new suitable tactics in accordance with the new conditions that followed with the entry of the Indian Union military. The very same old tactics that belonged to the old anti-Nizam struggle period were pursued.

What are the new changes brought about with the entry of the Indian Union forces? How have we failed to adopt new political organisational tactics in accordance with these changes?

We realised that rich peasants who form 15 to 20% of the village population would join the enemy camp. But to run all the Party activities, guerilla and party apparatus on secret lines, no practicable organisational methods were adopted. We did not put into operation even those tasks that were undertaken. We did not realise the danger even in practice.

As a result, the old hidden enemies in the villages, the newly turned enemies and the Congress agents, easily came to know the whereabouts of our Party members and guerilla squad members, with the help of the rich peasants.

Our movement and activities were then and there exposed to the enemy. Before our programme was put into operation, enemy was able to inflict an attack and hunt after us. Links with the people were getting blown up. We were being forced to evolve new links every time, Party cadre too sustained a great loss.

We correctly estimated the great effect of the influence of the rich peasants, who were going to join the Congress, on the middle peasants, who constitute 10 to 20% in the villages. But in order to drive away rich peasants far from the middle peasants and in order to put an end to their resistance power, we did not in practice undertake to build up partial struggles and organisation of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants on the problems of wages and debts, so to attain agricultural labourers' and poor peasants' leadership.

In villages through open meetings, general exposure regarding the motives behind the entry of the Indian Union forces was carried on. But local struggles, anti-Congress demonstrations, and anti-repression mobilisation etc., so as to expose through them the note of betrayal of the rich peasants was not carried on.

As a result the rich peasants carrying on anti-struggle propaganda, were able to make the people yield for a compromise. They were able to get back the landlords' cattle and agricultural implements, thereby destroying some of the achievements attained through armed struggle.

In the anti-Nizam struggle period many a rich peasant entered into the village panchayat committees. Though adequate representation was given to the toiling classes, most of them from these classes who were in the Committees were under the influence of rich peasants and landlords. As all these people were inclined towards the Congress, instead of organising and mobilising the people in the anti-Congress struggles they were retarding the people backwards. Some of them went to the extent of effecting our arrests and some to surrender. Some youths that had come from the upper classes i.e. rich peasants and landlords had been promoted to key positions in the Party and the guerilla squads. Some of them following the entry of the Indian Union forces joined the enemy camp and the remaining either got demoralised owing to the enemy attacks or surrendered. As repression intensified, the movement towards this direction continued.

It had become impossible in practice to recruit the class conscious elements into the Party, as per PC's decision, so long as the old people held the same positions.

Owing to the presence of the vacillating elements, it had become impossible to move the people into struggles. As these elements get demoralised without turning out any work, the links with the masses were cut off.

Even after the entry of the Indian Union forces, no changes in the organisation of the guerilla squads had been brought about. As the enemy forces were equipped

with modern weapons and good discipline, a warning to be careful and not to resort to hasty attacks as had been carried on against Nizam-Razakar groups was given out of fear.

Later, with arrest of two squads in November in the Suryapet taluk, and seeing that the squad members and organisers were getting demoralised, the strength of the squad was reduced to 9 and 11. They also sent some suggestions regarding technical precautions. While the enemy was establishing camps in the villages, no programme was given, tactics were not worked out and reorganisation of the squads was not done, so as to enable our squads to inflict non-stop attacks on the enemy and exhaust him.

As a result when the enemy raised camps in the villages, he was able to drive us away. Our squads could not understand what was our programme, with the result that either the squads scattered, surrendered or got annihilated.

This way no major changes were made in the programme given after the police action. Only a few suggestions were given to escape from the attacks that were being carried on by the enemy at that time. Only a new form was given to the old programme and tactics that were being followed in the period of anti-Nizam struggle. As a result the squads, Party and village committees, receiving a serious blow ceased contact with the masses.

On account of pursuing the above mentioned incorrect tactics, and organisational methods, a fine opportunity was given to the enemy to inflict a heavy blow on our revolutionary movement by carrying on unchecked raids using thousands of military and police forces depending on the support of the rich peasants and landlords. Though from the next day of its entry into Hyderabad State, enemy had started raids, yet for two and a half months, continuous raids were not carried out. In these two and a half months, the enemy was building up necessary political and military manoeuvres in the background in order to put an end to our revolutionary movement.

But we rolled on the very same rails without considering afresh our plans and tactics. Not knowing what to do when then the enemy actually began series of continuous raids on the villages, we scattered hither and thither like birds.

Had we utilised that priceless respite and if we were ready with our new tactics, we would have been able to raise the revolutionary struggles to new heights and thus would have escaped from the enemy with few losses. Our movement would not have been shattered as at present. As a result, came the harmful consequences of our mistakes. Today the enemy with initiative is able to launch an attack on us. We are driven to the position of mere defence. In hundreds and thousands, the Indian union forces, police and the Congress-Razakars, setting up camps in every village are able to carry on raids. Lakhs of leaflets are being distributed from aeroplanes.

Landlords and rich peasants even in our strong centres as Suryapet, are rendering help without fear to the military to hunt down squads and to arrest our leaders. Leaders and the members of guerilla squads that are caught are being shot down then and there. Raping of women, looting valuable articles, smashing down houses, and cruel atrocities on the masses are freely continued by them every day. The Party apparatus and the guerilla organisation that was not strongly united with revolutionary principles and not well equipped with iron discipline have been drowned in confusion. Some local leaders have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Some guerilla squad leaders and organisers perished in the battlefield. In the very early days some organisers that came from the well-to-do classes joined the enemy camp. Some squads unable to safeguard their very foundations fell into the hands of the enemy.

Only the main leadership and some important squads are left behind today. The organisational methods necessary in order to carry out lighting attacks on enemy forces and to maintain good morale in the masses by creating political consciousness are absent. As a result, our squads were scattered hither and thither and at best could engage in self defence.

The news is reaching us that being unable to withstand enemy attack, and with the encouragement from the rich peasants and middle peasants, people are inclining towards a compromise and also that the people are afraid to provide food and shelter to our guerilla squads.

Even in this great demoralising atmosphere the ray of hope, is that though people are put to severe difficulties of high magnitude, yet they dont say a word against the Party. Against the enemy their indignation has increased owing to the great troubles they are subjected to by the enemy. They are able to see clearly as to who are their enemies. They view that only because of the huge strength and the armed might of the enemy, our movement is hit hard, otherwise it would not be so. Temporarily they are bowing their heads before this storm of repression but their self-confidence has not been shaken. They take pride that they put up stubborn and strong resistance for two years against the Nizam and for six months against the Indian Union forces. They have got faith in their own capacities. They have a strong hope that there is bright future for us. They have immense love and confidence in their leaders and guerilla squads. They greatly admire the courageous and bold deeds. The only words that they want to acquaint our comrade with is: "Enemy with enormous might was able to inflict a blow on us but it is temporary. The enemy cannot remain in thousands here for ever. Future belongs to us. When good days dawn, we shall launch a mighty offensive and put an end to the enemy. Meanwhile without getting trapped by the enemy, you better remain safe. This is what we request you".

There can hardly be any other example to illustrate as to what great care the people take for the defence of their leaders who have won their love, good will and confidence.

### **Enemy Plan:**

What are the plans of the enemy to smash up our revolutionary movement?

1) "Telangana armed resistance movement" meant haunting nightmare to the bourgeoisie. Hence before this discontentment bursts forth into a mighty wave of struggles against the Congress Government, in other parts of the State and throughout India, before it breaks out into a great and dreadful oceanic upsurge and sweeps it off from the very bottom of its roots, the bourgeoisie want to put an end to the resistance movement of heroic Telangana and without leaving any trace.

2) Smash at the very heart of the revolutionary movement, i.e. leaders and the guerilla squads, in the summer season by setting up military camps in every village with the necessary armed forces.

3) "Intensive repression on the people" and thus break the morale of the people on the one side and on the other spread illusions about Consambly and bogus agricultural reforms amongst the people specially the middle peasants, thereby split the oppressed masses and destroy the achievements, land to the tiller, just wage and people's raj that were attained during the anti-Nizam struggle. With the support of the rich peasantry, to reinstate deshmukhs in the villages after forcible reappropriation of the land, the wresting of which had constituted the very basis of the people's democratic revolution, with the support of the rich peasantry.

4) To carry on poisonous propaganda that the heroic Telangana guerillas are bandits, murderers and robbers and thus hide the great revolutionary achievements from other peoples, to try to break the links of our resistance movement with outside people's struggles and thus isolate us.

How to safeguard the Telangana revolutionary movement by shattering the enemy plans? As a result of the hard blow struck by the enemy our forces have scattered. Can we, under these circumstances continue the armed struggle? Or shall we for the present wind up the armed struggle temporarily and build the movement on day-to-day people's problems and plan to restart the armed struggle only when strikes and struggles burst out throughout India and other parts of the State?

It is these questions that confront us to-day. Enemy has got the upper hand from the military point of view. Even under these circumstances, temporary winding up of armed resistance means nothing but the underestimation of the consciousness of Telangana masses, and of the severe intensification of the economic crisis that has overwhelmed the whole world capitalist system. It also means the underestimation of the stage of the people's movement in other parts of the State and throughout India. It means the continuation of the demoralisation tendency which has been clarified earlier.

It amounts to the tendency for over estimation of the strength of the Indian bourgeoisie and crowning the enemy with victory with our own hands.

## Revolutionary Movement

If, setting right the defects of the armed struggle, the whole Party, the squads and the peoples organisation, are organised entirely on secret lines, mobilising the entire masses for the defence of the revolutionary achievements attained so far, the continuation of the people's resistance on one side and of the armed struggle with new guerilla tactics on the other shall be possible. Not only is the safeguarding of our revolutionary movement possible, we can also extend it to other parts of the State to the parts bordering the State, specially to the strong bordering Telugu districts.

If the people in other parts of the State and all over India have to be mobilised in support of revolutionary Telangana, then what we have to do is not lay down our arms and wait till they start strikes and struggles, but continue the armed resistance. We should spread throughout the four corners of India, the rays of light of the flames lit by the innumerable patriots who laid down their lives on the battle front. We should uphold this torch of hope so that in that light the oppressed masses who are getting ready for strikes and struggles in other parts of the State and throughout India may march forward. And only by upholding this torch of Freedom and hope, we can inspire and enthuse them.

Henceforth what we have to remember is that we should mainly base our armed struggle on the strength of Telangana's oppressed masses. The armed struggle which will be continued by us in the present circumstances, mainly relying on the strength of the guerilla war, will inspire and enthuse the oppressed masses in other parts of the State and throughout India. Such a possibility exists. Every demonstration they stage, every strike and struggle they launch, however small it may be renders help and strengthens the armed resistance movement of Telangana. We should not forget this.

For the continuation of the armed struggle what we should first keep in sight is the preparedness of the oppressed masses which, under the present circumstances, means, that the middle peasants who are expressing sympathy today may not immediately actively support our armed struggle; but as the workers and poor peasants who constitute a great majority (70%) carry out successful resistance against the enemy attack, they will also come forward to defend the past achievements.

Then what is the position of the agricultural labourers and poor peasants? Are at least these people in a position to strengthen the armed resistance?

The first thing we have to notice is that the stage of the Telangana movement has reached its highest pitch. They have waged armed struggle for the two and a half years against the Nizam Razakar forces and the Indian Union forces and the Congress goonda gangs. They withheld stubbornly against the enemy atrocities, viz., burning of houses, rapings, lootings, lathi beatings, to the extent of shooting at sight and whatever cruel atrocities the enemy could carry out. Today in the Telangana battlefield death has become a very common thing. They have established village

panchayat governments, the embryonic forms of the people's democratic government, the objective that was set up by the Calcutta Party Congress. Destroying the autocratic powers of the deshmukhs and jagirdars and smashing down their huge forts, the symbols of age-old slavery, they have distributed ten lakhs acres of land amongst themselves. The peasants who have tasted the fruits of struggle, viz., land and the village panchayat rule for a year- to think that they will accept the same age-old slavery is also to think that they will not come forward to defend the revolutionary achievements i.e. land, just wage and the village people's government, which they have achieved by shedding their blood; this means the underestimation of the level of consciousness of the Telangana people and no realisation of their revolutionary psychology. Even today the critical news is reaching of the agricultural workers' battles in Patwela taluka (Nevalagrana) and Khammameth (our weak areas) What have we to understand from these?

While the Indian Union forces were getting ready to strike a blow at us, had we organised the Party and the guerilla squads on new lines, suited to the existing conditions and continued the armed struggle, our armed resistance movement would not have received such a big blow today.

Even today the agricultural labourers and poor peasants are quite ready to defend such revolutionary achievements as land, wage and abolition of slavery. While continuing ceaseless attacks on the enemy by the guerilla squads, if suitable plans are laid before the people regarding putting up resistance against the enemy by themselves, people are quite prepared to put them into practice.

Even in these critical circumstances when the enemy has the upper hand what the people say is, "because of the concentration of military in thousands the enemy is able to inflict blows on us, otherwise he could not. Dont be trapped by them, be safe, when good days dawn, in an all out big offensive we will put him down". Self-confidence that the future belongs to us is not shaken in the least. Tenants are watching for the moment when the Party begins reorganising the guerilla squads and inflicts series of attacks on the enemy: They are expressing great hurry "to defend the achievements attained through the armed struggle". Today the foremost task that lies on our heads is the great responsibility to show them the way.

Then what is the situation facing us in other parts of the State? Are the conditions of the people in any way better than in our areas? No. Throughout the Nizam's State, jagirdars and deshmukhs are looting, sucking the blood and turning the people into mere skeletons. As in our parts, the masses in these parts too are subjected to intense exploitation. But then there was none left to organise the people in those parts of the State. Had the organisation of the people in these parts existed we could have conducted armed struggle throughout the State. That is why they eagerly awaited the entry of the Indian Union forces. With the entry of the Indian Union forces, they had illusions that they would be liberated, that Nizam and his followers would perish and that they could lead a peaceful life. But not a single thing has turned out to be as they had expected.

The same age-long bloodsucking, oppressing Nizam, Jagirdars, deshmukhs, Marwari moneylenders and the bureaucratic officialdom continues. With this a great discontentment is raging against the Congress Government. All the illusions which they are sowing are getting melted like camphor. Illusions are vanishing with the same speed as they were created in the Union military.

Indian bourgeoisie which entered into a new friendship with the Nizam, jagirdars and deshmukhs, did not solve even a single basic problem facing the people today. It did not root out the Nizam, a long standing desire of the people of Andhras, Maharashtra and Karnataka, and did not establish greater Andhra, united Maharashtra, and united Karnataka. The present autocratic rule was not thrown out, and a people's government not set up. It did not abolish zamindari system effecting land to the tiller. It has not implemented living wage to the agricultural labourers, and the working class and just pay for the middle classes and has not granted any other facilities either.

The present game of Consambly, bogus agricultural reforms and labour committees cannot deceive the people. By merely taking over the jagir administrations neither the unity of Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnataka peoples is achieved nor land to the tiller, just wages and just salaries are effected.

In reality, if their motive behind this game is observed, it is clear that it is all meant for the reorganisation of the state apparatus to put down the growing people's upsurge, and defend the Nizam and jagirdars who could not stand against the tide of the mass upsurge.

The programme of distribution of land of the Telangana armed struggle and the village panchayat committees have greatly influenced the other parts of the State, especially the other 6 Telugu districts. Workers, peasants and agricultural labourers in other parts of the State are coming forward in order to attain their demands.

The struggles of Hyderabad municipal workers, R.T.D. workers and the railway workers represent a pointer to the great people's upsurge that is going to burst forth throughout the State. There is no other alter-native left to the Government except curbing it with inhuman force with the military might. Local struggles that are being built up in other parts of the State, can very soon be developed into an armed struggle. Such possibilities are there.

What are the conditions existing throughout India? Today world capitalism is gripped in an economic crisis of high magnitude. It is waging a life and death struggle. In these conditions, the Indian bourgeoisie has surrendered to British imperialism and entered into a collaboration with its agents, the native rulers, zamindars and landlords. As in the Nizam's state, being unable to withstand big mass upsurge, it is resorting to ruthless repression, so also in India it has not solved even a single people's problem. Illusions that were created with the "August freedom" are vanishing and the people are coming forward for strikes and struggles. Even though the governmental repression looms large from without and its agents,

the Socialist leaders, are creating disruption from within. While workers are getting ready and are coming forward for strikes. Postal workers have served a strike notice, dock workers of Calcutta and Bombay went on strike, Madras motor workers also went on strike and textile and jute workers are getting ready for strikes. Even the middle class intelligentsia and employees are coming forward. Forty thousand school teachers in U.P. went on strike for 35 days. In East Bengal the Tebhaga movement has already started. Before this mass upsurge bursts forth the Indian bourgeoisie is in great hurry to erase out the "Revolutionary liberation flame" of Telangana which is casting its light far and wide throughout India and is awaking the oppressed. Severe repression that is being let loose on the revolutionary Telangana movement denotes the weakness and not the strength of the enemy.

Today the base of the Indian bourgeoisie is very narrow. If blows are struck whenever possible it is not impossible to overthrow its power. For it, Nizam's State constitutes the weakest link. There are two reasons for it. The first one is the great indignation of the people throughout the State against the Nizam, jagirdars, and deshmukhs, and the great discontentment that followed the collaboration of the Indian bourgeoisie with them; and second is the path that the Telangana armed resistance is showing to the masses throughout the State. Hence by continuing the armed resistance movement on new lines and defending the revolutionary Telangana movement from being crushed at the hands of the enemy, it becomes easy to lead the great mass upsurge that is embracing the entire State on to the revolutionary path shown by Telangana. This constitutes the revolutionary task that has to be accomplished towards Indian democracy in Hyderabad State. Though favourable circumstances to such an extent exist in the whole State, yet does the Party possess the capacity to continue the armed struggle at least in our areas though today we do not possess the capacity to divert the mass upsurge of the entire State on to the revolutionary path, shown by Telangana? The only answer is "Yes".

Though some leaders, local organisers and squads have fallen into the hands of the enemy and some have been carried away by the atmosphere of demoralisation and inspite of the fact that some have joined the enemy betraying the people, yet even today a leadership remains which has in the past conducted armed struggle. There are hundreds of organisers, hundreds of guerilla fighters and thousands of youth ready to take up arms, and to support the armed struggle; lakhs of people are there. If these leaders, organisers and guerilla fighters, are saved from being caught by the enemy, and are politically well trained, continuation of the armed guerilla fight becomes possible. Not only in Telangana but even in Maharashtra the mobilisation of the mass for land and just wage, and their struggle becomes possible. We should create immediate necessary arrangements for this.

Then, what is our programme to smash the enemy plans? (regarding tasks of the whole State, a special political resolution will be sent)

1) Safeguard our leaders, organisers and squads from being caught by the enemy, reorganise the Party and the guerilla squads entirely on secret lines through imparting training on the new tactics that has to be conducted; and continue the armed struggle.

2) On one side through continuous intense propaganda exposing the enemy's Consembly game and the bogus reforms, shatter the illusions created by them; and on the other side through the mobilisation of agricultural workers and poor peasants on the defence of land and just agricultural wages, conduct people's resistance against the Indian Union forces, Landlords and rich peasants and through these struggles bring the middle peasants into the revolutionary battles.

3) Popularise the achievements attained in the revolutionary Telangana movement, amongst the broad masses of other parts of the State and throughout India; and through their strikes and struggles that shall be carried on for the sake of their demands and the strikes and struggles that shall be conducted in sympathy with the Telangana revolutionary movement, adding strength to the Telangana armed struggle, link up Telangana's revolutionary movement with the Indian people's movement.

### New Armed Resistance Methods

In order to execute the above plan, what new guerilla tactics, people's resistance methods and organisational methods should be adopted?

Party should be organised entirely on secret lines and carry on its activities. Party is the main weapon for the accomplishment of revolution. When Party possesses a strong organisation like a steel fort that can withstand against the enemy attacks revolution can come to a victorious end without a stop. From this point of view let us see whether we are in possession of such an excellent Party organisation to carry on the armed resistance movement.

During the anti-Nizam struggle period, Party was not having any organisational form at all, there were no cells, and all the youths who worked enthusiastically and expressed initiative, were treated as Party members. The only forms that remained were the area committees, area organisers and the central guerilla squads. Andhra Mahasabha too had no form whatsoever. No enrolment of members was done, and the whole village people were considered as its members. Agricultural workers' organisations, local volunteer brigades and women's organisations were not formed.

However elections to the village panchayat committees used to be held.

Another grave mistake we committed in that we promoted the youth coming from the exploiting classes (landlords and rich peasants), without looking as to which classes they came from and without testing them in fights, to key positions and made them organisers and leaders of guerilla squads. We placed them in the key positions in the village panchayat committees. We only looked to their initiative, reading and expressing capacities, but we did not note whether they came into our Party merely with a humanitarian outlook or accepting the objective of the working class, that is Socialism. We never used to look into primary things such as whether

they have discarded all their alien class habits i.e. individuality, commanding others, and love towards their private property, etc., and reduced themselves to the stand point of a common worker and a poor peasant. That is why being unable to discard their alien class habits, they either formed factional groups or were carried away by the demoralisation. Not only this, with the entry of the Indian Union forces, some in order to safeguard their class interests, and some unable to stand the sharpened class struggle betrayed the Party and the people and joined the enemy camp. So a great harm to the Party resulted. In addition to it, the militants who came from the agricultural labourers and poor peasants were not given political education and not promoted to key positions.

Looking at these organisational defects, Andhra Committee took a decision to enrol into the Party those who possess revolutionary efficiency, to create cells and function them, and also a decision to establish and function local organisations by enrolling members for Andhra Mahasabha and to set up general agricultural worker committees and to organise volunteer corps and children's leagues. Effort to build Party organisation was made and cells were also formed. But with the entry of the Indian Union forces all our plans were upset.

With it the organisation of the Party and the mass organisation had to be started from A.B.C. On account of the betrayal of some of the organisers, squad leaders and squad members, and on account of some falling prey to shootings and arrests, area committee organisers were left isolated without contact with each other-in many places and squads were split and scattered. The meagre organisation that is left is also in great confusion.

Under these circumstances, the prime task before us is that all vacillating comrades and enemy agents amongst our organisers, squad leaders, village panchayat committees and the squads should be driven out unhesitatingly. The Party and the squads should be completely rebuilt on the basis of revolutionary principles. Due to this purge our numerical strength may be reduced but it does not matter. If we begin the work with strong militant revolutionaries who will not turn back in any situation, very soon a healthy Party organisational set up can be brought into being.

Henceforth at the very outset, all those who are inefficient, should be removed from the Party, and those who are afraid of their lives, those who are not having strong confidence in the Party Policy and its programme and those who do not merge with the toilers but only exercise command over them, and those who have immoral habits detrimental to the Party should be removed from the key positions of all our organisations.

Area committees should be formed with 3 members and regional committees with not more than 5 members. Party cells and committees should be built up by recruiting into the Party those that have the following qualifications. Cells to be formed with not more than seven members. All cell secretaries shall form the village Party committee and function.

Those who are efficient and come from agricultural workers and poor peasants should be put in the village committees and regional committees including the area committees, although they may be illiterate but otherwise efficient.

### **Eligibilities to Party Membership**

1) Party objectives and its programme should be understood and accepted by them. i.e. They should agree, in direct form, with the decided programme in our "guerilla areas".

2) Iron discipline based on democratic centralism together with consciousness should be enforced. It means, in cell or committee discussion one should place his opinion without any hesitation (fear). He should be a participant in taking decisions and in the execution of the higher committee's decisions and the majority decisions. He should regularly participate in the Party activities. Cell secrets should never be revealed outside.

3) For the sake of the Party he should be ready to sacrifice everything including his life, if necessary.

4) "Moral life" i.e. only those habits which shall not come in the way of the Party's prestige should be possessed. In the present system of society no sound economic foundations exist to build up an ideal life; therefore normal drinking and Sexual lapses which do not amount to debauchery and cannot be looked upon as so grave, cannot fall in the list of "ineligibilities" for the Party membership. There is no place in the Party for habitual drunkards and debauchees. If the above referred bad habits exist only within certain sounds, and otherwise there are other qualities that are needed for Party membership are present, they can be taken into the Party.

**Note:** Those who come from agricultural workers and poor peasants cannot express clearly the Party objective and programme, yet if other qualities are present, in them, they should be taken into the Party. We should explain to them Party constitution, Party Thesis and its programme in the state.

Before being taken into the party, party constitution and party pledge should be read by everyone in the party cells. Before taking into the Party those who come from the exploiting classes or before promoting them to higher ranks, it should be observed in struggles whether all their bad class habits have been eradicated or not.

### **PARTY ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE RUN ON SECRET LINES**

#### **Function the Party Secretly**

#### **Comrades,**

As you are accustomed to work openly and as you receive the support of the majority of the toilers, in various ways, it may look surprising to you when you are told that none others should come to know the names of the Party members, that cell meetings should be conducted secretly; that the organisers should dwell

secretly and only when necessary should you conduct open meetings and that the squads should work secretly. You may put the question, 'What is this, secrecy with the enemy or with the people?"

You may also ask as to how you can maintain secrecy with the people and yet merge with the people. Today, the conditions are such that if we want to work without being known to the enemy, we should be known only to the concerned Party members and this is what is meant by secret functioning. You are aware of the fact that we had to suffer heavy losses because of not functioning secretly from the early days of the anti-Nizam struggle period.

Comrades, today the situation is very grave. Rich peasants are having a number of economic and social relationships with the common people and they have joined the enemy camp and are making serious efforts to crush our revolutionary movement. Military camps have been posted in every village and our organisers and squads are being hunted out. In this state of difficult conditions, not to carry out our work secretly is nothing but inviting the enemy to drown in blood the revolutionary movement built at the cost of hundreds of warriors of revolution.

When all the people know about our whereabouts, how can you prevent the rich peasants from coming to know of them and how can you prevent him from revealing them to the military.

You may reply that if we teach one or two such fellows a good lesson they will draw the necessary conclusions from it.

But will it be sufficient to kill one or two in the present grave period when military has been posted in every village?

After the establishment and consolidation of our power and after the military camps are erased out, the rich peasant may keep mum owing to fear. But if we begin the programme of teaching lessons to them, we have to totally put an end to the rich peasantry. Is this possible now?

Hence our main task today is to save the Party leadership and squads through illegal methods and work but not to root out the rich peasantry as a whole now.

Our activities should be carried on secretly and the enemy should not come to know our secrets. We shall put an end to those who consider it their duty to inform our secrets to the enemy. Except the concerned important Party member and people, no other Party members and people should come to know about our organisational and tech matters. This should be the guiding principle in our functioning.

As the revolutionary movement, notwithstanding the enemy attacks, develops bringing about rift between the middle peasants and the rich peasants, driving away the rich peasant and bringing the middle peasants nearer to our movement, and as we smash up the military camps in the villages and extend our areas, we can pursue open methods, gradually reducing the secret methods of work.

The following principles should be borne in mind and in accordance with them, the secret activities of the Party should be carried on.

(a) The organisers should never move at day time except on some absolutely necessary occasions. Whenever they go out at night they should take proper defence precautions. Whenever they have to visit any village, the conditions of that village and the safe routes should be known beforehand and the plans should be decided before they set out. People of the village should not come to know either before or after the organiser's visit to the village. The organiser should take care that his host does not reveal his arrival to others in the village.

People should not come to know about the visit of the organiser. They should not gather round him or rush to his place as before.

Now, it is impossible for the organiser to know the conditions of the village by himself without the help of the Party Cells or village committees.

Through the party cells and village committees, organisers should know the conditions of the village in detail and take decisions after discussing them, and note them down in writing. He should develop Party cells and village committees and see that they themselves solve the problems of the village independently.

Whenever it is necessary to mobilise the village masses, just on the eve of his departure with proper watch around the village, he should address them and move to the other village. Except the concerned persons none else should come to know about the village to which he is shifting. These gatherings should be held at places where agricultural labourers and poor peasants dwell. Landlords and rich peasants generally should not be allowed, and those who are slightly suspected should not be allowed.

It is not safe to stay in the villages at day time, because when the enemy raids the village and gathers all of them at one place he can easily spot out the organiser. We cannot even escape through crops. Moreover in these summer days the enemy can easily find out from a higher place when we attempt to escape through the fields because of the open landscape and can catch us easily. Hence we should wear the usual clothes of the villagers, merge with their life and stay outside the villages. Just like fish in water we have to swim in the ocean of the masses. Either food should be brought to that place carefully or other necessary arrangements should be made. None else should come to know about it. When we are within the reach of the enemy gun it is futile to attempt to run away, because it will provide an opportunity to the enemy to suspect the comrade as Party leader.

It is neither necessary nor desirable here to explain as to how to merge with the people and as to how to take our own care. On these matters you are having a good experience. Every organiser should keep along with him an efficient and trustworthy courier and carry on the jobs. It will be impossible to maintain secrecy if we continue our present methods.

#### **Organisers should Note!**

At the end of the reports that are being sent by the organisers at present, original names are being written, names of the villages and individuals are being mentioned. If these fall into the enemy hands they can easily come to know as to

who is who. That is why all the correspondence should be carried on with code names. The names of the villages which are used for exclusive purposes should be avoided. It is also essential to use the code names of the villages which the organisers are visiting so that even when the letters fall into the enemy hands he can't come to know any particular and the people will be saved to some extent from repression. Many of the comrades coming from the exploiting classes are being arrested when they visit their houses. In the present period, when grim class battles are being waged to put an end to the exploiting classes, to expect love from kith and kin, parents and relatives means that we are not yet understanding the class nature of our revolutionary struggle. As far as wife and children are concerned, we should go to them with proper care only when they break relations with their families and agree to come with us. But when they refuse to agree to this one alternative alone is left to us and that is we have to break all our relations with them. Not only this, even for money, clothes and better comforts we should not have any connections with them.

It should be noted by all of us that comrades coming from the exploiting classes shall be able to stick to our revolutionary Party only by ceasing all sorts of relationship with their families.

#### **The Secret Method of Functioning Cells And Committees**

It may not surprise you very much when organisers are asked to live secretly but it will surprise you when you are asked to conduct cell and Party committee meetings in the villages secretly.

You may ask us how to prevent the people from knowing the names of the Party members. To see that the enemy may not spot out our comrades it is necessary and also possible to see that the people do not know the names of our Party members excepting the names of leading important comrades.

It is also possible to confuse the enemy because a great number of youths and working people will come to the forefront when 70% of the village supports us and they will be considered as Party members by the enemy. This way our PMs can merge with the masses and it becomes impossible for the enemy to spot out the Party members from the people. Even if some of our Party comrades are caught many of them will be saved. Hence we should take great care to see that the names of the newly recruited comrades may not leak out to the people. You are aware of the dangers we are facing on account of the exposure of the names of our party organisers and squad members. The necessity of keeping at least the names of new recruited comrades secret is being greatly felt when the question of village squads is coming before us.

#### **Courier System**

Improper way of courier system prevails in our areas. There are no regular fixed couriers to carry news from one area committee to the other and to exchange information. As a result comrades are using whoever is found at the spot as couriers. As such couriers do not know the particulars, they are reaching the given place only with great difficulty and are enquiring from many people and getting arrested.

This is extremely harmful. Names of the organisers are being leaked out to the people first and then to the enemy. We have to put a stop to this. A fixed regular courier should be used. We have to give him the necessary training and equip him. Proper places should be fixed where letters, leaflets and literature can be kept. The concerned couriers should go and bring the things. That is to say, these places should become mediums of exchange. The owners of the places should be well instructed as to how they should maintain secrecy. The couriers should wear the usual dress of the common people and go along the routes as normal travellers.

For fixing couriers carrying Party documents and organisational reports, their previous history should be known and they should be bold and be able to withstand torture.

We have to take the necessary precautions when couriers do not turn up at the given timings.

### **The Changes That Have to be Brought About in the Methods of Guerilla Struggle**

Owing to the pressure of unavoidable circumstances our squads reduced their strength but they still continue the armed struggle in the same old way.

Moving about at day time in their usual dress, prolonged pitched battles with the enemy at day time (in the sense of guerilla tactics) getting food at day time from villages, the couriers reaching the place of guerilla squads enquiring from various persons on the route, and other such harmful methods are still being continued by our guerilla squads in the same old way.

Though harm was caused because of these methods even during the anti-Nizam struggle period, yet the Nizam was unable to annihilate our squads as he was completely isolated from the people.

But if the same methods are pursued in these days, the plan of the enemy will succeed.

Today the task on our shoulders is to carry forward the armed struggle while safeguarding our guerilla squads-the very heart of the armed struggle- and the leadership that has attained good experience and been equipped with good training.

The present task that we have to accomplish is to safeguard the flame that has been lit by the valiant Telangana heroes by shedding their blood in our revolutionary movement-and-enable the masses in other parts of the State and all over India to take the revolutionary path shown by Telangana.

To fulfill it a comprehensive plan has to be drawn up for the continuance of the long term struggle. In order to end it in success the old methods of struggle have to be completely changed.

The provincial committee made serious efforts to set right the primary defects in the methods of struggle that existed even during the period of anti-Nizam struggle. But it has only succeeded in reducing the strength of the squads, and could not bring about any primary changes.

Now all the evil consequences of our defects have come to the top very clearly.

In order to give effect to the new guerilla methods, a complete change is required regarding the wrong conception of struggle that existed hitherto.

Some persons may argue that there is no meaning in working amongst the people without their knowledge when the guerilla struggle itself is based upon the support of the masses.

They may also argue as to how it would be called a guerilla squad when the members do not move about in military dress, with arms on their shoulders, making a demonstration of the weapons, and also how a squad could work without at least ten members.

Such Publicity is not necessary and it is rather harmful for all the people to come to know of these whereabouts. It is enough if details concerning the incident are known only to the persons concerned.

It is not necessary for the guerilla squads to wear good clothes and move about with rifles on their shoulders. It is also not necessary that the number of squads should be either 10 or 15 to 20. According to the necessity the strength of the guerilla squad may vary from 3 to 11.

Guerilla activities should be conducted mainly basing on the stage of the movement geographical factors and the strength of the enemy forces. By this you may hasten to conclude that what we are dealing so far is not with guerilla squads and guerilla struggle but sabotage squads and sabotage activities. Such an assertion is completely wrong. This argument, that, as the guerilla struggle is dependent on the support of the people, they should know everything about the guerilla activities is equivalent to saying that, as our Party, is a mass Party, masses should know every organisational and tech affair of the Party.

Let us now examine what Com. Mao, the great expert in guerilla war strategy, has said. In this connection you are warned of one thing.

In his book on guerilla war, Mao has also dealt about battalions and divisions which consist of hundreds and thousands. Reading Mao's view on these big divisions and battalions you may hasten to argue as to why we are objecting even to guerilla squads of 15 or 20. When Mao is talking of big divisions, comrades while reading his book on "guerilla warfare" should not forget that Mao has applied the principles of guerilla struggle to the conditions then existing in the phase of anti-Japanese struggle in 1943. While studying his book we should bear in mind these two important factors. The first was that except Chiang brothers and a few handful of national traitors, none else joined the enemy, i.e. Japan. Only the support of these handful of traitors was with Japan but the whole nation was waging war against it. The second was that there were two parts of anti-Jap struggle: one was the positional and mobile war of Communists, and Chiang's regular forces and the other was in addition to the regular forces, communist led guerilla war conducted as auxiliary to the main regular forces.

It is absurd to copy and apply word for word what Mao has said in his book without regard to the elementary stage of the movement which we are in today and which we are leading in the period of civil war between working class and the capitalists and in a restricted territory.

Just as Mao has skillfully applied the basic principles of guerilla struggle to the conditions then existing in the phase of anti-Japanese struggle, we have to apply them in the conditions facing us today. It is not the intention of this letter to deal in details either all the principles of guerilla war or to review the old methods of our struggle. But this work will be done afterwards basing on the help of the valuable experience which you have gained in the struggle. Moreover it is also necessary to acquaint our fellow fighters in other parts with our immensely valuable rich experience.

In this letter, we are dealing with the principles of guerilla war only to the extent necessary so as to enable you to pursue the new methods discarding the old.

Mao, dealing with the principles of guerilla warfare, said, "The tactics of the guerilla struggle should be based on the following principles: initiative, ability, planning and attack...directive complied with" (Aspects of Anti-Jap struggle, p.4).

In another place, referring to the nature of guerilla warfare, Mao writes "When engaged in guerilla warfare these units are like flies biting at a giant now here and now there, wearing him down so that he is forced to admit that they are detestable, formidable, and even unmanageable devils. When these tiny creatures grow up into a giant, the former giant will not mere feel weakened but would be confronted with fatal dangers".

The substance of these principles of guerilla warfare is as follows:-

1) Guerilla struggle should be based on the support of the people. Majority of the people in a given place should either directly or indirectly support and render help to the guerilla struggle.

2) The principles of the guerilla war should be applied to the existing conditions at a given place; and, in accordance with the topography, and the strength of the enemy forces and the guerilla forces, the organisational methods of the guerilla struggle should be determined.

3) In every guerilla struggle sudden attacks should be inflicted and all the necessary arrangements should be made previously to escape in case of finding it impossible to destroy the enemy. Every small mistake in doing this, will cause great harm. So we should be very careful. This way we have to hunt down the enemy and weaken him by inflicting immeasurable attacks, and drive him to despair.

Such is the substance of the principles of the guerilla war.

Now let us see how to apply them to the conditions confronting us.

Today in our villages, landlords and rich peasants constitute 10 to 20% of the population. They have a number of economic and social ties with the poor peasants

especially the middle peasants. Basing on the support of these landlords and rich peasants, enemy is endeavouring hard to put an end to our guerilla squads.

Today, situation is altogether different from which it was before. Rich peasants have joined the enemy and are trying to hand over the squads to the military. In addition to it, these are summer days. Neither a crop nor a bush is there to give us shelter. Everywhere the land is barren. In such grave critical circumstances, if we pursue the same old methods as in the anti-Nizam struggle period, and move openly at day time with good dress and arms hanging on our shoulders and if the food is brought to our places at day time, and if the couriers go along the villages enquiring where the squads have gone, imagine what would happen!

Is it not a fact that even in the Razakar period, when Nizam was completely isolated military forces in hundreds and thousands used to encircle our squads with the slightest leakage of our news by a traitor?

Is it not in the same way that the Karimnagar and Premkunta Ramreddy squads were completely smashed away? Is it not in that very period that such a big Madhira squad of 70 had to narrowly escape with a fatal wound?

If such open methods have caused such high degree of losses, in the Razakar days, when enemy was politically and militarily weak, how much greater and higher will be the losses now when the enemy, the Indian Union, is stronger than the previous enemy?

They can very easily know about our strength and the foundations of our organisation. The enemy forces are well equipped with discipline and modern weapons. They can much more easily encircle our squads.

Reports are reaching that the Indian Police and the Congress Razakars in the dress of the common people are endeavouring hard to encircle our squads and it has also been reported that they are coming to us in female dress so as to catch our organisers.

During the anti-Nizam struggle the Rajakars also once came in the dress of peasants and tried to deceive us.

The present methods we are pursuing will be of great harm to us. Like the regular army battalions we are parading openly at day time with good dress and military pomp. The enemy is using tactics of the people's guerillas where as the people's defence squads are using the enemy's tactics forgetting their own. This is indeed not surprising that we have forgotten to master our tactics.

As the M.S.P. and S.A.P. are not well versed militarily but are masters at beating innocent people and burning the houses, they easily fled away like the previous Razakars when our guerilla squads attacked them. That is why they were withdrawn. But it is very difficult to escape once we fall in the trap of the military which is very well equipped with modern weapons and is well trained.

If we pursue the same old methods, we will not be able to stand at all, our very existence will be at stake. We will be murdering with our own hands the revolutionary Telangana built at the cost of hundreds of lives.

Hence our main task today is not to fall in the trap of the enemy and try to escape. We should see that we may not fall into their hands and should take the necessary precautions for it and forge ahead with armed resistance.

Despite all these precautions we might fall in the hands of the enemy. At such times, we should put up a bold fight against the enemy and as many as possible should try to escape. Of course, we may lose lives. On such occasions, slightest hesitation will cause great harm to the whole squad. It will be smashed down. We are aware of the fate of Com.C.P.Venkat Reddi's squad.

What are the methods we should adopt in order to save the armed guerilla struggle from the enemy and to carry it forward? In order to prevent the enemy from knowing the strength and the basis of the guerilla squads's organisation, in order to prevent the rich peasant from knowing about our matters, about our work, we should reveal these only to the concerned persons and not to each and every one as now.

We should not move openly at day time with good dress, now except on certain occasions when it is found absolutely necessary.

Even at night we should move carefully without the knowledge of others. Whatever things we need should be brought by the concerned persons carefully at nights only. Even food should not come to us at day time.

In order to live as mentioned above, the strength of the squads should be very small. Even 9 is harmful as such a big number cannot easily merge with the masses at day time and apart from this, supply of food and providing other facilities becomes absolutely impossible. That is why the strength of the squads should not exceed five. But then you may ask as to how to combat with the enemy with such a small number. Some comrades are also saying that it is impossible now for the squads with the existing low level of consciousness to combat the enemy in small numbers. But they are forgetting the fact that the guerilla struggle is based on the strong morale of each member. If this chief element is absent, it is impossible to conduct guerilla struggle. It is wrong to underestimate the level of the Telangana guerillas who are heroically fighting since last two years. If we train them in the method of fighting with small numbers, it is very easy for them to learn. It is also incorrect to say that guerilla struggle cannot be conducted with small numbers .If the lightning attack methods are practised; the small-squads can put up a fight with the enemy effectively. Even very small squads of 3,4,5 and 6 can exhaust the enemy by inflicting blows and smartly escape before he raises his gun, causing losses to him.

This way with a careful plan, a number of squads can unitedly launch a attack and inflict effective blows on the enemy. But in the present circumstances we have to concentrate on series of small scale attacks and exhaust the enemy.

In order to make lightning attacks, we have to completely discard the old methods and the implementation of the methods of the enemy i.e. fieldcraft (protection by nature) as it is impossible to defeat him with his own methods.

One or two examples will suffice to show how we are pursuing the methods of the enemy. We are trying to encircle the enemy and stick to pitched battles as the enemy does. It is futile to wage pitched battles with the enemy when the enemy is well equipped with modern weapons, for they can easily defend themselves and not allow us to reach near them. We should suddenly attack when they are in unprepared mood. If the chance is missed we should escape like lightning in no time.

Second example: As the enemy attacks us hiding behind small sand mounds and fences we are copying the same. The enemy is in greater number and therefore if we adopt the same methods as he with his greater number, our fate is unimaginable. The hiding soldiers can prevent us from moving by showering bullets on us from various directions and thus completely put an end to us.

Sand mounds and field fences do not serve our purpose of attacking the enemy when they are in a greater number. Bush of trees, high crops and hillocks and streams render great assistance to us in attacking the enemy when they are in great numbers and in escaping easily if the chance is missed. It is very harmful to combat the enemy in open maidans.

Hence it should be noted that whenever a guerilla squad attacks the enemy or 3 or 4 squads encircle the enemy, pitched battles should never be waged. When the enemy is unawares we should suddenly attack. If the chance is missed we should escape like lightning. As we plan with care to attack the enemy, we should with more care plan for escape. Planning is the most essential thing to be borne in mind.

Discarding the old methods of resistance, if our squads in small numbers inflict a series of sudden attacks on the enemy, while pursuing the new guerilla tactics, the truth of the saying "large number of tiny flies can kill the giant" can be realised.

Comrades! You are acquainted with the old defects of our struggle and the correct basic principles. Understand them thoroughly, apply them along with your experience, to the political and topographical conditions of your areas and march ahead. The following suggestions are being given to help you:-

1. (a) The strength of a central squad should not exceed 5 and not below 3. In the forests and mountains wherever the level of consciousness of the masses is high the strength of the squad can be increased to 7.

In Suryapet area where the level of consciousness of the masses is high but forests and hills are absent, the number of the squad can go upto five.

In such areas as Rayanapet and Palru where the people's movement is weak, the number of the squad should not exceed three.

- (b) All the underground and suspected persons should be mercilessly removed from the central squads. All vacillators should be removed from leadership and strong elements to be placed there. We should see that only such leaders are elected who possess good qualities, i.e., strong morale, unshakeable will at the time of attacks, on the enemy, and they should not exercise bureaucratic power over other members of the squad but must patiently explain.

Every squad should possess one or two modern weapons.

2. (a) Excepting on important occasions these squads should never move during day time.
- (b) They should not wear good clothes but wear people's dress and merge with the people. All of them should not group at one place. They can be at different places but very near each other.
- (c) They should not move with arms hanging on their shoulders.  
Arms should be placed in a safe place nearby so that they can immediately pick them up whenever need arises.
- (d) In these summer days where neither crops nor a tree can provide cover and in such critical days when the enemy is carrying on series of raids, it is neither advisable nor good to stay in the villages; you should live in the outskirts of the villages merging with the people. Necessity will teach you how to live thus. Reports are already received that many of our squads on their own initiative saved themselves from enemy by adopting such life.  
There is no necessity to explain to you as to how to merge with the masses, for it is not necessary to teach a fish how to swim.
- (e) At one place the enemy saw our sentry watching from a high place. The enemy immediately suspected and raided that place. Hence the rule must be observed that the sentry should keep himself engaged in some work as though he is one of the people and thus keep counter-watch. He should see that the attention of the people may not be drawn towards him.
- (f) Don't run when in close quarters of enemy gun; and try to merge with the people. But when there is no way of escape, kill as many of the enemy as possible and then only allow yourselves to be killed.
- (g) Party comrades should get all our food and other requirements to our dwelling places at night only. If it becomes absolutely necessary to bring food at day time, it should be carried in such a way that no one else may suspect that food is being carried. If they are unable to bring food, hunger should be quenched with some other substitutes.
- (h) Good safe places should be fixed so that literature, leaflets, and correspondence can be kept. The fixed courier of the squad should go to that place, pick them up and hand over to this squad. If the squads have to shift to any other place before the arrival of the courier, some alternative place should be fixed so that the courier can safely meet the squad, without having to enquire from passers by about the squad as it is being done today.
- (i) It is absolutely necessary to see that none else except the concerned should know about bringing food and other requirements. It is also very essential not to take rest at day time at known places and to avoid the enemy from knowing the existence of the squad.

### 3) VILLAGE GUERILLA SQUADS should be organised in every village.

There are stalwart youth in every village who are ready to offer themselves for the accomplishment of the Party jobs. They should be at their fields at day time and at nights should go out for squad work.

Efficient and strong persons among them should be picked up and squads of not more than 5 should be formed. None else in the village should come to know them as members of the village squad. They have to carry out their squad work at night time very carefully without letting it be known to others and at day time should be at their fields as usual.

All the other enthusiastic youth of the village should be recruited into the volunteer corps. The village guerilla squads possess shot guns, country loading guns, spears and swords.

One doubt has to be cleared in this connection. Some of us have the impression that except rifle no other weapon serves the purpose. We should note that even today some of the Chinese guerilla squads are having spears and ordinary guns. If correct guerilla methods are adopted properly, good many losses can be inflicted on the enemy while using these primitive weapons. It is on account of the defects in the methods of our guerilla squads today that these weapons are not rendering any effective help.

These weapons may not be useful in waging pitched battles against the enemy. But they can render effective help in inflicting losses in the enemy if we carry on lightning attacks secretly and disappear smartly before the enemy raises his gun.

In order to wear down the enemy by setting up central and local guerilla squads, we have to use all weapons from the tommy gun to the ordinary sword. But if we only depend upon tommy gun and the rifle it will result in reduction of the number of squads and thereby weaken our strength.

The village squads should work under the guidance of the general organiser. The main programme of these squads is destruction of the local enemy, sabotage activity and rendering of assistance to the central guerilla squads whenever it is necessary, etc.

### 4) PROGRAMME OF THE CENTRAL GUERILLA SQUADS.

The programme of the central squad should begin with sun set. The slogan of the guerillas is: "While the enemy rules in the daytime, the guerillas rule at night". Is it not necessary now, as before, to put on half pants and shirts. One lengthy khaki shirt will suffice. Dhoti should be tied up in such a way that the shirt may cover the dhoti. Another small dhoti should be tied round the waist, so that after day break it becomes easy to roll up our arms in the shirt, keep them safe and merge with the people moving as usual. Moreover, "dhotis" should be coloured by constantly dipping in water so as to easily mix with the people and to give better cover at nights.

Another thing that should also be borne in mind is that they should not crop the hair as then they can be easily suspected. So a small pig tail (pilke-juttu) should be kept. Bangles round biceps should be worn.

## Responsibilities of The Central Guerilla Squads

As soon as the sun sets, the guerilla squads should gather around enemy camps, and selecting a suitable moment either a sentry or a sepoy should be finished off. This way a terrible fright should be created in the military fellows for coming out at night from their camps. The programme of destroying the enemy camp as a whole should not be taken up. In this connection it should be noticed that the enemy will try to encircle us by hiding in the surroundings. Hence, always keeping a watch over the enemy, necessary care should taken.

1) The enemy jeep car and lorries should be attacked from hide outs and damage caused to them as much as possible.

2) Enemy property and telegraph communications should be sabotaged.

3) We are very much lagging behind in carrying on propaganda in the military which is very essential. Most of the military men come from agricultural labourers and poor peasants. For the sake of the belly they have joined the military. Political propaganda in the military helps us very much. So in Hindi and Urdu, news of strikes and struggles taking place all over India and the world should be announced microphone standing beind the flow of the air but without appearing before them. The news about their own province will serve the purpose best. It should be explained to them touchingly how the Congress Governments are treating the people and how the people are fighting back facing all hardships and sufferings. An appeal should be made to them to refuse to fire or fire in the air when forced, and to behave as human beings. Arrangements should also be made to distribute leaflets amongst them.

4) The hide-outs in the hills and forests that are helpful to our guerilla struggle should be consolidated and strengthened as defence centres. In summer and in difficult circumstances some central squads may be shifted to these safe places. But the open maidans should never be left completely otherwise the enemy will concentrate there and launch attack on us. The squads should inflict series of attacks in open maidan so as to prevent the enemy from touching our centres and to exhaust him completely.

5) The destruction of the enemy should be carried out very carefully. Only those who consider it their duty to hand us over to the enemy should be finished off mercilessly. But wide propaganda should be done amongst them that we would not touch those who don't reveal anything about the guerilla squads to the enemy. In case of agricultural labourers and poor peasants who are under enemy's influence we should be very careful. They should be severly warned before hand. If they do not give up their treacherous programme they should be finished off. In cases where a danger befalls our squads, the persons responsible for it should be finished off without warning them. Afterwards the people should be explained the causes.

6) It should be noted that the desmukhs who are being reinstated with the support of the Government should be immediately finished off. They should be rooted out with whatever sacrifices required. Allowing their reinstatement means an end of our movement.

7) In the background of the present situation all our guerilla activities should be carried in the light of defending the past revolutionary achievements and the implemented slogans of "Land to the tiller" and "Village panchayats". Wherever the people are robbed of their lands at the point of threat and repression, our squads should concentrate on these places and break the nefarious attempts of the exploiters.

8) It is learnt that the enemy is even using aeroplanes to locate the place of our squads, so we should be careful. If the squads live as mentioned above, enemy cannot know where we stay. If at all any plane appears when we are in dress we should immediately run and hide in the bushes and change the dress.

9) Political leadership should be separated from military leadership, otherwise neither the political propaganda can be conveniently carried out nor the squads can inflict effective blow on the enemy whenever an opportunity arises. Separation helps much to facilitate both.

#### **5) Leaders should be Safeguarded as the Apple of Our Eye**

Whether it is the political leadership or the military leadership, both are very important. They should be safeguarded very carefully because leaders cannot be trained either in a few days or few months. They possess good experience of the movement. Most of the leadership has been arrested. Losing any more of the leadership means great harm to our movement. So they should take great care.

Area committee members should not participate in the raids for the above reasons. Apart from this many comrades have come up from the toiling classes in the revolutionary struggle. Giving them the necessary political training they should be trained up as leaders.

Area organisers and commanders should not participate in the guerilla battles excepting on some important occasions. As far as possible they should remain behind to plan and direct the operations.

All the above mentioned important leaders should carefully follow the technical rules. Their places should not be known to anybody. Through efficient and able couriers they should keep contact with other committees and members. If the couriers do not come back at the appointed time they have to take the necessary precautions.

#### **People's Problems, Their Organisation and the Village Panchayats**

Guerilla struggle is entirely based on the support of the people. Directly or indirectly the people should help it. Only then can it terminate in success. So the people should be organised and mobilised on their own problems, in order to prepare them for the defence of achievements gained by our revolutionary movement. Strike struggles and resistance to Indian Union forces should be organised.

1. Land distribution is the basic foundation for building our revolutionary movement in Telangana (Party circular will come later on many mistakes made in tackling this question). But the enemy is endeavouring hard to destroy our movement. The main intention of our enemy, the Indian Union, is to reinstate the landlords and deshmukhs forcibly taking over the land from the people, and smashing down the guerilla squads. Slightest success of their intentions means great harm to the very foundation stone of our movement. Workers and peasants who have tasted the new life and the land distribution slogan will gird up their loins and come forward to defend their gains so far achieved. They will be ready for any sacrifice. So you should not wait till another circular comes on the land distribution. Wherever possible confiscate and distribute the lands of the deshmukhs and landlords.

2. You should also not wait till the circular comes on the agricultural workers. In accordance with the previous circulars carry on the work, conduct strike battles for the increment of wages, reduction of working hours and leave, etc. They will serve as a good weapon to smash the influence of the rich peasants over the agricultural workers and poor peasants.

3) Debt problem is very severe in our areas. On the strength of the loans advanced by the merchants, the poverty stricken people are being isolated from the toilers and from such sections agents of the rich are some how creeping into the village committees and are breaking our movement from within. To illustrate it there are several such examples. So a watchful eye over them is essential. As for the rate of interest it should be seen that it does not exceed the rate fixed by the village panchayat. Protest strikes and social boycott should be organised against increased rate of interest and against attempts to withhold advancing loans to the needy.

4) The cruel measures of the Indian Union forces that are being implemented to break the morale of the masses should be strongly resisted, otherwise the force of repression will continue like an unbridled horse.

The slightest expression of cowardice on our part at the time of raids will facilitate the enemy in carrying on repression. Not only this, the landlords and rich peasants will be able to hold on to their power and influence with the help of some of the poor and middle peasants, assuring them security from military raids. On such occasions if we run away rich peasants and landlords will be able to safeguard their positions. So it is better for the people that we remain in the villages and gather whatever weapons we can.

A touching appeal should be made to the soldiers saying, "You too come from the poor folks like us, hence do not resort to such mad actions, as they will not bring any good either to you or to your families". No sooner they raise their guns to shoot, the people should escape into by-lanes and hurl stones and brick bats at them.

Women should never be alone at the time of raids. They should stand together with men and defend their honour.

This way if every village rises up and puts up stern resistance, imagine how much military the enemy would require? They wont be able to raid often. Enemy should be weakened with such resistance and our revolutionary movement saved.

Enemy classes should be warned that the military or any other force cannot touch one hair of ours. As soon as the raids are over they should be taught good lessons, and demonstrations and meetings should be held to strengthen the morale of the masses.

At the time of raids village leaders should guide the people from behind through the Party members without falling into the hands of the enemy.

When it is known that the enemy is coming in great numbers, people should run away to the fileds and hillocks and hide behind the bushes. If enemy pursues they should resist with whatever in hand. It should be seen that grain and other valuable material may not fall in the enemy's hands.

### 3. Refuse to pay all kinds of taxes.

4. Mass organisations are absolutely essential to mobilise the masses, otherwise it is impossible to mobilise the people to play their part in the revolutionary movement. So various kinds of mass organisations are needed. Andhra Mahasabha, village panchayats, volunteer squads and agricultural workers unions should function and their functions shall be decided after discussing and analysing the conditions.

### Andhra Mahasabha and village Panchayat Committees

It has been decided that Andhra Mahasabha should be functioned as a People's Democratic Front of all the revolutionary forces that are participating in the democratic revolution; and village panchayat committees should be separated from Andhra Mahasabha and elected on the basis of adult franchise- leaving aside the deshmukhs and landlords- since they act as instruments of the village government. As these are days of severe resistance, and our rule has not yet been established, this separation may look unnatural and cause disgust.

But since the Andhra Mahasabha is going to capture power, at present, the panchayat committee should be the executive body of the Andhra Mahasabha and non members of the Andhra Mahasabha shall not have the right to elect it.

During the anti-Nizam struggle we have given positions to non-Andhra Mahasabha members and to landlords and rich peasants. But today as the rich peasantry has joined the enemy camp as a class, they cannot have any chance to join the Andhra Mahasabha. If there are any individuals who agree with our policy they can be accommodated. Those who agree with the policy of Andhra Mahasabha and give an assurance to implement its programme can be accommodated in the Andhra Mahasabha. But in no case should elements from the enemy classes be offered any seat in the Panchayat Committee.

Agricultural labourers, poor peasants and middle peasants who agree with the policy of Andhra Mahasabha can easily join it. In their meetings alone the Panchayat

Committees should be elected. At places where middle peasants come along with us, one seat can be offered to them. At places where they don't come no seat can be offered to them. As village panchayat committees are instruments of struggles, persons with gossip tendencies amongst them cannot have any seat on it; fighting persons alone are eligible for election.

But then crops up the question that they are elected committees. But, in any case, rich peasants and their agents cannot have any position in the Panchayat Committee.

If there are any left on it at present they should be removed in accordance with the verdict of the people, as they are elected by them. Organisers of their own accord cannot remove them, without exposing them before the people and obtaining their consent for the dismissal. Otherwise they will cheat the masses and create a split in our ranks.

Poor people should be explained how the rich peasants have joined the enemy, and laying bare the disruptive role of the enemy and their agents, they should be necked out from the committees.

2. Agricultural workers should be organised in their own separate class organisation. Then it becomes possible for them to play their prominent role.

3. Youths coming from the agricultural workers should be recruited in the volunteer squads and defence training should be given to them.

### **Political Propaganda And Consamby**

It is not only the military weapon that is being used against us, political weapon is also being used and that is "Consamby". Congress leaders in order to divert the attention of the masses from pursuing the revolutionary path are endeavouring hard to divert the attention of the masses towards Consamby. For all problems, the enemy is putting up Consamby as its solution. We should not underestimate the effect of its influence. There is a possibility of the middle peasant being gripped with the Consamby propaganda. That is why we should be very vigilant. We should lay bare the hoax and game of the Consamby before the masses. It should be brought out clearly before masses as to how a conspiracy is being forged to create illusions amongst the people, by advocating the immediate summoning of the Consamby so as to divert their attention from the revolutionary path, while the Consamby can neither solve the problem of land to the tiller, just living wage to the worker nor any other problem of the people.

Along with it, propaganda regarding the activities of the guerilla squads regarding strikes and peoples struggles that are being carried out throughout the State and all over India, and the achievements of the revolutionary forces the world over, should be carried out in their gatherings in order to create self confidence and strengthen their morale. It should be realised that political propaganda is as much important as the rifle for the defence of our revolutionary movement.

Every organiser of units and village panchayat committees should try to get Andhra Prabha and Andhra Patrika apart from our Party papers and carry on propaganda linking up with its news.

## **The Tactics of Guerilla Struggle Should Be Applied Concretely To Various Parts**

Comrades, the level of our revolutionary movement is not uniform, it varies from place to place. In addition, the topographic conditions too are different. In some parts there are forests and hills and in some other parts there are no such natural resources to help. Linking up topographic conditions with the level of consciousness and the stage of the movement and taking into consideration both of them, our guerilla areas can be divided into three sectors:

1) The parts in which our movement has gained strong bases in the revolutionary classes, i.e. agricultural labourers and poor peasants. In these places, "Land distribution" and demands of the agricultural workers etc., were attained by waging struggles against the landlords and also the rich peasants, apart from the mighty struggle against Nizam- Suryapet area and Rekalu areas in the Nalgonda district come under this category.

2) The parts in which masses greatly participated and "land distribution" was carried on a large scale; but no systematic battles of the agricultural workers were waged against the rich peasants. In these parts though there is great influence amongst the poor peasants and agricultural workers yet the movement has not gone deep into them and no stable base has been created amongst them. Bhongir, Mankoda, Huzzurnagar and Palvancha, etc., come under this category.

3) In these parts neither the anti-Nizam struggle nor land distribution was carried out satisfactorily. In these parts not only the movement is very weak amongst the poor peasants and agricultural workers, but guerilla struggle and land distribution programme were not properly given effect to.

The responsible comrades of the above referred three areas should respectively work out the new tactics of guerilla struggle applied concretely to the conditions of their places and carry ahead the revolutionary movement.

### **Minimum Principles of Secrecy that are to be Observed Strictly by the Party Members And the People**

If the new principles of secrecy of the guerilla struggle have to be put into practice, Party members and the people should at least observe some minimum rules of secrecy. They should be explained and should be made to realise the necessity of observing these rules of secrecy.

1. They should give up gossiping and chattering. If any body sees the organiser or the squad he should not reveal it to others.

2. Those who carry food or any other thing to the squads and organisers should do their jobs in such a way that no one else comes to know the job he is doing.

3. In the presence of the enemies and their agents people of one village should not talk to the party comrades of the other villages.

4. They should always keep a watchful eye over the enemy circles and give information about their activities to the village members.

5. No one should ask comrades who come to him about anything else than what he is strictly concerned with, and no one should make any attempt to know more.

6. Enemy agents and swines may come to the villages and enquire about particular comrades through some deceptive talk. They should not therefore tell anything to persons whom they do not know.

### **A Warning!**

Comrades, before ending this document we have to warn you about one thing. So far our movement rolled on old rails. We have now to put it on new rails. But it is a hard job and we have to face very many difficulties. The guerilla struggle may temporarily slacken but you should not get disgusted. Enemy raids have been intensified. We did not change our tactics following the police action. After four months enemy has now intensified its attacks. We are in the middle of an ocean of repression and in these critical circumstances we have to change our policy and methods of struggle. Indeed it is a stupendous task! Any way we have to accomplish it. This has become absolutely necessary to safeguard our movement.

In this Government, only the basic and primary principles of the new guerilla methods are dealt with. Digest them thoroughly, analyse the conditions of your respective places and apply these principles to them.

With this and learning from your practice, solve the problems facing you with self initiative and march ahead.

### **Conclusion**

Comrades! You have assumed the leadership of the heroic revolutionary Telangana masses, established village panchayat in 2500 villages with a population of 25 lakhs after destroying the Nizam and the Razakars forces. Since last four months you are heroically fighting against the onslaught of the Indian Union forces and the Congress Razakars and are defending your revolutionary achievements through sacrificing number of lives.

Today the Congress leadership is concentrating all its military might and is raising military camps in every village. It is making hard efforts to crush our movement by drowning it in streams of blood.

The attacks of the Indian bourgeoisie on revolutionary heroic Telangana does not signify its strength, but its weakness. It is writhing hard in the grip of the capitalist crisis that is intensifying every day. Indian masses are facing acute problems of bread, cloth and unemployment, which the bourgeoisie is not able to solve.

It is getting panicky seeing the mighty workers' strikes, kisan and student struggles and the sweeping tide of great people's upsurge.

It is terribly afraid of even these small scale battles because they may very soon link up and turn into a gigantic mass wave of upsurge which will root it out and its power.

Not only this, world capitalism is on its death bed. Under the leadership of the Soviet Union, the people all over the world are making hard efforts to drive world capitalist system into its death pit. A big mighty strike wave of the working class is bursting throughout the world.

In Western countries, France, Italy and Germany mighty working class strikes are taking place. In the East, the powerful revolutionary upsurge of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is sweeping off the age-long deep rooted exploiting oppressive imperialism. The fate of the Western imperialist powers is also being shared by their agents Chiang, etc.

The Congress Government is deeply panic stricken at the rising tide of revolutionary upsurge that is sweeping off the exploiting classes in China, Indonesia, Indochina, Burma and Malaya and is very much frightened of its entry into India crossing the Himalaya mountains.

That is why it is concentrating all its might and falling on Telangana to annihilate it before the Indian masses take to the revolutionary path shown by the heroic people of Telangana. The Indian masses have heard the bugle of the war of liberation blown by heroic Telangana and have awakened. They have seen the revolutionary flame lit by Telangana. They are hastening to clutch the revolutionary banner upheld by Telangana. Carry forward the armed struggle firmly. None can crush down the valiant, gallant new Telangana born out of the great sacrifices of the oppressed, and built up with the blood and flesh of a great many toiling youth and washed by the torrential tears of Telangana mothers.

Final victory is ours! Reorganise the Party entirely on secret lines! Safeguard the squads and its members as the apple of your eye! Impart guerilla training to all the toiling youth! Exhaust and destroy enemy with new guerilla tactics! Mobilise the oppressed masses and defend the land and village raj! Unmask the game of consambly and never allow your mind to waver! Forge the democratic front of all toilers and oppressed and end the power of the exploiters!



# WHY THIS NOTE

## (3P's Letter-1950)

WE ARE SUBMITTING this note to the Central Committee of our party requesting them to circulate it in the ranks. It contains our views on the present political line and organisational decisions of the C.C.

As can be seen from the Note, we are in basic disagreement with the present line of the C.C. as formulated in the various C.C. documents and also with the organisational methods adopted by the C.C. We are of the opinion that the new line is only a variant of the same old line that worked havoc for 2 years and a half and brought the party to the verge of disaster, that it is a line based on complete distortion of the Cominform Editorial of January 27, that it is a line of liquidation of the party. Further, that not merely in its political policies but also in its organisational methods, the new C.C. is pursuing the same old path as before bureaucratic "re-organisation" of Committees, taking in only those who agree with its present bankrupt policies and asking those who do not agree with them to "stand aside".

The new C.C. has issued many documents till now. There is not, however, a single document in which any attempt has been made to make an analysis of the actual situation in the country, an analysis which is obligatory for a Marxist Party for working out a tactical line. Lenin taught us that the most characteristic feature of petty-bourgeois revolutionism is the failure to make "a strictly objective estimate of the class forces and their inter-relation before undertaking any political action".

Lenin speaks of "any political action", our C.C., however, works out a whole political line without any reference to the actual situation in the country, the state of the mass movement and our relation to that movement.

Secondly, the party documents give no idea of the state of the party, its strength, its influence, its mobilising and striking power vis-a-vis the other parties, its present links with the masses.

Thirdly, there is no mass policy in relation to any concrete issue facing our people.

Fourthly, the C.C. documents ignore the specific tasks set before us by the Cominform Editorial of January 27 and work out a line which is a distortion of that Editorial.

The C.C. documents, therefore, not only do not help to solve the present inner-party crisis. They do not even form the basis for fruitful discussion.

The old leadership talked about the "Russian Way", the new leadership talks about "Chinese way". The old leadership talked about "revolutionary upsurge", the new leadership talks about "civil-war". The old leadership drew parallels with

Russia in the years of Revolution, the new leadreship draws parallels with china after 1927. Neither bothered to understand and analyse the situation in our own country. Referring to a certain type of "leaders", Com. Stalin in his "COMMENTS ON THE CURRENT AFFAIRS IN CHINA" said:

"They do not understand that the main task of leadreship at the present time, when Communist parties have already grown up and become mass parties, consists in finding out, mastering and skilfully combining the national peculiarities of the movement in each country, with the general principles of the Comintern in order to further, and carry out in practice the basic objective of the Communist movement.

"From this follows the attempt to stereotype the leadership of all countries. From this follows the attempt to apply mechanically certain general formulas regardless of the concrete conditions of the revolutionary movement in each country. From this follows the endless conflict between formulas and the revolutionary movement in each country, which is the essential outcome of the leadership of these unfortunate leaders.

**"Concrete conditions of the revolutionary movement" in our country** this is precisely what was ignored by the old P.B. Demagogry, exaggeration and even blatant lies took the place of analysis. Inevitably, what followed was a line of self satisfied sectarianism and blind adventurism. Same is being done again. This in brief is our criticism of the present line of the CC-a criticism which we have tried to elaborate in the following pages.

Today, led by the U.S.S.R. and the Great Stalin, the democratic camp is scoring new victories everywhere. The mighty movement for peace gathers momentum every day.

As a result of this development, the desperation of the imperialist war-mongers has grown and today not merely war of aggression is raging on Korean soil but the menace of world war has grown as at no period during the last 5 years. In such a period, our party remains in a state of a analysis is unable to unify the people and even its own ranks. There could be no greater shame than this, no worse betrayal of our people and of the world democratic movement.

It is the task of each one of us to strain every nerve to end the present crisis in our party and this Note we are placing before the CC and the ranks to point out where in our opinion the root of the crisis lies.

It can be seen that the Note is mainly critical. It is not a political Thesis. We have not tried to work out a new tactical line. We have only indicated broadly what the basis of such a line should be.

We have not made any specific proposal about the enquiry regarding the penetration of Tito agents into the party because the CC has already appointed a Commission. The questionnaire prepared by the CC however seems to indicate that the proposed enquiry will be of a formal nature. We want to stress the need for a real searching enquiry and the careful checking up of the record of all comrades especially those in leading committees and in the Tech. Apparatus of the party.

While we have no direct evidence, we think it inconceivable that all the disastrous policies of the last 2 1/2 years could be just due to "mistakes". It could not be that the imperialists, while planting their agents in every party, paid no attention to India, which occupies such a vital position in present-day world.

#### A NOTE ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN OUR PARTY

EVENTS of the last three years have completely exposed the real nature of the independence that India won as the result of the compromise between British imperialism and the National Congress. Both in its foreign and in its national policies, the Nehru Government has pursued the path of open subservience to the Anglo-American imperialists and the reactionary vested interests. It has become increasingly clear to all progressive elements, to millions and millions of our countrymen that the so-called freedom has changed nothing, that conditions have worsened every day, that Congress has violated every pledge that it gave to the people.

Famine stalks the land. Starvation deaths are being reported from every part of the country. Rations have been cut in several provinces into a level less than half of what is considered absolutely essential to keep a man in normal health. Prices have reached a height which makes it impossible for the common man to satisfy even his most elementary needs. Unemployment is growing fast all over the country. The procurement plans of the Government and its bogus zemindari abolition measures have imposed fresh burdens on the peasantry. The Government's "Land reforms" which leave feudalism intact and even reinforce it, its shameful deal with the princes in the name of merger and integration, its outrageous concessions to the capitalists on the plea of stimulating production, its bartering a way of India's sovereignty in various deals with foreign monopoly interests, its support to Anglo American imperialists on all major issues before the UNO and especially on the issue of Korea, its refusal to form linguistic provinces, its resort to lathi charges, bullets and imprisonment without trial-all these are fast destroying illusions about its "national" and "progressive" character and ranging increasing sections of people against it. The utter fiasco of the Independence Day celebrations this year-August 15-the poor gathering at meetings the bitter comments made even in bourgeois papers who described these three years as years of broken pledges, of popular disillusionment and frustration, show the extent to which the isolation of the Government has reached.

Out these intolerable conditions and in the background of the growing disillusionment of the people, has grown mass opposition to the present government and its policies. Innumerable strikes in all industrial centres, many of them fought with dogged determination for weeks together, strikes of teachers, clerks, employees of banks and commercial firms, peasant marches, peasant struggles rising to the level of uprising in Telengana, big student demonstrations many of which developed into militant clashes with the police, food riots, disintegration inside the congress resulting in the formation of rival organisations in U.P. and several other places,

defeats suffered by the congress in the Calcutta bye election and in the bye elections in Bombay province and recently in Cochin - Travancore- such are some indications of this process. International developments the growing might of the Soviet Union and the successful building of a new life in the people's Democracies, the Heroic struggle of the people's of Vietnam and above all, the great victories of the Chinese people-are exercising profound influence on our people and helping the process of mass radicalisation. With their own eyes they see that while war-shattered China is under the people's Democratic Government, stamping out the blackmarket and restore her economy, while North Korea, in an incredibly short time, built a new her economy and acquired the strength which has amazed the whole world India, which did not suffer even a fraction of the damage suffered by these countries in the war, is unable to restore even her pre war production and is in the throes of crisis, unemployment and mass starvation. The Contrast between the two worlds, between the two systems, standing out sharper and clearer everyday, is a tremendous revolutionising factor in our present situation.

The fast deepening agrarian crisis, further accentuated by the measures and policies of the Government have led to the numerous peasant actions all over the country. As com. Balabushovich notes:

“The active struggle of the peasantry, passing over to an uprising in places and headed by the working class, against all survivals of feudalism and against the bourgeois -landlord Governments of India and Pakistan- which are attempting to preserve them- is the most characteristic feature of the new stage and as such it can be termed as an agrarian stage with complete justification. (“**NEW STAGE IN INDIA'S LIBERATION STRUGGLE**”, p.p.h., p.46)

Despite the hold of Gandhian traditions and despite the still considerable influence of the congress among them, especially among the rich and middle peasants, the peasants are rapidly realising that they have been betrayed by the present Government and are moving into action. against the landlords, money lenders and the police. This struggle, reaching the level of uprising in Telengana and various forms of armed struggle in Andhra and Hajang areas (East Pakistan) open up new prospects before the Indian revolutionary movement and indicate the path along which it has to develop.

“Events in Telengana”, as comrade Balabushovich says, “are the most striking instance of the revolutionary struggle for land and democracy and constitute the first attempt at creating people's Democracy in India. And although the attempt is limited in its scale and character, it has indisputably tremendous importance for the further development and intensification of the democratic movement both in India and in Pakistan. The struggle in Telengana is the harbinger of the agrarian revolution and constitutes the most important content of the present stage of the national liberation struggle in India”.

Telengana brings out in bold relief that our Revolution is a people's Democratic Revolution in a colonial country, that its aim is the destruction of the imperialist

feudal regime and the establishment of a people's Democratic State, that it can be led only by the working class and its party, and that the Revolution must develop along the path of the **protracted armed struggle**, combined with the democratic reforms in agrarian relation brought about by the action of the peasant masses. And the very fact that Telengana has withstood all the attacks made by the Government, which has concentrated enormous forces to crush it, shows beyond all doubt, the tremendous vitality of the movement its immense potentialities and striking power, it spread over in more and more areas and combined with actions of other classes, especially the working class.

### **WEAKNESS OF THE POPULAR MOVEMENT**

**DESPITE ALL THIS**, it must be recognised that one of the characteristic features of the present situation in India is that the **growth of the mass movement has not kept pace with the growth of discontent with and opposition to the Government** and its policies. The movement bears an extremely unorganised and uneven character. While armed struggle is being waged in Telengana, and armed struggle is being developed in Andhra and in the Hajang areas of Eastern Pakistan, in the greater part of the country, there are practically no peasant unions and there is no peasant movement, even of the most elementary type. Same is the truth about the strike movement, about the student movement, about the people's movement in general. Very few big political strikes have taken place during the last two years. Even as regards mass, economic strikes, the Socialist led strike of 2,40,000 textile workers of Bombay is the first of its type in a big industrial centre.

Despite the tremendous discontent against the Nehru Government's foreign policy and the ever growing meance of war, the peace movement remains a movement confined mainly to the following of the Communist party and the mass organisations led by it, less than 300,000 signatures have been collected to the Stockholm Appeal and American films showing the bombardment of Korean cities and villages are being screened with impunity everywhere. The tremendous possibilities created by the international and national events of the last two years for developing a powerful countrywide mass movement against the Government have not materialised. The mass movement, taking the country as a whole, remains at a low level.

India described by comrade Stalin in 1924, as one of the weakest links in the chain of imperialism remains under imperialist rule, while the chain is being broken in adjoining countries.

This weakness of the popular movement is due primarily to the **disunity that prevails in the ranks of the popular forces**. While the spontaneous unity forged in many actions-the Gwalior student demonstration and the present mass strike in Bombay are two recent examples-has shown the mass urge for unity and the great possibility for such unity, the firm political and organisational links that alone could have put the unity movement on solid basis have not been forged. The movement for linguistic provinces, which drew in large masses of Congressmen,

the agrarian struggles for land reform, against evictions, and against the Government's procurement policies, the strike movements of workers and students-all have remained on **parallel rails** and have not been converged into one single mighty torrent, into a common movement for freedom and democracy. Due to this, not merely the popular movement as a whole has not developed to the pitch to which it could have been developed, but the movement of each class and section has remained weak.

The strength of the present Government lies not merely in the influence of the congress, which though still considerable is rapidly weakening but, above all, in the **disunity of the forces opposed to it**. There is no unity among Left parties, there is hardly any contact between the Left parties on the one hand and the progressive forces that are breaking away from the congress on the other, dissensions reign in the ranks of the students (the A.I.S.F. had a membership of only 80,000 while participants in student actions numbered two millions according to A.I.S.F. Report-we do not know the present membership figures:) mass Kisan Sabhas, uniting the peasant masses, exist in very few places. Worst of all, the working class itself is split (apart from the INTUC) in three all India -organisations and in rival trade unions in practically every trade union centre. Disunity brought about not merely by direct Government agencies like the INTUC but also and increasingly by the disruptive tactics of the Socialist party, is the basic reason for the present state of our national liberation movement-its uneven character, its narrow sweep, its low level, taking the country as a whole. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that without overcoming this disunity, without forging the unity of the fighting masses-not a passive formal unity but unity for struggle, unity for action-it will be impossible for the people to march forward and overthrow their hated enemies.

Such a unity could be built only by the working class and under the leadership of the Communist party. And the basic failure of the party has been the failure to build this unity despite the tremendously favourable national and international situation, and develop, under working class leadership, a united powerful mass movement for the overthrow of the present imperialist-feudal order. The party has failed to give form and direction to the growing mass discontent against the Government; it has failed to unify the numerous anti Government struggles into one single broad stream it has failed to build up mass organisations by correct leadership of the masses: above all, it has failed to itself grow into a mass party by fulfilling these tasks. Thanks to these failures, the swing away from the congress, has not meant a swing towards the party; on the contrary it is other parties, especially the socialist party and Congress factions that have utilised the mass discontent for strengthening their own position. It will be possible for us to rectify the mistakes of the last 2 1/2 years only if this **basic failure** is recognised the full extent of damage done by it is assessed and the root causes are laid bare.

It is recognised by all today that whereas reformism and subservience to the bourgeoisie characterised our slogans and policies in the earlier period and caused

the havoc described in the Report on Reformism adopted by the second party congress, the party, since that congress and especially since December, 1948, swund to the other extreme and pursued Left sectarian and adventurist policies which not merely prevented us from building a broad mass movement against the Government and leading it, but isolated us even from our own class, the working class, smashed up it, but isolated us even from our own class, the working class, smashed up our movement and our mass organisations, in most provinces, and weakened and disrupted the party itself to an extent unprecedented in our history.

The attempt made by the old P.B. to make out that everything was going on well, that the party was on the way to become the leader of the masses, that the party itself, instead of getting weaker and weaker, was becoming more and more "steeled" and "Bolshevised" stands revealed today as a dishonest attempt, as a foul deception, as a piece of deliberate cheating of the loyal and trusting ranks by the leadership.

### THE CRISIS IN OUR PARTY

HOW SERIOUS the damage caused by the Left sectarian and adventurist policies of the last 2 1/2 years has been, it is difficult to assess fully in the absence of an authoritative report issued by the party Centre. Certain facts, however, which are known to all, give a rough idea.

Party membership as fallen from nearly a hundred thousand to barely 20,000. The damage has been the most serious in the industrial cities and areas where the main strength of the party lay. In Tamilnadu in Madras Province) formerly our strongest proletarian base, the party membership is estimated to have gone down from 5,000 to 200. In Bombay, the G.K.U (Textile Workers union) is today controlled and run by workers who have gone out of the party. In Cawnpore, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Delhi, Dhulia, Amalner in fact, in all working class centres, bulk of party Members have either gone out of the party or are inactive.

The Trade Unions led by the party are in a state of complete paralysis and stagnation. The real membership of the AITUC to day is no more than a hundred thousand (though it is officially shown as what it was two years ago, viz. eight hundred thousand). Trade Union membership in Cawnpore, formerly our stronghold, stands to day at 200.B.B & C.I. Union membership has fallen from 12,000 to 3,000. On the railways, where we are the strongest force two years ago, we have hardly any mass Union today and are unable to move the workers into action. Today 2,40,000 textile workers of Bombay are on strike and their strike is being led by the Socialist party-a fact which strikingly reveals the state to which the party has been reduced in the working class. (It must be remembered that ever since 1928, the party has been the undisputed leader of the workers in Bombay and each and every major strike of the textile workers in Bombay was led by the party).

The mass peasant unions which the party led, have been practically wiped out, except, in certain small areas in Bihar, Bengal and U.P. except in Telangana where

the peasant movement has reached the level of uprising the party is not today leading a broad peasant movement anywhere.

(About the form and nature of armed struggle in Andhra and Hajang areas-East Pakistan-we have not yet received any information.).

No real mass papers being conducted by the party today. The has a circulation of only 3,000 while the textile workers alone in this city number 250,000. The state of paralysis and disintegration of the party can be seen in the columns of our papers in the absence of factual reports and news from provinces. The closing down of the "Indo Soviet Journal", the poor number of the "Soviet Bhoomi" sold here, the absence of mass literature produced by us on current national and international issues, despite the tremendous demand for such literature, are indications of the state of the party, of our isolation from the people.

Despite the general and widespread sympathy for the Korean people in their struggle for liberation, and despite the general hatred against the American imperialists and opposition to the Indian Government's policy on the issue of Korea, we have not been able to run a mass campaign or organise even one big demonstration anywhere in India.

The character and scope of our peace Movement can be seen from the fact that the all national target for the collection of signatures is only five millions and even of this figure, less than 300,000 have actually been collected. The Letter sent by the W.F.D.Y. to the Student's Federation shows how even on this vital issue we are lagging far behind every other country.

Today with the food crisis reaching alarming proportions and starvation deaths being reported from all provinces, it is the socialists who are organising hunger marches in various parts, the party organisations and by it being hardly in the picture.

Every party document meant for inner party circulation, fails in hands of the police the C.C. Letter was quoted by Government informers and extracts from it given long before most comrades saw it. This together with the repeated exposure of underground centres in many provinces shows the extent to which police agents have penetrated the party.

Such is the condition to which the party has been reduced.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the fate of our national movement for freedom and democracy depends to day on how rapidly the party is able to correct its mistakes, reforges its links with the masses and leads them forward. The open drive of the imperialists towards war, the desperation caused among them by the fiasco of their policies, their plans to use India as their war base, give added importance and urgency to the tasks that the party in India had to fulfill in order to discharge its duties and responsibilities towards the Indian people and the people of the whole world.

It is in this context that the developments in our party since the publication of the article "MIGHTY ADVANCE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION

MOVEMENT IN COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES" (January 27, 1950) in the Cominform Journal have to be studied and understood.

The article unleashed a veritable storm inside the party. The old party leadership. Which has pursued Left sectarian and adventurist policies for over two years and established a terror regime inside the party, disbanding committees, suspending and expelling comrades who dared to criticise them on any issue, came in for sharp criticism from the comrades in all provinces. The leadership first tried to minimise the mistakes and crimes it had committed and afterwards, when that proved impossible, admitted its mistakes only formally, in orders to retain its position and win back the confidence of the party ranks which it had abused for full two years and brought the party to the verge of disaster.

So Completely discredited it had been, however so heinous its crimes, including suppression of international documents, that the CC had to be reconstituted, and the main authors of the Left Sectarian policies and Titoite organisational methods removed from the CC.

All these have, however, not solved the inner party crisis which remains as deep as ever is deepening everyday. Torn by dissensions threatened with splits the party stands paralysed at a time when the mass hatred against the Government has reached higher level than ever before, a mighty strike wave is rising and militant clashes in Gwalior, Indore and other centres indicate a period of stormy battles ahead.

The question that inevitably arises is: why is it that the inner party crisis has not yet been resolved, why is it that for full eight months after the publication of the Cominform Editorial the party has been unable to unify the mistakes committed and the way to correct them? why is it that the inner party controversy rages as fiercely as it did eight months ago, paralysing all our mass work and reducing us to a state of utter passivity and impotence?

The reason is that in the opinion of many comrades all over the country, the new central committee has failed to understand the meaning of the cominform article, failed to understand the significance of the **immediate and special tasks** placed before our party in that article, failed to understand the real nature of the mistakes committed by the party during the last 2 1/2 years and is, therefore, in practice, pursuing the same policies of Left Sectarianism and adventurism, that worked havoc. Further that the organisational measures taking by the C.C. the "re-constitution" of the C.C. With the inclusion of only those who "unreservedly accept" the interpretation of Cominform article given in the C.C. letter, the formation of provincial organising Committees on the same bases, the decision to call a plenum only of the "re-constituted" C.C. Members and of comrades elected by these very organising committees will only intensify the crisis in the party intensify discussions and differences, prevent the hammering out of a correct line and the evolving of a leadership enjoying the confidence of the ranks and able to unify and lead them. The differences are, therefore, basically political though they are inevitably linked with organisational issues as well.

Before dealing with these differences, it is necessary to state the main points on which there is agreement in party ranks. All comrades today agree:

1. THAT our Revolution is a people's Democratic Revolution, with agrarian revolution as its axis, with its tasks basically of a national liberationist character and with imperialism and its collaborators feudalism and the big bourgeoisie as the enemy;
2. THAT this Revolution has to be led by the working class and its party, which has to form a broad United Front of all anti imperialist classes, including the national bourgeoisie and with working class peasant unity as its main base;
3. THAT the Revolution will develop along the path of China, along the path of protracted armed struggle, leading to the formation of liberated areas and the creation of a powerful people's Liberation Army to smash imperialist rule and progressively liberate the whole country.

Despite unanimity on these basic and vital points, there is no unanimity however on the **immediate tactical line** that the party has to pursue on what the **immediate tasks of the party** are and how they are to be carried out. The documents issued by the C.C. (1) The C.C. Letter to the Ranks (June 1st); (2) The Report on Left Deviation Inside the CPI; and (3) Organisational Report of the C.C. give the CC's understanding of the CC's understanding of the Cominform article, its estimation of the present situation in the country, its understanding of the mistakes committed by the party in the last two years and its tactics and slogans for the present period. With all these, we are in basic disagreement and we are firmly of the opinion that the new line will not only not help to take the party forward, but will further weaken it and smash it up completely. We shall, in this note, anytempt to indicate our differences with the present CC in broad outline. For this, we shall base ourselves primarily on show there CC documents mentioned above.

The cominform Editorial of January 27 has formulated the situation in India and the tasks of the Indian Communists in the following words:

"The mass movement of the peoples of the colonies and semicolonies that unfolded after the war and developed into an armed struggle forced the British imperialists to make a tactical retreat. A sham independence was bestowed on India. But the interests of British imperialism remain 'Sacred and inviolable'. The Mountabattens have departed but British imperialism remains and ocotupus like grips India in its bloody tentacles.

"In these conditions, the task of the Indian Communists, drawing on the experience of the national liberation struggle in China and other countries is naturally to strengthen the alliance of the working class with all the peasantry, to fight for the introduction of the urgently needed agrarian reform and on the basis of the common struggle for freedom and national independence of the country, against the Anglo American imperialists oppressing it and against the reactionary big bourgeoisie and

feudal princes collaborating with them to unite all classes, parties, groups and organisations willing to defend the national freedom and independence of India.

We hold that the formulations made here are clear cut and specific and that, if the C.C. had read the lines carefully and not tried to read **between** the lines as it has done, the inner party crisis would have been resolved long ago and the party set on correct rails.

### SECTARIANISM PRESISTS

WHILE THE OLD P.B. read in the Editorial a complete justification exists Left Sectarian policies (Document No. 14) and ignored the tasks placed before us the strengthening of the alliance between workers and all peasants, the fighting for agrarian reform and the building of a Broad United Front of all anti imperialist classes, parties and sections the new C.C reads in it a complete vindication of the Andhra Documents of 1948 with its main formulation about civil war and its main emphasis on armed struggle and ignores the very tasks which the old P.B also ignored. It argues that armed struggle in the form of guerilla war will **itself be the main weapon**, in the present stage, in every part of the country to build workers 'peasants' unity, to build the democratic unity of the people and to build a mass Communist party, for establishing proletarian hegemony. Although we fully recognise the immense service to the party rendered by the Andhra comrades, who were the first to point out the basic mistakes of the political thesis, adopted by the Second party congress and who developed and led the Telengana battle against overwhelming odds, we do not agree with their interpretation of the Cominform article, with their estimation of the present situation in India and with the tactical line proposed by them and accepted by the CC.

The first question is: who are the allies and who are the enemies of the proletariat in the people's Democratic Revolution.

The CC Letter says: In building the United National Front, several points have to be kept in mind, viz. The basis of the Front is the alliance of the workers and the toiling peasantry under the leadership of the working class. ("our underline")

It should be noted that the Cominform article stresses the task of strengthening the alliance with "all the peasantry," Further, Com., Mao in his article on "Dictatorship of people's Democracy" speaks of the "Dictatorship of the people's Democracy headed by the working class and **based on the alliance of workers and peasants**... In the same article, Mao says: "chiefly the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, for it constitutes 80 to 90 per cent of the Chinese population, constitutes the basis of the dictatorship of people's Democracy".

One of the basic causes of the mistakes of the old PB lay in its refusal to take into account the concrete conditions of the revolutionary movement in our own country a task absolutely imperative for a serious revolutionary party for working out the tactical line. It refused to make a concrete analysis of the political situation, of the correlation of class forces, of the stage of mass consciousness, of our own strength and influence vis-a-vis the reactionary and reformist forces. It was guilty

of gross subjectivism, of substitution wish for fact, of over estimation and exaggeration of the degree of radicalisation of the masses, of the extent of isolation of reformists. From the indisputable and visible fact that the mass of people were getting disillusioned with the congress, it drew the conclusion that the disillusionment was already complete and that the masses were merely waiting for "a bold lead" from the party to advance for the forcible overthrow of the Government. Its whole "tactical line", based on this ridiculous and false understanding, became one of issuing "calls for action" and initiation of militant action by the vanguard, mainly party cadres and supporters, to move the masses into action.

On the one hand, we over estimated the maturity of the situation and the degree of revolutionisation of the masses and indulged in adventurist action with the aim of "setting an example" before the people on the other, we underestimated the fighting capacity of the masses, of the possibility of moving them into action for their own concrete demands and of building the unity of the people through such action. We over estimated the strength of the enemy of the extent of "white terror" in the country as a whole, under estimated the volume of democratic opinion in the country and in practice adopted the defeatist "theory" of the inevitability of fascism, of the impossibility of winning day to day demands in face of "white terror" and in the midst of the economic crisis. The result was that on the one hand we issued extreme radical slogans and engaged in frontal clashes with the police in the hope of galvanising the masses; on the other, we followed a line of opportunist passivity in relation to the concrete issues facing the people-peace, Civil Liberties, housing, refugee rehabilitation, high prices, exorbitant Government demands on the peasantry in the name of zemindari abolition and procurement, evictions, real wage cut, etc. More and more the basic outlook and even our agitational line became - "Nothing can be won till the present Government is overthrown and a people's Democratic Government established". This apparently "revolutionary" outlook led in practice to the failure to work out a **mass policy**, a policy of developing a **mass movement** and building mass organisations. Totally ignoring the fact that the strength of the Government lay in the disunity of the forces opposed to it, in the disunity of the popular forces, we failed to work out tactics and slogans to achieve popular unity on concrete immediate issues. We allowed the socialists and reformists to disrupt the AITUC and the AIRF, seeing in the disruption, not a weakening, but a strengthening, of the working class movement. We transformed our Students' Federation into a narrow sect of communist students, our peace movement into a movement of our own following. We liquidated our Kisan sabhas, instead of building Kisan unity. Instead of winning over lakhs and lakhs of congressmen who were getting disillusioned with the congress but were not yet prepared to leave it, we made the atrocious formulation from the student's Federation platform that "all congressmen are party" to the counter revolutionary policies and methods of the Government. (Students Federation Report, COMMUNIST No.5). We denounced the workers and peasants party, the most progressive left party in the country as an agency of the bourgeoisie. We denounced every left party in the same terms and

refused to differentiate between the socialist party leadership and the honest ranks. We ran our news papers as mere bulletins of our activities, more and more of jail clashes only for that had become our main "front" written in heavy unreadable language, paying no heed to the actual happenings in the country the concrete issues facing the failed to conduct a live and real exposure campaign against the Government. In a period of tremendous mass radicalisation, and growing thirst for political literature, we failed to issue streams of pamphlets on live international, and national issue.

Instead of breaking thorough the self-imposed isolation that these policies and methods brought about we glorified in that isolation and looked upon ourselves as "irreconcilable revolutionaries" fighting against one and all.

**About all this, the new CC has to say nothing** in its 100 page report on Left Deviation. It declares that the old PB "developed a fullfledged trotskyite thesis" and pursued "Left sectarian policies and adventurist methods" but does not go beyond this abstract statement; does not concretise the manifestations of Left Sectarian and trotskyism, does not stress that the line was a disruptive line, not merely in its theoretical formulations, but also in its actual working out. Trotskyism is treated as an abstract theoretical entity and nothing more, not as an agency of imperialism, which destroys people's unity destroys working class unity and decimates the vanguard in isolation. This failure of the new CC to concretely analyse our past mistakes has Left its mark on the new line also, as we shall try to show.

### **OLD FORMULATIONS AND NEW FORMULATIONS**

**A CORRECT ANALYSIS** of the situation must be the starting point for a correct tactical line.

The method adopted by the old PB for analysing the concrete situation in the country was one of making bold assertions, based on wishfull thinking and not on facts.

Thus, it stated that "the strength of the working class led by the party and the AITUC is far greater than that of the capitalists and the capitalist congress Government. "Further, that the Congress and the reformists are "thoroughly isolated as enemies of the toiling people and friends of capitalists. ("FROM THE TRADE UNION FRACTION REPORT, JUNE, 1949: Our Underline)

This was written at a time when even in the working class, the party; and the AITUC were fast losing ground to the socialists and shortly before we lost the seats in the Bombay Corporation from predominantly working class areas which we had held till then.

Therefore, "the situation is thus ripe for an all India assault on the capitalists and their Government. "(ibid)

How does the new CC analyse the situation? How does its methods contrast with that of the old PB? the following extracts form the party Letter will show that.

**“That Congress Government is thoroughly exposed before the entire people as the tool of blood suckers, before its own followers.**

**And “the situation is ripe for the smashing of the ruling class by armed action of the people.” (our underline)**

Not merely the methods of analysis, but even the very words used are strikingly similar. The only “difference” is that while the old PB thought the situation was “ripe” (in June, 1949) for only an “all-India assault” on the Government, the new PB thinks that the situation is “ripe” for the smashing of the ruling class by armed action of the people.

Such is the “difference” between the understanding of the old PB and the new CC about the situation in our country.

**How then does the new CC criticise the concrete practical mistakes of the old PB? The “Report on Left -Deviation in the CPI” makes that clear.**

The criticism is not that the old PB was guilty of over estimation in analysing the situation, but was guilty of underestimation, it merely saw the ‘upsurge’ and did not see that the upsurge had already reached the level of civil war, i.e. open armed battle between the government and the people. It merely thought that the situation was “ripe for an all-India assault” and did not realise that the situation was “ripe for the smashing of the ruling class by armed action.”

The report also lays down the ‘test’ for deciding who is a revolutionary and who is a reformist. “Anyone who refuses to see the truth...that there is actually a civil war on..... cannot claim a grain of revolutionary outlook in him.” No wonder, the CC is busy ‘reorganising’ the committees by including only those who have this ‘revolutionary outlook’. It must be remembered that the ex-general secretary, B.T. Ranadive, also denounced everyone who did not agree with his analysis as ‘reformist’, disbanded committees and ‘reorganised’ them with ‘revolutionists’ of his choice.

From the overall assessment of the political situation in India, the new CC comes to the conclusion that since civil war is ‘actually on’ and since ‘revolution has already begun’ ‘therefore, “guerilla warfare in the set circumstances of today has become the main and basic form of struggle before the Indian revolutionary movement as a whole” (emphasis in original).

And the “CC Letter” states that the situation is ripe in the country as a whole, ‘barring a few areas’, for waging such armed struggle. The basic criticism made against the old PB is that it forgot the civil war, that it indulged in frontal clashes with the enemy and pinned its faith in general strike, instead of developing guerilla war in the countryside. In this and almost in this alone, the concrete mistake of the old PB is seen. This is how the Cominform article is also ‘interpreted’.

We are of the opinion that the CC has not understood the meaning of the term ‘civil war’. Civil war is a characteristic feature of the revolutionary movement

when armed forces of the people face armed force of the government, when the battle between these two armed forces dominates the national political situation. If the mere fact that the big bourgeoisie with the political following enters political scene as a counter revolutionary force and is opposed by the masses under the Communist Party—if this mere fact were enough to constitute 'civil war' then countries like France and Italy would be today in the throes of a civil war, then the period in Germany after the advent of Hitler to power would have been a period of civil war. Even the facts about Telangana and Andhra given by the CC itself, do not in the least warrant the formulation that India is in the midst of a civil war. We have not seen such a formulation in any international document on India. They have described the present stage, as the agrarian stage of the national-liberation struggle' which certainly is a much lower stage than the stage of civil war.

Not merely civil war is on. It started in June 1947, with the Mountbatten award. And now it has reached the stage when the situation is "ripe for the smashing of the ruling class by armed action". Unless you believe in this phantasy, you are not a revolutionist! A strange kind of civil war, it is, whose existence has not been noticed by even our party members, but has to be 'discovered' by the CC and made acceptable to the ranks by such a threat!

Focusing its attention on China, and drawing false historical parallels, the CC believes that since the betrayal by the Kuomintang and the split in the united front in 1927 marked the beginning of civil war there, therefore the betrayal by the Congress and the split in the united national front must be the beginning of civil war in India.

The CC forgets the 'little' fact that the split in China meant also a split in the armed forces, that 30,000 soldiers under Chu Teh joined the revolutionaries and that the entire period since then has been dominated by the armed struggle between the Kuomintang and the People's Liberation Army (earlier the Chinese red Army). Not merely is this a false and exaggerated picture of the reality, but also in its entire understanding, the CC, as all its documents show, lives in an unreal atmosphere, draws mechanical parallels and refuses to study concretely the Indian situation and the Indian developments. It transforms the rich and varied experience of the great Chinese revolution into a set of rigid lifeless formulas, instead of making use of that experience to solve the complex tasks of our own national movement and leading it to victory.

### **Role of Working Class Minimised**

This ignoring of concrete realities and this tendency to draw mechanical parallels are sharply revealed in the formulations of the CC about our tasks on the working-class front, in the role that it assigns to the working class in the 'Civil War'.

Proletarian leadership, as every Marxist knows, is an essential condition not merely for the final victory over imperialism, but for building a firm fighting unity of the anti-imperialism, but for building a firm fighting unity of the anti-imperialist

masses and raising the movement to the level of an uprising. The specific manner in which this leadership is realised, the specific weapon which the proletariat wields however cannot be identical for all countries, but has to vary from country to country, depending on the concrete situation in the country, the nature of its economy and the place of the proletariat in that economy. One of the biggest mistakes of the old PB was its dogmatic understanding about the way in which proletarian leadership is to be realised, an understanding which led to the perspective of political general strike and uprising in cities, followed by armed struggle in the countryside.

In correcting the mistakes of the old PB however the new CC steps into another error, draws mechanical parallel between India and other colonial countries and minimizes the importance of the working class as a working class. As a result of this, not merely the concrete lessons of the mass movement in India are forgotten, but working-class leadership itself is practically liquidated.

The tasks of the working class in India as formulated by the CC in its Report on Left Deviation are as follows.

**"The working class must organise itself by uniting the entire class. It must adopt suitable forms of struggle and accumulate its strength while secretly lending every conceivable support to the armed struggle in the countryside. It should send its activists whose safety in the working class centres is in serious jeopardy, to join the armed guerilla bands. Because of its strategical positions. i.e., directly linked with the production of various goods, including war materials, its key position in the transport services and its existence in the heart of the enemy controlled cities and centres, it will be in a favourable position starting from sabotage of war production to supplying information about the enemy in various ways. While conditions of where terror have not reached extreme proportions and the overwhelming part of the class in unity can organise the strike struggle, it will unhesitatingly utilise those opportunities too. From facts and figures which have appeared in the bourgeois press, which we know are far from complete and suppressed such news, we see that during the three months October, November and December, 1949 alone no less than 115 strikes took place in different industries. From this alone, we are able to see what possibilities still exist for conducting strike actions of the working class, provided correct tactics are used. Here, of course, it would be out of place to go into too many details about it. The point to be cleared is that without the working class being solidly organised under the leadership of the communist party, the final victory in the liberation struggle is unthinkable. The action and organisation of the Chinese working class during the period of the last 20 years under white terror and its role in the liberation of cities is a living example before us. It could establish the hegemony over the national liberation struggle through the Communist Party, without a political general strike and armed uprising as the exclusive method.....(“our emphasis)**

It should be noted here that although it is in the working class that the party has received the most serious setback in its entire history, and although it is the re-establishment of our leadership in the working class that constitutes one of the key tasks before the party. this long hundred page report says nothing about the actual mistakes that led to this havoc or the actual steps that are to be taken to day to undo the harm and contents itself only with vague phrases about "suitable forms of struggle" and "correct tactics" on the plea that "it would be out of place to go into too many details about it" This very manner of dealing with the question throws revealing light on the outlook of the CC and the importance it attaches to the working class and our tasks in realation to it.

In his well known speech before the University of the Toliers of the East, Stalin placed India, as distinct from countries like Morocco china and Egypt, in the category of colonies "which are capitalistically more or less developed and which possess ;a more or less numerous natojal proletariat" and stated that "It is a question of preparing the proletariat of such colonies as India for the role of the leader in the national liberation movement". The history of our national movement shows the tremendous role that **mass actions by the working class** can and must play in realisation of this leadership. For this, one need to refer only to the events in India in 1945-46 when the mass movement reached the level of armed struggle for power. commenting on this, comrade Balabushevich wrote:

**"The very broad sweep of the strike struggles of the Indian working class played a big role in the growth of revolutionary consciousness of the popular masses and in rallying them round the proletariat."**

Also, "During the mass anti British disturbances in Calculatta November, 1945, and in February, 1946 in other towns during the bloodyclashes and barricade battles in Bombay in January - February, 1946, the working class drew broad masses behind it and as a **reasult of its active role, these actions asumed a militant and revolutionary character**".

Regarding the role of mass actions by the working class in feudal strongholds, Balabushevich writes:

**"The workers struggle was the signal for the unfolding of a mass movement against the feudal Princes and British rule, for the liquidation of fedual order in the states, for their democratisation"**

Such is the role played by mass actions of the working class in our country.

To day, on the plea of white terror in cities and in the name of "China path" the CC wants to forget these concrete lessons of our own history and minimise the importance of one of the most powerful weapons forged by our anti imperialist movement during the last 30 years.

While recognising the possibility of strikes "where conditions of the white terror have not yet reached extreme proportions", it robs the working class actions in the present period of their revolutionary content and assigns to the working class

primarily and mainly the task of "accumulation of its strength and secretly lending every conceivable support to the armed struggle in the countryside". Imagining that the country is already in the midst of a civil war, exaggerating the extent of white terror in the cities, minimising the fighting capacity of the masses and the possibility of moving them into action, the CC talks about "enemy controlled cities and areas" and formulates a line which, in practice, reduces the working class to a state of utter passivity and hands it over to the socialist disruptors.

It says little in all its documents about protest actions, solidarity actions, political actions by the working class, which in the past played and must to day also play, a big part in the establishment of proletarian hegemony in the liberation movement, in galvanising the masses into action, in raising the whole movement to a higher level and giving it immense sweep and striking power.

The CC has not emphasised that working class unity has to be the core of the United National Front and that this unity has to be built at all costs and by all means as one of our key tasks. It has ignored the lesson of China itself, where the tremendous consolidation of the working class under the banner of the party in the Years in the 1925-27 and subsequently Created the basis for the great Victories. It has taken no steps to build working class unity and has ignored to this day the proposals sent by the UTUC for trade union unity with the AITUC. As the CC Letter itself shows, the only criterion in the formation of the new CC was to include those who had advocated armed struggle in the countryside. Finally, the Resolutions adopted by the CC in its last meeting emphasise only the development of armed struggle in the countryside and either do not mention or give a minor place to the task of building the working class movement. The most glaring example is the resolution on Bombay and Maharashtra Committees, which does not even refer to the fact that we stand isolated from the working class in the biggest industrial city in India and have to win back our position there.

All these are the result of total ignoring of the concrete condition in India, the immense importance of the working class in our national class in our national politics and national economy of the tendency to draw mechanical parallels. Besides the working class, the urban poor, the office employees, the teachers, the petty shopkeepers, the students-scattered in cities and towns all over the country-form extremely important section of our people and have always played big role in the anti imperialist struggle. With the big bourgeoisie having betrayed the struggle and their own conditions fast deteriorating, all these sections can be won over by the working class and led into battle. Finally, the CC has also not note how in the past, working class actions had a galvanising influence on the peasant masses themselves.

By stressing all this, we do not seek to deny the colonial nature of our economy nor do we deny the decisive role that agrarian struggles will play in the creation of partisan and liberated areas. What we want to stress here is that because of the comparatively greater industrial development of India, the development of a new work of railways and roads and because of the lessons taught by our own movement

the working class in India has to play a big role in the development of the national liberation struggle not merely as organiser of peasant struggle by the sending of activists to the centuryside but also through its own **mass actions**.

There is a tendency in the CC Report to ascribe our failure to organise mass actions, especially of the working class, to bring about mass mobilisation exclusively to the repressive measures of the Government and the prevalence of white terror. This is far from true. No one would deny that the party and the mass organisations led by it became the special targets of Government attack and terror, especially in the Southern Provinces-Kerala, Andhra, Tamilnad was intense and severe. Nobody would deny that the Government has resorted to bullets and lathing charges to break up meetings and demonstrations in every part of the country.

But it must be remembered also that the same Bombay working class whom we failed to move despite our repeated strike calls during the last two years, had on the occasion of the RIN Revolt, faced a thousand times more intense terror and yet not wavered. And if it is argued that there were "Special factors" at that time, then the fact that today despite all threats of the Government 240,000 textile workers of Bombay are on strike, are facing repression, are being supported by all sections of workers in the city-this fact shows conclusively that it was not terror alone that is responsible for our inability to build mass organisations and lead mass actions.

The great solidarity strike of five lakh Bombay workers on August 31, 1950, the militant fight waged on that day, the heroic battle in which workers laid down their lives and hundreds were injured, the great popular sympathy that the struggle has evoked-all these are facts which the CC should ponder over.

It was the unity of the working class, **unity of the working class with the mass of people**, that made the glorious action at the time of the RIN Revolt possible. That very unity and the confidence it created, the burning hatred against foreign rule and the determination on the part of all sections of our people to destroy that rule transformed common men and women into heroes and enabled them to face machine guns and rifles. Today again it is the unity for struggle, unity of the working class behind the demand for bonus that has made the present great strike possible.

The utterly opportunist and defeatist "theory" which seeks to explain every failure by reference to white terror has been blown up by hard facts.

The fact that we want to emphasise again is that the party, during the last two years and a half ignored this very task, the task of building the unity of the working class, building the unity of the working class with the mass of our people, specially the peasantry. It ignored the lesson taught by the entire history of the international working class movement that unity does not come about by the process of spontaneous development as the result of economic crisis, but has to be built consciously. It ignored the axiom that unity is the main weapon in the struggle against a well - entrenched and powerful enemy. It ignored the task of winning over the masses following the socialists by patient work among them and argued

instead that the soialists were already isolated. It ignored all work among congressmen and congress followers, numbering tens of millions, on the plea that "all congressmen" are reactionary. It ignored all work in reformist mass organisations on the plea that the party had already become stronger than the Government. Due to all this, it got more and more isolated from the masses and failed to unite the anti imperialist forces under its banner.

Instead of seeing all this, the CC wants us to believe that all our setbacks were due to "white terror" and due to our failure to fight that terror by means of guerilla war. Like petty bourgeois revolutionists, it isolates the question of form of struggle from the concrete mass policies followed by the party. It forgets that it is a total break with Marxism to do so.

### **ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE PEOPLE**

THE CRASSEST MANIFESTATION of this petty bourgeois revolutionism is seen in the chapter on "Armed Struggle" in the C.C. Letter, the chapter which forms the heart and the core of the whole document. Not merely is this chapter and also the whole document full of contradictory formulations, but it makes assertions which would stagger anyone who has any knowkedge of Indian realities.

It states at one place that the "ranks and the masses of Left Parties i.e. those who, long with us, have to form the core of the United Front-show only "the first signs of radicalisation" and yet asserts "that the situation is ripe for the smashing of the ruling class by armed action, The CC admits that the party has been very seriously weakened , that our position is very weak in the working class. That we have no kisan movements in the greater part of the country and yet it preceeds to say "that the objective conditions for starting guerilla war are there in India as a whole (our underline) leaving aside some areas" and that our immediate task in the rural areas is to put the movement "on the rails of armed struggle."

As everyone knows it. if "onjective conditions" alone were enough India would have been in the throes of armed struggle long, long ago and would by now, have achieved national liberation. The following passage from the well known article in the "PEOPLE'S DAILY" Peking is of great significance in this conection:

"Armed struggle against imperialist aggression is essential for the liberation of many colonies and semi colonies. But the time and place for conducting this kind of revolutionary armed struggle must be decided by concrete conditions. It can by no means be conducted in any colony or semi colony at any time without the necessary conditions and preparation. In those countries where the objective conditions allow this armed struggle, whether this armed struggle attains victory is determined by the subjective conditions of whether or not the people of these countries have a working class party not lead them and whether its leadership is correct or not."

Our CC will, of course, argue that the people of our country "have a working class party" and that its leadership is "correct". Hence the conditions are ripe for

armed struggle "taking India as a whole barring some areas. "(Why these "some" unfortunate areas are "barred" the CC has not explained)

But a perusal of the article, as well as common sense, and above all the live experience of Telengana should have taught the CC that the mere existence of a Communist party is not enough to constitute the subjective factor. It must be a party which is a real communist party, rooted in the masses, looked upon them with love and respect, with firm links with them, a party which has already achieved a minimum degree of political and organisational consolidation of the people under its banner.

The CC admits that we have not got such a party today. But it asserts that "It is only by adopting armed guerilla warfare that the party will get strengthened and extended. "The CC admits that the party has not been able to achieve even the minimum extent of unification of the masses and stands seriously weakened even in the working class. But it asserts that only through guerilla struggle, the party "will be able to unite the toiling masses and mobilise all anti imperialist classes." The CC admits that even those masses that hate the present Government. "Still suffer from legalist and constitutionalist illusions and have not yet come to the path of armed struggle. "But it asserts that "it is mere a matter of time" and not of their own experience as Lenin and Stalin taught "Before they take to the path of armed struggle if there is any force capable of boldly leading them."

And, of course, the "force" itself-the party will get "strengthened and expended only by adopting armed guerilla warfare."

What do all these statements and assertions boil down to? what do they mean?

They mean that according to the CC the main and almost exclusive weapon, "taking India as a whole" for strengthening and extending the party, for uniting the toiling masses and mobilising the anti imperialist classes for destroying the constitutionalist and legalist illusions-in fact, for every task that faces the party and the movement, is the weapon of guerilla struggle. This magic weapon will solve all the complex tasks facing the party, will reforge its links with the people will enable it to become their leader. One is irresistibly reminded by these formulations of the similar formulations made by comrade BTR that "bold lead" and "militant action" will expose reformists, will build working class unity, will bring about general strike and lead to uprising.

It will not be out of place here to draw the attention of the CC to a comment made by Lenin in his article. "Anti Militarist Tactics of Social Democracy", a comment to which we drew the attention of Com. BTR also in a note sent to him in september, 1949.

Criticising Here who tried to isolate the question of tactic from the actual situation, Lenin said:

“The anarchist method of reasoning is revealed here in full measure. The blind faith in the miraculous power of every. “Action direct” the abstraction of this “direct action”. From the general social and political situation, without analysing it in the least, in a word, the arbitrary mechanical conception of social phenomena. Is obvious. “(our underline)

“Blind faith in the miraculous power of every direct action “this is the outlook that dominates the CC Letter. It is the same outlook as that of the old PB.

This outlook also leads the CC to forget all distinction between perspective and a tactical line, between a perspective and a slogan of the day.

The CC in a number of documents has stressed that the “era of contempt for perspective” must end. We entirely agree, but we want to remind the CC that a correct perspective alone is not enough and that perspective must not be confused with the immediate tactical line, with

the slogan of the day. A correct perspective also can lead to grossly wrong tactics if the distinction is obliterated. We could refer the CC to what Comrade Stalin said in this connection:

“The third tactical principle of Leninism, “said Com. Stalin in his “COMMENTS ON CURRENT AFFAIRS IN CHINA” “concerns the question of change of slogans and of the forms and methods of this change. It concerns the question of how to transform the slogans of the party into slogans for the masses, the question of how to bring the masses to revolutionary positions, so that the masses should become convinced through their own political experience of the correctness of the party’s slogans.

“But propaganda and agitation alone cannot convince the masses. For this, the political experience of the masses themselves is necessary. For this, it is necessary that the broad masses should realise through their own experience the inevitability of overthrowing the present system and establishing a new political and social order.

“It is good if the advanced group, the party, has already convinced of the necessity of overthrowing, say, the provisional Government of Milyukov and Kerensky in April 1917. But this was still inadequate, for them to come forward for the overthrow of the Government in order to put forward the slogan of the overthrow of the provisional Government and the establishment of Soviet Power as the slogan of the day, In order to convert the formula “all power to the Soviets” from a perspective of the immediate period into the slogan of the day, one more decisive condition was necessary, viz. That the masses themselves should be convinced of the correctness of these slogans and render the party some kind of support or other in carrying them out in practice.

“One must differentiate strictly between a formula as a perspective for the immediate future and formula as the slogan of the day.

Contrast these statements of Stalin with the formulation of the CC.

“They (the masses) want this fascist Raj to end. Though they still suffer from legalist and constitutionalist illusions. It is merely a matter of time before they take to the path of armed struggle if there is a force capable of boldly leading them.

Stalin speaks of “the political experience of the masses themselves the CC speaks of “time”. Stalin speaks of “propaganda and agitation” not being enough, the CC speaks of “blod lead” being enough.

With our CC, all distinction between perspective and immediate slogan vanishes—countrywide armed struggle is the perspective-armed struggle is also the immediate slogan of action for the country “as a whole”.

Due to the same outlook, the CC even when it correctly criticises the old leadership fails to draw the correct conclusions and repeats the same old mistakes.

The new CC, while criticising the old PB writes:

“The polit Bureau embarked upon its adventurist line with a reckless call for an all India general strike on March 9,1949, imagining that an insurrectionary situation existed round the corner. It did not bother to take stock of the white terror with a cool head or of the illusions of the Railway workers in the Socialist leaders, lackeys of Indian big bourgeoisie, of their organisational loyalties to the AIRF and of the decrepit state of the party organisation, etc.” (our emphasis)

This criticism against the old PB can only mean that the new CC considers it wrong to have issued the slogan of Railway strike without assessing the maturity of the situation, mass mood and the strength of the party. Yet when it comes to themselves the new CC coolly tells us that “the objective conditions for starting guerilla warfare are there” not merely in “many areas” as Document 16 asserted, but “taking India as a whole, leaving aside some areas”. And what are these “objective conditions”? The CC’s attempts to narrate them are so ridiculous—Congress is worse than British RAj” is the common talk on everybody’s lips, etc. That they can convince none who knows anything about the Indian situation. To confuse discontent with revolutionary indignation, to confuse the urge to change the Government with the urge to fight to overthrow the government—this is precisely what the old PB did. With equal justification, they argued that workers cursed the Government, the Railway Board and even the Socialist leaders and from that they conclude that the situation had become revolutionary and insurrection was “round the corner”. New CC does the same. This has nothing in common with the Marxist Leninist method of analysing a concrete situation on the basis of the practical activity of the masses themselves.

Workers had “illusions” about socialists on 9th March, discovers the new CC. What about the peasants today “taking India as a whole”? Have they not, in the greater part of the country, still got illusions about the congress, about factions that have split away from the congress and developed new illusions about the socialists and about the peasants and workers party? Have they not got illusions about the

coming elections and about the possibility of a peacefull change in the Government? Does the CC imagine that the Political consciousness of peasants stands at a higher level than that of workers?

The old PB "did not bother to take a stock of the decrepit state of party organisation" when giving the 9th March call. And yet, at that time, we were the strongest force among the Railway workers with most of the real mass Unions with us. What about the "state of party organisation" today? The new CC, which condemns the old PB for giving a single call without taking into account the state of the party organisation has yet the hardihood of working out a whole tactical line with guerilla war all over the country as its main plank, completely ignoring the fact that the party organisation today is a hundred times more disrupted and weaker than it was on 9th March. It argues that "it is only by adopting armed guerilla warfare that the party would be strengthened and extended" a familiar echo of the formulations of the old PB which ascribed miraculous powers of militant action every where and for solving every political and organisational problem.

The CC ignores the uneven level of our movement, a characteristic feature to which attention was drawn by com. Balabushevich. It prescribes universal recipes and cut and dried formulas to suit every place. While lest it be charged with adventurism, it talks in a general way about "setting our house in order" and about "minimum preliminary preparations". It qualifies even these half hearted statements with other grossly adventurist formulations and gives no inkling whatsoever as to how this "setting of the house in order" is to be done. It treats all as "organisational tasks" and not as serious political tasks-the task of building poeple's unity and developing a broad mass movement.

We have already seen the role that the CC assigns to the working class. As we all know one of the most characteristic features about petty bourgeois revolutionism is the role that it assigns to the masses in general, the distinction that it makes between "active heroes" and passively sympathetic masses.

The CC with an air of profundity as though it has made a new discovery and enriched Marxism, informs us that "the old Yardstick of measuring the readiness of masses for armed action by whether the overwhelming majority of masses themselves are physically coming out into the streets and have accepted the full programme of the party or not has to be discarded" and proceeds to say that the "general support" of the people is enough for waging guerilla struggle. What this "general support" means it has not cared to define, but the Letter makes it clear that it means nothing more than hatred against the Government.

(It may be noted that comrade BTR also used to make formulations about "old standard" and "new standard")

The following statement made by the present General Secretary in the CC meeting of May, 1950, (which worked out the new line) shows us clearly how our present leaders define "objective factors"

"Congress Government has no longer any sympathy who ever takes action against it gets sympathy, that is the essential background. Question is, can we proceed with this sympathy for armed activity, or have we to wait for masses actually coming out in action? Methods and forms of struggle have to be considered in terms of situation. But without armed action, no progress is possible. Putting DF (Democratic Front) unity of support of the masses in the old way as a pre condition for armed action is wrong. "(From CC Minutes)

We do not want to make any lengthy comment. The formulations speak for themselves. All we want to say is that this is precisely how the terrorists of the past used to argue. They too thought that this kind of "sympathy" is enough. Only they were more correct, because in those days of direct British rule, **any and every action against the Government evoked sympathy?**

No one has ever stated that masses must accept "the full political programme of the party" or that all of them can be active participants in all forms of struggle. The basic question is whether the masses are to be **active participants** in the struggle against the Government, active, supporters (and not "general supporters") of the guerillas where guerilla struggle is being waged, makers of their own history and not passively sympathetic spectators; whether conditions exist in India today for such active mass participation in the movement against the Government and if so, through what concrete slogans and day -to -day work, this movement is to be developed. Phrase about the "old yardstick:" and the "new yardstick" evade these very questions. More, they betray a **profoundly defeatist** outlook about the possibility of moving the masses into action and that too in a period of tremendous mass awakening.

The most surprising thing about the passage quoted above is not merely that it ignores the general principles of Marxism about the relation between the vanguard and the masses, it ignores the live experience of Telengana itself.

Was it mere hatred against the Government and the "general support" of the masses that enable us to develop guerilla war in Telengana? the following extract from a document issued by the Andhra Provincial Committee in February, 1950, and circulated by the new CC itself answer the question.

After stating the different conditions between hilly areas where there are natural protections and plains where "we have to depend upon the people to give us protection", the document proceeds to say;

"Even in plains if roads and bridges are not there, it is difficult for the enemy to come repeatedly and often. Hence, it is to the advantage of guerilla squads to sabotage roads and bridges. The more this is done, the better. In the Razakar period, in Suryapet area, which is completely plain area, it is because our comrades dug up and destroyed the roads and bridges that guerilla war could be continued. The road between Suryapet and Jangam a length of 50 miles was dug up and destroyed by thousands of people. This will give an idea what type and size of people's co-operation is necessary. for guerilla war. (our underline) We must

prepare the people for this. When we destroy the communications, precautions must be taken to see that no loss of life occurs for the innocent people".

Is it necessary to make any comment on this revealing passage? It necessary to show that the "new yardstick" discovered by the CC has nothing to do with the experience of Telengana? It is necessary to prove that the "new line" which advocates armed struggle all over the country on the basis of "general support" is not born out of the live experience of Telengana, but is a complete negation of that experience?

The new CC has taken from Telengana only one thing-armed struggle, and isolated it from the background in which it developed and condition that made it possible a mass peasant movement for land, the Andhra Mahasabha uniting the kisan masses, and with a membership of over a lakh, a strongly entrenched party, conditions that were created by patient and sustained mass work, fight for concrete demands and forging the unity of the people through such fight.

The CC puts the cart before the horse and argues that armed struggle itself will create these conditions. To call this path the Telengana path is a distortion of facts, distortion of history, negation of our own experience. It is a gross distortion of the Cominform Editorial.

It may not, of course, be possible, in all guerilla areas, to destroy roads on such a vast scale. That is not the point. But is it possible to talk of guerilla war in isolation from a mass movement, in isolation from active popular support (in some form or other), in isolation from the links that the party has forged by leading the people in their day-to-day battles? Is guerilla war possible merely on the basis of "general support" "hatred against the Government "and" organisational preparations"? Or does it require a minimum level of the movement?

A document prepared by the Andhra Committee and circulated by the CC itself answers this question also.

After tracing the development of the struggle in Nalgonda and the various stages it went through, the document proceeds to say:

"If we see this history of guerilla struggle of Telengana, Then it becomes clear that this guerilla warfare is the expression of the high level reached by the movement, in the stage of land distribution and of establishing village people's Councils. We are continuing the guerilla struggle even after the military intervention to defend the land and Gram Rajyalu and to extend these. "(TELENGANA DOCUMENTS).II P.45.

The CC has also not noted the organisational lessons taught by Telengana.

"...how was it" asks the Telengana Document, "that the Movement led by our party in Karimnagar, Adilabad and Marathwada districts were suppressed by the Nizam gangs? Nizam was hated equally in these districts. The reason why the movement in Nalgonda and Warangal districts was able to withstand the Nizam's gangs and developed into higher pitch and spread to neighbouring districts

Atrafbalada etc. Was the existence of organisational form for the movement in these districts. The reason for the blew- up of the movement in other districts was the absence of this organisation and hence the failure to distribute land and establish village people's committees. (partII, P.22).

Even when every other factor is present it is the existence of a strong organisation that is of decisive importance for the successful Conducting of armed struggle. This is the lesson of Telengana , as also of every big struggle fought by us.

Active support of the people, who at Suryapet destroyed roads and made them impassable, a "high level reached by the movement" and a strong organisation this is what made Telengana possible. This is the secret of Telengana's strength. This is why not merely the Nizam, but even Nehru, with all his mighty and powerful hordes has failed to crush Telengana. While we don't know whether all the tactics and slogans in Telengana we correct, we do know that armed struggle in Telengana was and has been an integral part of the mass peasant movement for land and democracy.

Turning a blind eye to all this, ignoring the feet that we have no peasant movement under out leadership of any level in most provinces, the CC talks of putting the peasant movement "on the rails of armed sturggle" because "objective conditions" are there "in India as a whole". And this, it calls the Telengana path:

Armed action, resulting from the outlook that dominates the CC Letter can only be armed struggle, not as it developed in Telengana, but only the **organisation of counter-terror**, against individual police officials, landlords and money lenders, carried out by army cadres, with the mass of people playing no role except as passive sympathisers. Such "armed struggle" will not "strengthen and extend" the party, nor forge its links with the masses, but will completely isolate the party and will result in party Members being handed over to the police by villager unable to withstand police terror. It is a matter of common experience that unless the people are united and are politically, organisationally psychologically prepared to withstand terror, they feel helpless and demoralised when the full blast of terror is let loose. And armed action of this type will certainly not achieve this unity nor prepare the people politically, organisationally and psychologically.

The CC Letter informs us that armed struggle is being conducted in Ahmednagar and a number of other areas. We do not know about these other areas, but we do know that the type of "armed struggle" that has been on in 'Nagar is nothing but the organisation of raids on the houses of moneylenders and of counter terror against individual oppressors and that as the result of this type of "struggle" the party in Ahmednagar has been severely weakened, the Kisan Sabha virtually smashed and our comrades are finding it difficult to get even shelter from the terror- stricken villagers. To-day there is no peasant movement of any type in Ahmednagar District or any where in Maharastra under our leadership. We would, therefore, request the CC to get facts about Ahmednagar as well as other areas where armed struggle is reported to be waged.

## A LINE OF BLIND ADVENTURISM

The Andhra Document, from which we have given the extract about the extent of mass participation in the Telengana struggle and which has not been accepted by the CC contains, however along with many correct formulations, other formulations and directives of an extremely adventurist and terrorist nature. We quote one of them:

"The tasks of these town guerilla squads are: to finish off notorious Government officials who take special delight in oppressing the people, landlords who after committing untold atrocities in the villages, take protection in the towns and also the exploiters in the towns and other agents who commit atrocities. Those squads must destroy their properties, loot Government and other exploiters" treasuries and cash, etc.,

Obviously, the phrase " exploiters in the towns and their agents" can extended to include blackmarketeers, capitalists who refuse wage increase, Ministers of the Government, etc. How is this.....

How is this, we would ask, different from terrorism? different from individual murder and dacoity? How will this help to develop a mass movement against the Government?

It goes with our saying that it is not on grounds of humanitarianism but on political grounds that we oppose such actions. It goes without saying also that in a period of mass revolutionary battles, in a period of actual civil war, such actions as a part of **general mass movement** are common. But to assert that such is the situation anywhere, even in Andhra is totally wrong. Such tactics and such methods of "struggle", no matter what high sounding name is given to them, would degenerate into murder and banditry dissipate our forces, play into the hands of agent provocateurs, isolate the party from all honest elements, and supply weapons to the Government to discredit and suppress the party and the movement led by it.

Such is the length to which blind sectarianism and adventurism has gone.

Why has the CC worked out this blindly adventurist line? why has it isolated the question of form of struggle from the level of the mass movement? why has it tried to discover "new yardstick" to measure the level of mass consciousness?

One of the reasons, as we once pointed out, is that the CC wants to find shortcuts to revolution. It cannot deny the reality that to-day the party has been seriously weakened, it stands isolated in the working class itself. It is leading no peasant movement in the greater part of the country, its mobilising power is far less than it was at any time during the last ten years. But having pinned its faith in guerilla struggle "in the country as a whole" it has to fit that struggle in the existing frame of national political reality. It has set before itself the task of evolving a method of guerilla struggle which the party can undertake in its present stage of strength, with the mass movement at its present level with our mass organisations shattered or paralysed by Left Sectarian policies and methods.

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~~The result is the "new line".~~

But this is not all. There are other causes also.

### **FAILURE TO LEAERN FROM HISTORY**

WE ARE OF THE opinion that one of the root causes for this is in the CC's inability to understand the **events of the last 3 years and their lessons**. The CC's formulations about civil war not merely do not help to learn these lessons but hinder this task.

As the CC documents show, the CC thinks that the only or at least the main weapon used by the Government against the people during these years has been the weapon of terror. Also that the,main reason for our set backs has been our failure to evolve guerilla forms of struggle to fight this terror.

Both these statements are only partially true. They give a false and distorted picture of the reality. They make us blind to our real failures and therefore blur the real tasks.

When saying this, we do not in the least dispute the fact that our comrades in Telangana and in Madras presidency had to face a terror regime of a most brutal type. We also do not dispute that the forms of guerilla struggle adopted by the Telengana comrades which enabled them to fight back the terror of the Government are an extremely valuable heritage of this period and would be of immense value to comrades everywhere.

But the enemy has used not the weapon of terror alone. He has used other weapons also. If terror alone has been sufficient to preserve imperialist rule, the imperialists would not have had to make a "tactics of retreat" and come to terms with the Congress, thereby enlisting the support of the most astute and experienced bourgeois leadership existing in any colonial country.

Against the popular movement, the Government has wielded **not one but three weapons**.

(1) It has sought to wipe out the party by methods of terror mass arrests, bans, cold blooded murder of our comrades, punitive expeditions against our villages, murder, rape, loot, collective fine etc as welll as bloody suppression of strikes.

(2) It has utilised the immense prestige of the congress and also increasingly the services of Right wing Socialists to disrupt the mass organisations and mass movement-disruption of the AITUC and the AIRF setting up of rival Kisan Sabhas, student unions sabotage of mass struggles, diversion of mass movement into harmless channles like satyagraha, fast etc.

(3) It has utilised **constitutionalist illusions** by holding before the people the promise of elections on the basis of adult franchise, the holding back from devisive revolutionary action even those sevctions of masses who have already lost faith in the Government and want to change it.

Such are the weapons that the Government has used to destroy the vanguard

in isolation, to disrupt the people's movement, to saw disunity in the ranks of the popular masses, to paralyse the people. The present low level of our movement and its extreme uneven and unorganised character prove that the efforts of the astute leaders of the Indian big bourgeoisie have not been entirely fruitless. In our opinion, It is the failure of the CC to understand the complex nature of the Government's policies, the cunning way in which it has attempted to defeat the forces of revolution, that is largely responsible for the one-sided nature of the tactical line the CC has worked out. **A distorted and wrong understanding of events cannot but result in a distorted and wrong tactical line.**

The CC reduces the whole question of struggle against the Government to a question of correct military tactics-guerilla war as against frontal attack. The whole chapter on "Forms of Struggle" in the Report on Left-Deviations deals exclusively with this question. The CC fails to see the political weapons used by the Government against the people the political offensive it launched against the party on an all India scale and seeks to work out a tactiacal line of fighting the Government whose core and essence is "correct military tactics". It is due to this mechanical attempt to equate military battles with political battles that it does not understand the real nature of the mistakes of the old leadership.

The party could defeat the policies of the Government and rally the masses under its banner and itsself grow only if it had correctly understood the nature of the weapons used by the enemy, ony if it had combined the guerilla struggle in Telengana and other areas with the task o;f building people's unity on a national scale, with the task of **disillusioning the masses** through their own experience and leading them forward step by step. This is precisely what the party failed to do.

The old PB, under the leadership of Comrade BTR also saw only one aspect of the Government's policy, the aspect of terror. It shut its eye to the fact that the strength of the Government lay in the disunity of the people in the prevalence of the constitutionalist illusions, and it formulated the "tactical line" of fighting Government terror by means, of "militant action". The line was carried out in detail in Bengal disregarding call criticism, all opposition from rank and file members of the prarty.

**We attacked....**

According to the Bengal committee's report, railway stations were attacked bombs were thrown on trams and buses, attempts were made to break up Nehru's meeting with only our own supporters, house of Suren Ghesh, the Bengal congress President, was attacked, fire was set to congress offices (see Bengal Committee's Self Critical Report). These acts as well as the use of acid bulbs in meetings and demonstrations were part of the old leadership's "revolutionary" line.

Terrorism and even gangsterism masqueraded as the line of the "struggle against the bourgeoisie". What havoc has this caused, everyone can see to day.

Can a real change, a change in practice, result merely because the new CC

recognises that the struggle is not a "struggle against the bourgeoisie" but a "struggle against imperialists, feudalists and big bourgeoisie" and the main battlefield is not cities, but rural areas and Only children would believe that. As long as we do not see that the main weapon in the fight against the Government is the weapon of people's unity as long as we don't see how and why the Govt. has succeeded in keeping the movement ;at its present level, as long as we do not see that the Govt. terror can be fought only by rousing the people, the whole attempt would be to work out a policy whose essence is the organisation of counter terror. It would be a policy of **blind retaliation against individual oppressors of the people-landlords, moneylenders and police officers** of looting their property in the name of "expropriation" of "finishing them off" in the name of guerilla struggle. It will be a policy of "tooth for tooth, eye for eye" as formulated so eloquently in the Andhra Document.

It will be a policy which will not merely dissipate the forces of the party, but lead to the liquidation of the party itself. Such is the character of the present CC line.

This liquidationist tendency is also seen in the manner in which the CC wants to use our legal newspapers to "popularise" the party line.

As everyone knows, the old PB conducted the party papers not merely in a sectarian manner but with utter disregard for all legal considerations. The issue of the PEOPLE'S AGE on the eve of the proposed 9th March action was a classic example of this madness. Even subsequently, as we pointed out in a note sent to com. BTR, the paper continued to be conducted in a most adventurist manner indulging in open glorification of bomb-throwing.

Not learning from all this, the new CC insisted on the publication in our open paper of a statement that the party is going to take to the path of Telengana in every party of the country, that this is the essence of the new CC line. What risk such a statement creates not merely for the paper but for the press itself, the CC did not bother to find out. And when comrades, working on the paper, deleted this part from the CC statement, they were pulled up by the CC for distorting the party line. But for the firmness the comrades showed, but for their insistence that the sentence must be deleted on legal grounds which ultimately made the CC reconsider the question, we might have been today without a paper and without a press.

On the one hand, the CC declares the present period to be a period of civil war and white terror: on the other, it wants to run our legal papers to openly advocate the glorify armed struggle. It does not bother if that means the liquidation of the paper itself and our main link with the people being snapped.

#### **WHY THIS FAILURE?**

THE QUESTION that comrades will inevitably ask is: How could it be that the Andhra Comrades, who built and led the Telengana movement, and were the first to make a basic correction in the political Thesis work out such a wrong line? Is it not on the contrary, more likely that we are mistaken and the line given by the

CC is a correct application of the Telengana experience and of the Chinese path?

We shall try to answer this question briefly.

In the first place, the Andhra document of June, 1948, though correct in many vital respects made wrong formulations about civil war and also failed to see the complex nature of the Government's policies, the various weapons used by the Government.

Secondly, while we are not yet in possession of adequate facts to assess the exact character of the armed struggle in Andhra, it appears to us from what little we have been able to learn that barring certain areas in Andhra the struggle there is not of the same nature as in Telengana. In Telengana, guerilla struggle developed on the crest of a rising mass peasant movement for land, it was in the nature of a peasant uprising. In Andhra, on the contrary, or at least in many parts of Andhra, the struggle is essentially of a retaliatory character armed squads of ours attacking landlords, moneylenders and policemen with the mass of people playing no role except as sympathisers. It is this type of armed struggle that the CC wants to extend all over the country and that too in the absence of a strong party and strong organisation as exist in Andhra.

Thirdly, as stated in the Organisational Report of the CC, Com. Rajeshwar Rao, the former PB member from Andhra and the present General Secretary, himself made an "Opportunist surrender" to the old PB and accepted all the three PB documents (December, 1948) which not merely condemned com. Mao Tse Tung but advocated an adventurist Trotskyite line, pinning faith in "bold lead" and "militant action". The Report on Left Deviations, drafted by the Andhra comrades and accepted by the PB makes a totally inadequate criticism of the old PB'S line, does not stress how we were guilty of over estimation of the situation and ran ahead of the masses, instead of leading them forward step by step.

Fourthly, and above all, the overwhelming majority of CCMs had whole heartedly and "unreservedly" supported all the slogans and tactics of the old PB, had themselves been the instruments in the provinces, in executing the PB line both politically and organisationally, some of them going beyond the PB itself in sectarianism and adventurism. And it is these same CCMs who have "unreservedly" accepted the new line because the basic out look, as we have shown, at the root of the new line is in no way different from the old outlook, it is only a shift from the cities to the villages. The blind faith in the miraculous power of "bold load" and "militant action" expresses itself again in a new way. No wonder, therefore that the old authers of sectarianism and adventurism have lined up behind the "new" line.

We shall now sum up our criticism of the new line of the CC:

(1) It is a line which continues the sectarian strategy of the old PB, though in a modified form, as seen in the attitude towards rich peasants and middle bourgeoisie.

(2) It is a line of drawing mechanical parallels with China and now a line based on concrete analysis of the situation in our own country.

(3) It is a line based on gross exaggeration of the stage of our movement (civil War, etc.,) of the maturity of the situation, of the stage of mass consciousness, of our own strength, influence and mobilising power.

(4) It is a line that ignores the position of the working class in our country, ignores the lessons of our history about the role of mass working class actions, reduces the working class to a state of passivity working class actions, reduces the working class to a state of passivity and in practice leads to denial of working class leadership itself.

(5) It is a line, which, on the plea of white terror, ignores the task of working out a concrete mass policy, for mass mobilisation and mass action on the burning issues, facing the people-peace, Civil liberties, refugee rehabilitation, agrarian reform, etc., over-estimating the strength of the Government and under-estimating the strength of democrat forces in the country.

(6) It is a line which, in the name of "new yardstick" ignores the lesson of Telengana, assigns to the masses the role of passive sympathisers and not active participants, in the struggle against the Government.

(7) It is a line which takes no account of the **un even level** of our movement and seeks to work out stereotyped tactics and slogans form of struggle from the level of the movement.

(8) It is a line which on the plea of "objective conditions" minimise the supreme importance of isolating **consciousness and organisation** minimises the importance of the party itself and does not place the rebuilding of the party and reforging of its links with the masses in the forefront of our tasks.

(9) It gives a line which ignores the **specific tasks of our movement** as formulated in the Cominform Editorial and argues that all tasks will get fulfilled through resort to armed struggle.

(10) It is a line based on one sided and **distorted understanding** of the events of the last three years on failure to see that the strength of the Government lies in the disunity of the anti imperialist forces and, therefore,takes no step to build this unity.

(11) It is a line which, in the name of guerilla war, advocates a **policy of adventurism** of the worst type which can only further weaken the party and strengthen our enemies.

(12) It is a line of **liquidation of the party**.

For all these reasons, we are totally opposed to the line given in the CC Documents and are of the opinion that it should be rejected.

The criticism that we have made against the CC line as given in the party Letter should not be taken to mean that we consider that all the formulations made by the CC to be wrong or all the documents issued by it entirely Left Sectarian and adventurist. The Report on Left Sectarian Deviations contains a valuable and on the whole correct criticism of the theoretical formulations of the old P.B. The

Andhra Documents "present Revolutionary Situation and Forms of struggle" contains, together with mistakes, many correct formulations and directions about the way armed struggle is to be developed. The need for building mass organisations and mass movement has been stated in a number of CC documents, as well as the need to combine all forms of struggle.

But we must not forget that there were many correct formulations in the documents issued by the old PB also. They also stated the need to build popular unity, to build working class unity, to create mass organisations (STRATEGY & TACTICS DOCUMENT, T.U FRACTION REPORT, etc.,) Yet as we know all these directions remained on paper. Why?

Because the very basis of correct tactics is a correct assessment of the level of the movement. A correct analysis of the situation and correct estimations of the class forces. Tasks flow out of such an analysis if the analysis is wrong certain tasks, even though mentioned, will not be emphasised and attempt would be made to carry them out in a wrong way.

Comrade BTR argued that the Government is completely isolated, that reformists are thoroughly exposed, that the situation was ripe for an "all- India assault", and people were merely waiting for a "bold lead" such an estimation of the situation could not but lead to sectarian slogans and adventurist tactics, to the conclusion that all tasks would be solved by initiation of "direct action".

Are not similar results bound to follow from formulations about civil war, about the situation being ripe for "smashing the power of the ruling class" about the possibility of guerilla war in the country "as a whole"? will this not divert attention from the immediate tasks of building a mass movement and creating mass organisations, even though these tasks are mentioned, and lead to main concentration on the work of organising guerilla bands and "finishing off" the hated officials, zemindars, etc.?

We think all this is bound to happen. A wrong understanding of the situation can never lead to correct tactics, can never result in the actual implementation of even correct slogans.

### **ORGANISATIONAL METHODS OF THE C.C.**

WE HAVE examined the CC documents at some length. We have tried to substantiate out criticism that the new CC has failed to correct the mistakes of the old PB and is, in practice, pursuing the same barren path of Left Sectarianism and adventurism which brought disaster on the party. We have tried to show that in its assessment of the situation, in its methods of analysis, in its basic approach and in its concrete practice, the new CC has failed to make a break with the past. This, in our opinion, is the reason why it has failed to solve the inner party crisis.

Even in its organisational policy the methods of the present CC are similar to that of the old PB. The document "MAIN FEATURES OF THE PRESENT SITUATION" (Document no.16) was placed before the ranks as a draft resolution

and comrades were asked to discuss it and were informed that an open forum would be brought out to acquaint the comrades with the views of various party Units. Then came two more resolutions of the PB (Documents N0.19 and 20) but no Forum. In the moth of July, comrades were suddenly informed that the CC had been "re-constituted" and with 9 comrades of the old CC and that the new CC had adopted a "new" line, which must now be implemented. The sole creterion for the "re-constitution" of the CC was "unreserved acceptance of its interpretation of the Cominform Editorial and the advocacy and initiation of "armed struggle" in the countryside.

In the new CC was included Com. Lahiri, a member of the old PB, who along with the three other leaders of the PB, must bear full responsibility for the political policies and organisational decisions of the last two and half years. Also the comrade from Maharashtra who, it is known to all planned, the most outrageous king of terrorist action for 9th March this (1950) and was responsible for smashing up the party in Maharashtra.

His claim that he had opposed the sectarian line of the old PB and fought for a correct line is totally false, as can be seen from the letter that he wrote to the Fort comrades after the publication of the Cominform Editorial scolding the Fort Comrades Who had thought that the cominform Editorial demanded a change in the party line, this CCM "I feel that the present policy does not in any way conflict with the tasks laid down in the Cominform Editorial". Further, "They (Fort comrades) are talking of different party line or revision of party line. This cannot be allowed". All this shows not merely his hardened sectarianism and his refusal to accept correction even from international leaders, but also his insufferable bureaucratic outlook.

The same CCM also stated in the CC meeting of May '50 that there are 400 party members in the Warli areas assertion so fantastic that it would stagger anyone who knows anything about the area. The truth is that today there is neither any movement nor any party organisation in these areas.

Two old PB Members, including the General Secretary, who according to the CC itself, were guilty, among other crimes, of suppression of international documents the most heinous crime for a communist were merely removed from the CC and not suspended from the party. One of them, Adhikari, it is reported, has been placed in the Central Agit-Prop Commit together with Bhowani Sen, another author of the policies and methods of the last two years. Finally, the provincial committees are being disbanded and Organising committees formed from top, without any reference to the ranks of the nominees of the CC who accept the new line "unreservedly", mostly those same people who were responsible for all the mistakes and crimes of the last two and a half years and those who had accepted Com. BTR's slogans also "unreservedly". At the head of the new Trade Union Fraction we learn, is the same comrade who always gave false and exaggerated reports about the position in the GIP Railway Union., who even after the publication of the

Cominform Editorial, maintained that the PB's line was correct since "all the peasantry" did not include "rich peasantry".

It is necessary to quote from the Organisational report of the CC itself to bring out how the CC assesses the mistakes of the old leaders and how that assessment affects its new organisational decisions.

Regarding Lahiri, an old PB Member from Bengal the Report says:

"Com. Lahiri, from a **reformist outlook** had in the beginning, doubts about the tacticalline. This was realised by the General Secretary and Bhowani Sen, who considered him anutter reformise not to be relied upon to push through the Left Sectarian and Titoite methods of the twoleders of the PB. (Bhowani Sen and the General Secretary).. It was for this that he was virtually reduced by the PB to the position of a PC member and there too take the responsibility of technical and organisational matters only. Under the circumstances, he had not much to do with the functioning of the PB and its methods.

"But gradually he began to grown into **an ardent convert to the extreme Left Sectarian line**, in cases going even to more extremes than some others, viz, his stand on sarat Bose's election on the April Shootings in Calcutta, in his suggestions for adventurist action conviction for the Left Sectarian line which the PB leaders possessed and as late as July, 1949, had offered to resign fron the PB. "(our emphasis).

First a reformist then **an "ardent convert to the extreme Left Sectarian line"** who in certain respects "went to more exptremes than others" and advocated the most adventurist types of action such is the record of this comrade. He lacked "conviction" for the Left Sectarian line which can only mean that he was a rank opportunist, who pretended to be an "ardent convert" and advocated "adventurist types of actions" to win the favour of the General Secretary and to "rehabilitate" himself in his eyes. This opportunism of a most revolting type has qualified this comrade for a membership of the new CC merely because he had once "offered to resign from the PB."

About the PB Member from Madras, Com. Krishnan, the CC has to say this.

"Com.N.K. Krishnan has been a virtual PCM.for the last two years except for brief periods when he was at the centre. Hence he had not much to do with the **Titoite methods** of the PB except for the anti international attitude against the international parties and their leaders, which he admitted in his speech at his self criticism, but he wobbled on the issue of 9th March, tool an opportunist stand with regard to the PB resolution dissolving the Tamilnad PC Secretariat and acted as the **main instrument of the PB in liquidating the party and the mass movement in Tamilnad by using Titoite Turkish methods**. The details could be got in his self critical Report."

(our emphasis).

What sense can one make of this passage? In one sentence we are told that Com. Krishnan "had not much to do with the Titoite methods of the PB in the very next sentence, we are informed that he was " the main instrument of the PB in liquidating the party and the mass movement by using Titoite Turkish methods". It must be remembered that in Tamilnad we had the strongest proletrain base in the whole country and a comrade who is responsible for smashing up this base is declared to be one who "had not much to do" with the Titoite Mehtods of the PB. Are we to conclude that merely because com. Krishnan's "sphere of operation" was restricted to one province and not the whole country as in the case of Com. BTR, he "had not much to do" with the havoc that BTR's policy created when he acted as the "main instrument" of that policy? Are we to conclude that a PB Member's responsibility in the province where he had been made the supreme leader, becomes any less because he had become a "virtual PCM"?

For the "service" that Com. Krishnan has rendered to the party, he has been "consulted" in forming the leading Committee of Tamilnad by the same CC which condemns him for his "anti- international attitude", for his "opportunism " and for his using "Titoite-Turkish methods" which liquidated the party and the mass movement in Tamilnadu.

How does the CC explain this glaring contradiction between its word and its deeds? How does it justify its action in foisting on the ranks the same leaders who brought disaster on the party

By arguing that cadres are not created in a day, that we must not treat "cadres shabbily like dirt" that we must value "experience" and so on. As a matter of fate, the CC is treating cadres "shabbily" and like "dirt" by imposing on them , in the name of re-organisation, the same old leaders who played have with the party. The "cardres" it seems to value most are the same old Left-Sectarian leaders. This is our experience in Bombay also. Regarding other centres, we cannot say much, but if this is how the CC wants to "Correct" the old leaders, we can only say that ruin would overtake the party in every province and every district.

No one has proposed that all the old leaders must be thrown out from all position. But certainly, those who were mainly responsible for the policies and methods of the last two years cannot be kept in any position till they have proved by their deeds and not merely by their "self criticism" that they can be trusted and till they have won back the confidence of the ranks.

After narrating the crimes of the PB leaders Sectarian policies, adventurist actions, terror regime inside the party double standard and favouritism, virtual liquidation of the CC and suppression of international documents, distortion of Lenin and Stalin, after all this the new CC tells us that "it is wrong to characterise the PB as a Trotskyite Tito body simply because it adopted Trotskyite Titoite political line and organisational methods. It is doubly wrong to characterise the PCs and DCs and other party committees as Trotskyite Titoite bodies because they were re-organised by the PB or they carried out the directions of the PB. This is the formula logic of a bourgeois and not of a dialectic materialist."

How the question of "dialectical materialism" arises here the CC alone can explain. It has evaded the real issue by trying to show the distinction between "formal logic" and "dialectical materialism".

No one would condemn all party Committees wholesale and demand the total disbandment. But as far as the main leader of the PB are concerned especially, the two who were guilty of suppression of international documents, the General Secretary and Adhkari, the minimum that is needed is their immediate suspension from the party for an indefinite period, their cases to be reviewed after five years at least. As regards the others in the PC's those mainly responsible must be debarred from holding any position for at least some period. Not to do even this to emphasise the distinction between a Titoite body and a body that follows Titoite policies and methods, to prattle about "dialectical materialism" all the means to condone the worst type of anti party crimes, to disrupt the party Completely and to destroy all confidence that the party ranks have in the leadership.

The same CC that shows so much concern for the old leadership, has declared in its letter to the PHQ comrades that those who do not accept its new line "unreservedly" must "stand a side" and not be in any party Committee and in bombay this "criterion" has been laid down even for membership of the women's Fraction Committee.

The CC has not merely distorted the Cominform article. It has distorted and misinterpreted the international documents laying down organisational principles as well.

The "THESIS ON THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES" OF THE C.I gives the guiding rule for the constitution of the CC as follows:

"In order to study the general political situation and gain a clear idea of the state of affairs in the party it is necessary to have various localities represented on the Central Committee whenever decisions are to be passed affecting the life of the entire party. For the same reason differences of opinion regarding tactics should not be suppressed by the Central Committee if they are of a serious nature. On the contrary, these opinions should get representation on the Central committee..."

This passage is quoted by the CC in its Report on Organisational Activities. But from this clear cut direction, the conclusion that the CC draws in the very next para is;

"What should be the criterion for the election of members of the new CC?

"Unreserved acceptance of the new line of the party". Further, "... the PC's, POCs, DCs and other party Committees have to be re organised from those who are at present in the Committees and others outside on the following lines...

"The members accept the new line. Those who oppose the line either from right reformist or left sectarian ends, have to be kept out.

"This does not mean the CC proceeds to say "that every syllable of the interpretation of the CC of the lead of the Information Bureau should be accepted. But the Agrarian Revolution and the **armed guerilla struggle as the main form of struggle**, and the strategy given by the Information Bureau, should be accept." (emphasis ours)

Thus not merely the CC but all party committees are being "reconstituted" with only these who accept that "**armed guerilla struggle** must be the main form of struggle to day. Any body who does not accept this is "Right Reformist" who has to be "Kept out" from all committees.

Could distortion and dishonesty go any further? Could there be a grosser and more open violation of all principles laid down by the international communist documents than this?

It is not a secret to the CC that there are sharp differences existing to day on this very issue the issue of tactics. The CC with an appearance of magnanimity says that it does not demand agreement on "every syllable," But then, it proceeds to lay down that not merely the strategy but also the tactical Ripe formulated by it must be accepted by all who want to "qualify" for membership of not merely the central committee but of all committees.

In pursuance of this "interpretation" of the C.I. Thesis and on the basis of this "criterion" the Bombay and Maharashtra Committees are being broken up, loyal and experienced comrades whose only crime is that they do not agree with the CC'S line are being thrown out and the committees reconstituted with the same old leaders, hardened bureaucrats, incrrigih faactionalists and extreme left sectarians who did all the crimes of the old PB and who have accepted the "new" line also with equal alacrity. Even rank and file comrades, not agreeing with the CC's interpretation of the Cominform article, are being "dropped" from the party on one pretext or another or forced into inactivity, boycotted and ignored.

What difference is there between the organisational methods of the old leadership? and the new leadership? Are they not strikingly similar?

It is any wonder that comrades in many places openly describe the new line as "old wine in new bottle" and the organisational changes as a mere "re-shuffle"? Is it any wonder that the inner Party erisis remains unresolved full eight months after the Cominform Editorial?

The present state of affairs, if allowed to continue, will completely destroy the party. The first task, of course, is to work out a correct line on the cominform article, the concrete conditions of our movement and the experience of Telengana. But that alone is not enough. We have also to evolve a correct leadership to carry out that line. Political and organisational steps have to be taken simultaneously.

The parts of the Report on Left Sectarian Deviation which deal with the theoretical criticism of the old PB Documents are, in our opinion basically correct and would help the task of clarification (though certain formulatings about people's

democracy should be re-examined the light of Astafyev's article). The other parts must be completely re-drafted; the Letter to the party Ranks must be immediately withdrawn and the line given in it nailed down as a line of petty bourgeois revolutionism and as a distortion of the Cominform Editorial. A new Resolution must be prepared and placed before a specially convened party congress, consisting of elected delegates from the provinces.

Steps must be taken at once to convene Provincial Conferences and elect Provincial Committees.

This must, however, be preceded by:

(1) Draft Report and Resolution on the situation in each province and the tasks of the party.

(2) Removal of factionalists, Left Sectarians and hardened bureaucrats from the provincial committees.

(3) Removal of suspension and expulsion orders in case of all those who were victims of the Titoite methods of the old leadership, as well as open withdrawal of all wrong or exaggerated censure resolutions.

All these steps are essential.

About the first step, we need not say anything for it is obvious that no political discussion is possible on the basis of the documents issued by the CC till now. We need concrete analysis, concrete tasks, immediate slogans.

The two other steps proposed by us also should be accepted by the CC.

The CC admits that the old leadership was guilty of Titoite method inside the party that it reconstituted provincial Committees with men of its choice. but if that admission has any meaning, then these same men in provincial committees cannot be trusted to prepare for party conferences in an honest manner. We are not asking that all of them must be removed. But certainly those who were the main supporters of the old line and old methods cannot remain in any responsible position and must be replaced by others, who enjoy the confidence of the ranks and who can be trusted to permit full and frank discussion.

Also those who were the victims of the factional and Titoite methods of the leadership and were suspended or expelled from the party must be taken back. Then only we can have real provincial conferences that will help to unify the party.

We are also of the opinion that P.C. Joshi must be given a party Trial. We do not endorse the politics preached by him in his "VIEWS" nor the methods he adopted after his expulsion. But it is necessary to ascertain whether the expulsion was justified or whether it was an act of vindictiveness. Further whether his anti party crimes are so serious as to debar him for all times from the party membership. Even if it is so, a proper trial is necessary for this would destroy any sympathy that he can evoke today by making out that he has been unjustly treated. He be asked to stop all publications & other anti anti-party activities which he refuses to do should itself be sufficient ground for confirmation of his expulsion.

## BASIC NECESSITY- A CORRECT TACTICAL LINE

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE for us to work out a new tactical line in the absence of a political - organisational Report and without thorough discussion with the CCMs. We shall attempt here only to broadly define certain immediate tasks that the party has to carry out.

The "Tactical Principles of Leninism" as defined by Com, Stalin in his "COMMENTS ON CURRENT AFFAIRS IN CHINA" are as follows:

"1. THE PRINCIPLE of the necessity of taking into account the national peculiarities and the national characteristics of each nation while working out the guiding instructions of the Comintern for the workers movement of that nation.

"2. THE PRINCIPLE of the necessity for the Communist Party of every country of utilising the smallest possibilities of securing mass allies for the proletariat, even if they are temporary, vacillating, wavering or unreliable.

"3. THE PRINCIPLE of the necessity of taking into account the truth that propaganda and agitation are not enough for the political education of millions of the masses. but that this demands the political experience of the masses themselves."

There is no doubt that despite its relative development of industry and transport, India remains basically a colonial country with a colonial economy and the laws of development of colonial revolution apply fully to India. Our revolution has to develop broadly along the same path as in China with agrarian revolution as its axis and through the creation of liberated areas in the countryside, where revolution armies are raised and nourished. Not merely the example of China but also the live and concrete experience of Telengana prove beyond all doubt that this is the path that the Indian revolutionary movement has to take in order to destroy imperialist rule and achieve freedom and People's Democracy.

We think, however, that because of the existence of a fairly strong and centralised state apparatus in India and the developed means of transport and communication, while it is possible and imperative to create partisan areas, and guerilla pockets of the Telengana type wherever we can, these areas, especially in the plains, will develop into stable liberated areas when the mass movement in the greater part of the country has risen to a high level has extended and deepened, making it impossible for the enemy to concentrate its forces at any point and assailing him from all sides. Further, that in developing the mass movement to this level and in extending it all over the country, mass actions of the working class will play a big role. Such is the experience of the revolutionary upsurge of 1945-46. That is why, while fully recognising the decisive importance of the agrarian revolutionary movement we simultaneously stress the importance of developing mass working class movement.

The general tasks facing our liberation movement are:(1) To build a broad United Front of all anti imperialist classes, parties sections and groups with working class-peasant unity as its main basis against imperialists and their collaborators.

(2) To unite the working class and make the working class the leader of this Front-a leadership, which will be realised by organisation of peasant struggles by the party and workers' activists, by the championising by working class and its party of the demands of all classes and leading their battles and by mass actions of working class, political and economic.

(3) To build a mass Communist Party as the centre of the United anti imperialist front and enlist in it the best elements from the working class and other fighting classes.

(4) To develop a broad peasant movement all over the country to put this movement progressively on the rails of armed struggle, to introduce democratic reforms in agrarian relations by mass mobilisation and direct action as in Telengana, to create armed forces in the rural areas and strong bases for their operation.

With the progressive consolidation of people's Unity with the progressive unification of the working class and the establishment of its leadership, with the increasing strength and influence of the party and with the widening sweep of the peasant movement more and more areas will take to the path of Telengana and armed struggle will progressively become the main form of our struggle. Also the increasing sweep of the armed struggle and the growth of our guerilla armies, will increasingly raise their fighting unity of the people, give them courage and confidence, raise their fighting morale, make them look to the party and the working class for leadership.

Any attempt to isolate the tasks from one another to stress one to the exclusion of the other, to make the formation of an all embracing United Front covering the whole country the pre -condition for armed struggle any where or to think that armed struggle of any type and any where forget unity any such attempt will lead either to relapse into Reformism or to adventurism of the grossest type.

Terror, disruption and constitutional illusions have been the weapons used by the Government against the people. But as the history of Andhra and Telengana shows, wherever the movement rises to a high level, wherever the weapons of disruption and illusion are not adequate, terror more and more becomes the main weapon.

This is going to happen in all parts of the country. With its growing isolation from the people, with the growing unity of revolutionary forces, with growing disillusionment among the mass of people, the Government will every where increasingly resort to terror as its main weapon. And armed struggle of the people must increasingly become their main weapon in the battle against the Government. Both the old outlook of countrywide insurrection following the general strike and also the outlook of the CC Letter are inadequate and, therefore, wrong. The perspective is one of the movement extending and deepening, armed struggle spreading to newer and newer areas and engulfing the whole country.

But such a general perspective and a general statement of our task is not enough for working out a correct tactical line. That is possible only on the basis of a correct assessment of the present national political situation in our country. We shall indicate only a few features.

As we have stated in the very beginning, one of the most characteristic features of the situation in our country is that the popular movement remains at a low level and its growth has not kept pace with the growth of popular opposition to the Government. We have shown that this is due not merely to repression but also primarily to the existing disunity in the ranks of the popular forces and the prevalence of constitutionalist illusions among large sections of our people. Against the people, the Government has used not the weapon of terror alone. It has also used the weapon of disruption and the weapon of creating constitutionalist illusions.

To day large masses of our people have come to realise that the present Government cannot solve any of the problems facing them. They are realising the fact that with our basic social changes-nationalisation of industries, abolition of landlordism, etc. It is not possible to solve the problem of food, the problem of cloth, the problem of bare necessities of life. They want the present Government to go and a new government to take its place-a Government which will not bow down to the vested interests.

While sweeping generalisations like "the congress is thoroughly exposed before the entire people" are based on exaggeration, there is no doubt that the mass base of the Congress has shrunk rapidly during the last 3 years. So deep is the crisis, so powerful the impact of the world events, so outrageous the policies of the Government, that this process, which in a normal situation would have taken a long time, is being fulfilled in an incredible short period. The disintegration in the congress is itself a result and reflection of this process. Today in U.P., one of the firmest bases of the Congress, thousands of Congressmen are in open revolt and have already enrolled over a lakh of members in the rival People's Congress. The Worker's and Peasants party of the Maharashtra which broke away from the congress, succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the congress in the Kolaba bye elections and was actively supported by the village intelligentsia teachers, etc. Other defeats suffered by the congress, even on the basis of restricted franchise, in Calcutta, Bombay, Cochin, Travancore and in numerous Municipal and District Board elections tell the same story.

Need for radical measures and need for a new Government to effect such measures, these have already become and are becoming part of the consciousness of larger and larger sections of our people.

But it would be a profound mistake to think that even these sections have already come to realise that the present Government can be overthrown by force, by armed action. On the contrary, the illusion that since the congress could "capture power" without a revolution, "others" also can do the same-this illusion is widespread not merely in the petty bourgeoisie in towns and villages, but also in

large sections of the working class. The socialists, rival congress factions and others are utilising this illusion to strengthen their own position.

Comrades who focuss attention only on economic factors and argue that the "basic causes" that gave birth to the revolutionary upsurge of the 1945-46 continue, forget the political factors that effect the consciousness of our people to-day, the hope and illusions that have been created by the promise of elections on adult franchise next year.

This illusion is one of the biggest realities of the present Indian situation, a reality which we can ignore only by shutting our eyes. This is also one of the key reasons for the weakness of the popular movement.

Closely connected with this is the other reason existing disunity in the ranks of the popular forces, disunity in the working class, disunity among the students, disunity among the peasantry, disunity of the left parties.

These weakness do not impose any inseperable difficulty. Other Communist parties have overcome far greater difficulties. The period we are passing through is a revolutionary period. Masses are learning fast. The urge for unity is growing. If we act correctly now, it will not be long before we are able to develop a powerful mass movement and creates Telenganas in many areas.

But all this will not happen spontaneously, Unity will have to be built consciously, illusions will have to be destroyed by actually leading the masses in their battles, by enabling them to see through their own experience, the correctness of the slogans and tactics of the party.

There is no question of liquidating Telengana. It is a quesiton of raising the movement in the rest of the country to the level of Telengana. It is a quesiton of creating increasingly more Telenganas. Not by the methods suggested by the CC but by building the unity of the people and by developing a powerful mass movement against the Government and its policies.

The tasks are:

- \* Strengthen the alliance between the workers and the peasants;
- \* Fight for Agrarian Reform;
- \* Build the broadest unity of the people.

It is the immediate undertaking of these tasks that will make Telenganas possible.

How are all those to be done? How is popular unity to be built? How will it develop? First and foremost, through mass mobilisation and mass action on concrete issues facing our people and affecting their lives.

To give form and direction to the growing mass opposition to the Government and to mobilise it under our leadership we have to work out and formulate a concrete programme which can immediately unite the progressive forces in our country, all sections ranging from progressive congressmen to Communists.

Such a programme will include:

(1) Replacement of the present Government by a democratic People's Government. This Government must be formed directly by the people and come into existence as the result of united revolutionary struggle by all anti imperialist classes, sections, parties and groups.

(2) QUITTING OF the Common wealth, prohibition of the atom bomb, demand for the withdrawal of all imperialist treeps frpn aia (Viet Nam, Malya, etc.) and denunciation of American aggression in Korea, recognition of the Korean people's Government and the Democratic Government of Vietnam complete reversal of the Nehru Government's foreign policy of subservience to Anglo- American imperialists as seen in the shameful stand on every issue in the UNO including the bembing on Korean people.

(3) A POLICY OF friendship and close co-operation with the Soviet Union the chinese People's Republic the East European Democracies and other democratic countries for peace for national independence of all nations, repudiation of the agreement which allows recruitment of Gurkha soldiers and their being used by imperialists.

(4) CONFISCATION OF ALL foreign capital in India, nationalisation of key industries and big banks and the undertaking of a plan to industrialise the country. State aid to and encouragement of such small industries a benefit the people. Repudiation of all agreements with foreign monopoly interests that shackle our economy.

(5) LAND TO the tiller, no compensation of big landlords. Cancellation of peasant debts. Full aid to peasants to increase production, above all production of food.

(6) ABOLITION OF STATES and their complete breaking up to form linguistic provinces. Stoppage of all privy purse for the princes, confisocation of their property.

(7) REMOVAL FROM THE ARMED FORCES of all Britishers and their agennts. Formation of a people's Army. Radical improvemem in the condition of common soldiers and common policemen.

(8) DRASTIC REDUCTION in the military budget and police budget. Public trial of those guilty of terror against the people.

(9) DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES for the people. Release of all political prisoners, repeal of public safety Acts, withdrawal of Labour Black Bills, right to strike.

(10) LIVING wage security of service.

(11) COMPULSORY and free education.

(12) A UNIFORM POLICY of food procurement, with fair price to the peasant and the main contribution from the landlords.

(13) RATIONING OF housing accommodation. Taking over the palatial mansions to house the homeless.

(14) A SPECIAL TAX on the rich for refugee rehabilitation. Adequate allowance and medical facilities for the refugees.

(15) DRASTIC ACTION against profiteers and confiscation of their entire property.

(16) SCRAPPING OF the present constitution. A democratic constitution disbandment of the Civil Service. Officials elected by the people. controlled by them and subject to recall. Proportional representation.

Those are only a few points. The programme has to be filled in and concretised for each province.

Such a programme will immediately rally the anti imperialist classes, parties, groups and individuals. It is our duty and task to make this programme the programme of our entire people. It must be popularised most extensively from our own platform, from the platform of the United Left parties, in every meeting and demonstration and while waging every mass battle. More and more these slogans must become the slogans of the fighting masses themselves.

### **WORKING CLASS UNITY AND LEFT UNITY**

**WORKING CLASS UNITY** and the unity of the Left Parties will be two most important weapons to forge the United Front of the people.

"Never before in the whole history of the international working class movement" says the Resolution of the Information Bureau, "has working class unity, both within the frame work of individual countries and on a world scale been of such decisive importance as at the present time. Unity in the ranks of the working class is necessary in order to defend peace to frustrate the criminal designs of the war-mongers and to frustrate the imperialist plot against democracy and socialism, to avert the establishment of fascist methods of domination, to offer a decisive rebuff to the campaign of monopoly capital against the vital interests of the working class and to achieve and improvement in the economic position of the working class"

Though adopted in November, 1949, this Resolution, as far as our countries is concerned has remained a dead letter. Little efforts have been made to heal the disastrous split in the working class movement. This is because we have not yet realised to a sufficient extent the basic causes of the split and the role that this split plays in the overall plans of imperialism.

It is not an accident that immediately after the war, both the congress and the Socialist Party concentrated their attention on the working class and strove their utmost to split it.

"The post war experience" says the Cominform Resolution, "showed that the policy of splitting the working class occupies one of the most important places in the arsenals of a new war, for the suppression of the forces of democracy and socialism and for lowering the standard of living of the people.

Fully conscious of the importance of the working class in India and Indian politics, the imperialists and their agents look upon working class disunity as one of

the key weapons in their plan to transform India into their base for the domination of south east Asia and for Launching war of aggression against the Soviet Union and the chinese people. It is also one of the essential conditions for the establishment of Fascist dictatorship in our country.

Despite the efforts of the imperialists and their agents, however, repeatedly during the last three years, the working class had doggedly fought against the Government and capitalist offensive and slowed it down; repeatedly their urge for unity has expressed itself in numerous strike battles, in mass demonstrations and clashes; repeatedly rank and file workers of different trade unions have forged unity on their own by standing shoulder to shoulder in the face of police attacks. The present great strike in Bombay has seen innumerable instances of such joint fight.

All those show that unity can be realised, unity must be realised.

Hitherto, the party has failed to transform this urge for unity into a firm reality. From time to time, it has made vague general appeals for unity but such abstract appeals could achieve nothing, Sectarian approach sectarian methods, sectarian tactics, have marked our entire trade union work as everyone of our trade union leaders recognises today.

What unity can the working class forge with the peasantry if it itself remains disunited? What leadership can it supply to the people if even against the Industrial Relations Bill's it cannot move unitedly what force can the party become in national politics if it remains isolated in its own class.

One mass union in each industry, one Railwaymen's Federation, one United Trade Union congress these must be our slogans and these slogans must be realised in practice by the broadest unity campaign in the working class and by the establishment of **unity of action** of all workers for adequate bonus and minimum wage, against retrenchment, against the drive towards fascism and against the menace of war.

Immediate steps must be taken to establish unity with the UTUC, on the basis of proposals made by them to the AITUC. Even in the ranks of the socialist workers, as the Hyderabad conference showed the urge for unity has grown and they can and must be drawn into the unity movement.

Despite the reactionary policies of the socialist leaders and their open alliance with the American war mongers and their slandering of the Soviet Union, the socialist Unions must not be placed in the same category as the INTUC UNIONS. The Socialist Unions in many places have real mass policies of the leadership, these have to be won over for the slogan of trade union unity by correct approach and by hard and sustained work, and by building unity in action, we have to expose before the mass of workers and the socialist party's stand on the issue of the korean war, the refusal of their leaders to sign the Stockholm Appeal the bureaucrat way in which they "conduct" strikes without permitting the strikers to elect rank and file strike committees opposition to the Black Bills.

Working class unity taken by them during the Bombay textile strike and on the issue of we want to emphasise again, must be the core of the United National Front and this unity has to be achieved with the utmost rapidity. Simultaneously the political level of the working class must be raised, it must be freed from Socialist influence and moved into action in defence of the rights and interests of all classes, especially the peasantry.

It is only a united working class and a working class more and more consolidated under the banner of the party that can act as the leader of the people, halt the drive towards fascism and defeat the plans of the war mongers. The effect of working class unity on the middle classes on students, on peasants would be seen in the attraction of these classes towards the working class and also in giving a tremendous impetus to the movement for all round unity. Mass Unions embodying the unity of the working class would be able to move the entire class into action, it would be a big weapon in achieving people's unity. We shall get thousands of active workers to go to the rural areas and lead the peasants in their battles.

Of great importance also is the unity of the Left Parties and groups of Communists, United Socialists, Forward, Bloc, Workers and Peasants Party and others. The realisation of this unity would go a long way in healing the split in the working class, students and peasant movements. The Party must immediately take steps to convene a meeting of these groups and parties and invite also the honest elements in the socialist party and Left Congressmen. We must make a direct appeal to the socialist party too though we knew they will not accept the proposal. It will help, however to expose them before their own ranks.

What immense force Left unity can generate was seen in the southern Calcutta bye elections when the shattering defeat inflicted on the Congress candidate shook Congress prestige all over the country. No left party by itself is strong enough to challenge the Congress today but their united strength is immense. Not merely would it bring their existing following together, but it would also have a galvanising influence on the vast number of people who hate the congress, but see no way to fight it and are therefore sinking into a state of passivity and despair.

Barring the Socialist party leadership, which really is not left but an agency of Anglo, American imperialists, in all Left parties, the desire for unity has grown rapidly during the last few months, especially since the appearance of the Cominform Editorial, the heroic fight of the korean people has given added impetus to this urge and almost all Left parties have denounced American aggression in unequivocal terms.

It is our task and our duty to give concrete expression to their urge for unity, to formulate a concrete programme for united campaign and united action and to contact the Left parties. Such unity we want to stress again will play a big role in creating conditions for a united Trade Union congress united students union and united kisan sabhas as also for developing a united mass movement for peace. It will strengthen the anti-imperialist forces in the Socialist Party and draw into the movement masses of congressmen also.

This unity has to be not in the nature of a mere top agreement but above all unity for action. Also it does not mean abandonment of all criticism, but on the contrary presupposes such correct criticism as will help to expose the opportunist elements and draw the honest elements closer to us. As we know well there are in these parties known careerists and opportunists who nevertheless have a mass following that can be only gradually won over. Many in these parties especially in the United Social Party and Forward Bloc are nothing more than bourgeois Lefts who are bound to vacillate and even turn reactionary as the struggle develops and conflicts sharpen. All this demands a vigilant attitude, maintenance of the independence of the party at all costs and no merging of the party in the general Left Camp. It is necessary to stress this in view of the history of the past when United Front with the Socialist party led to opportunist surrender on many vital issues. (1936-39).

We have to abandon the defeatist notion about the inevitability of fascism, we have to halt the drive towards fascism by mass mobilisation and mass action against every concrete manifestation of fascism against every reactionary measure of the Government. We have to unite our entire people in the struggle for civil liberties, for democratic rights.

The success achieved by the freedom of the press committee two years ago in mobilising democratic opinion against the repressive measures of the government of Bombay could have been made the starting point for a determined and all embracing campaign, covering the whole country. The sectarian leadership of the party ignored this task, ignored the lessons of that mobilisation.

Opposition against the repressive measures of the Government has mounted steadily and is being reflected even in a number of Judgements the High courts and Supreme court (on the death sentences in Hyderabad, or the CROSSROADS CASE, on the Criminal Law Amendment Act in Madras, on a number of habeas corpus petitions etc.) and in Editorial comments of even bourgeois newspapers, the volume of democratic opinion in the country is immense, is growing. It is for our party and our class to mobilise it and develop it as a part of the general democratic movement.

### **SLOGAN OF PEACE - A SLOGAN OF MASS MOBILISATION**

TO-DAY WITH KOREAN TOWNS and villages being bombed by American imperialists, the issue of struggle against war mongers has come to the forefront and dominates the scene in every country of the world. The Nehru Government's shameless stand on this issue has raised sharp criticism, even among its supporters. Our people have been profoundly stirred by the heroism of the Korean people. Even newspapers like the "TIMES OF INDIA" have condemned the Nehru Government's policy.

Nevertheless, our party has been able to be practically nothing in this matter. It has failed to utilise the occasion for driving home to our people the lessons of this

war, the need to forge all in unity for peace, to develop mass opposition to the imperialists and their servitors, we have failed to give expression to the popular sympathy with Korea and popular indignation against the imperialist aggressors.

Our peace Movement has, barring a few places in Punjab, remained a movement confined to our own following. Our peace "activity" has been nothing more than holding occasional conferences, marked by sectarian slogans, hot speeches and violent denunciation of the Government, combined with half hearted signature campaign. In a most crude and mechanical way, we have mixed up the issue of peace with every other conceivable issue and in such a manner that only those agree with our stand on all these issues could join our "peace movement". We have not linked the issue of peace with the issue of the colossal military expenditure of the present Government which imposes ever growing burdens on the people while neglecting their urgent needs. We have failed to mobilise mass opposition to the recruitment of gurkha soldiers for murdering the patriots in Malaya. We have not made the issue of peace a live issue for our people by showing the connection between the war drive and their own worsening conditions-civil liberties, the Labour Black Bills, rising prices, etc.

Our All India peace Committee is nothing more than a body of Trade Union leaders. It has not met even once since its formation. It has not issued even a statement since the beginning of American aggression in Korea. "India" as Jean Lafitte General Secretary of the world peace Committee said, "is a clear example of this type of restricted peace Movement. This is hindering the harnessing of the immediate possibilities that exist in India".

American films showing the bombing of Korean towns and villages and being screened everywhere. We have not organised any protest against this. We have collected less than 300,000 signatures to the Stockholm Appeal. We have produced practically no literature in Indian languages on this issue. Our leadership seems to think that since our struggle for freedom is itself a struggle against war mongers, no special importance need be attached to the Peace Movement apart from this struggle. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Not merely our duty to the international democratic movement, but the interests of our own liberation movement demands a total break with this opportunist line.

With the party in its present state of isolation from the democratic masses, from the progressive intelligentsia, from elements in the Congress, from the women, the slogan of Peace can be one of the most powerful weapon to build the democratic unity of the people and to bring together all progressive elements ranging from honest Congressmen to Communists on one platform. It can help us to build our contact with the rank and file members of the armed forces who do not want to be used by the imperialists and made cannon fodder to further imperialist policies. It can help us to mobilise women on the largest scale, among whom our influence today is very little. It can mobilise writers, artists, lawyers, doctors, journalists, and other sections of the intelligentsia. It can bring all sections of the workers together among whom love for the Soviet Union is great and boundless. It can unite the

peasants who will have to bear new burdens in case of war and contribute men and money. It can unite the entire youth of our unity.

The colossal expenditure of 170 crores of rupees for "Defence" incurred by the Nehru Government the colossal burden that this imposes on the common people, ignoring of education, health, housing by the same Government, can this not be made an issue to unite the broadest sections of our people against the present Government and against its policies of tying India to the war chariot of imperialists? Will not this unity be itself a powerful weapon in our struggle for national liberation?

In this connection, the Letter sent by the W.F.D.Y. to the Students Federation is of great significance.

"The youth of India should also note that one of the principal and fundamental guarantees of success in the struggle for national liberation is the building up of the unity of all sections of the patriotic youth. The Stockholm Appeal gives you the possibility, a great golden opportunity in deed to build up such unity among all sections of youth, irrespective of political, religious, social or other distinctions. In India, or in any other country, there can be not a single young man or woman of goodwill who, if approached openly, frankly and with an unbiased mind, will refuse to sign the appeal. For nobody wants an atomic, war. This minimum of agreement achieved on the Stockholm Appeal will no doubt go a long way to create among the youth and their organisations a powerful urge for unity on all other matters of common interest. The urgent need of the Indian youth movement is unity for Peace and national independence and from this consideration a vigorous signature campaign on the Stockholm Appeal is, in your country the supreme duty of all youth organisations. "(our emphasis)".

These words must guide us in our peace work.

Even the results of the meagre efforts made by us will now show what immense possibilities exist for forging all in unity on this issue. In Delhi, 30 Members of the Indian Parliament, all Congressmen have signed the Peace Appeal. In Punjab, a number of leading Congressmen have joined Peace Committees. In Cawnpore, Raja Ram Shastri, a socialist MLA, and a top leader of the UP Socialist Party, has signed the appeal as well as Vasudeo Prasad Misra, Secretary of the City Congress Committee.

To intensify these efforts, to form broad-based Peace Committees in all centres, to build a real Peace campaign through songs, dramas, handbills, pamphlets, etc., to draw wider and wider sections of our people into the movement-these are our tasks. We shall be taking a big step towards breaking our self imposed isolation and towards the building of the democratic Front by undertaking these tasks in right earnest.

### **NEED FOR A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS GENERAL ELECTIONS**

A VITAL ISSUE which we have ignored completely till now is the issue of the coming general elections.

Elected on the basis of a narrow franchise four years ago (14 percent) and by making false promises, the present Legislatures in all provinces as well as in the Centre have dittoed all the reactionary policies of the Congress leadership and acted as their rubber stamps. They have ceased to represent the people, they have belied all the expectations that people had, they have broken all their pledges.

Elections on the basis of adult franchise were promised long ago, but this is being postponed on the plea of "technical difficulties". The truth is that they dare not face the people and want to perpetuate themselves in power. Till now the party has done nothing to expose the game; it has not given expression to the mass demand for immediate elections, for free and fair elections. It has ignored the issue.

"They will not hold elections. If they do, we shall fight it. But we do not want to create constitutional illusions by ourselves giving any slogans". such has been the attitude of the party. This attitude has nothing to do with the Marxist Leninist methods of leading the people, of enabling them to overcome their illusions through their own experience, of uniting the people as they are and taking them forward.

Rolls are being prepared in all provinces by Government officials in a most dishonest way, leaving out millions of workers and peasants. By dishonest delimitation of constituencies and by undemocratic, electoral rules, no proportional representation, etc. The Congress is trying to ensure that even if elections are held, they may be returned to office again, On all this, we have said nothing till now. The mass of our people in cities as well as in villages are looking forward to the elections and parties like the socialists are using their expectation to strengthen their own position,

To continue our present negative attitude to the issue of elections would mean to isolate ourselves even from our supporters, to doom ourselves to a state of political impotence, to hand over the masses to Socialists, Congress factions and other Reformists. It would mean losing a great opportunity to popular programme, to reforge our links with the people to build the unity of the left Parties and to develop a mass movement against the present Government.

We must demand that the elections must be held without delay and create irresistible opinion for this demand. We must forge unity with Left Parties and progressive elements that are breaking away from the Congress as also elements in the Congress to formulate a minimum programme to take concrete proposals for proper de-limitations of constituencies and proportional representation, to demand full civil liberties. Without full civil liberties, without the removal of bans on our party (Madras, West Bengal, etc.) and mass organisations, without release of political prisoners, the election will be a mockery, this consciousness has to be defeated. These demands can to day get tremendous support from all sections of people.

The way the CC has ignored this issue, the fact that not a line occurs in any CC document on this issue reveal sharply the blind sectarian out look that the CCMCs have acquired their complete isolation from the masses, their inability to

gauge mass mood, we would remind the CC that according to the Greek leaders it was a mistake to have ignored the 1946 elections when terror was raging in Greece and the country was actually in the midst of a real civil war.

### UNITY OF PEASANT MASSES FOR LAND

IT IS THE PEASANT MASSES that from the main force of our revolution, it is the development of their struggle that is our decisive importance for the victory of our revolution.

With the food crisis deepening and millions facing starvation and death, the issue of agrarian reform has become an issue affecting the life of every section of our people and provides a platform for achieving the broadest unity. Nowhere is the dire result of imperialist feudal exploitation seen so clearly as in the pauperisation of the peasant masses and the rapid decline of food production. More than ever before, the agrarian question has become the question before our people.

No class had more faith in the congress than the peasants. No class has been more cruelly betrayed. Even the most half hearted "reform" Bill are dragging on in various Legislatures for years together and new burdens are being imposed on the peasants in the name of Zemindari Abolition. The eviction drive is on in every province. While the price of foodstuffs and of every necessity of life rises steeply, the peasant is being looted mercilessly under the Government's procurement policies.

Our peasant unions, guided by the old PB which looked at the rich peasant as the main enemy and the middle peasant as a vacillator, failed to unite the peasant masses against these attacks and virtually liquidate themselves in practically all provinces. The All India Kisan Sabha has ceased to exist as an organisation, its leading committees have not met for years together, the provincial Kisan Sabhas exist only on paper in most provinces. In a period when they needed it most, the peasants have been deprived of leadership and guidance.

It is in the rural areas that the Government is potentially the weakest, it is here that the decisive battles will develop, it is here that we have to develop partisan areas and liberated areas, and destroy the power of the imperialists bit by bit. The army, recruited mostly from the peasantry, will also start wavering and cracking as the battle extends as grows. It is of utmost necessity, therefore that the present weakness of ours in the countryside is overcome and a mass peasant movement built, mass Kisan Sabhas organised and a strong volunteer organisation created. This alone will create the basis for armed guerilla struggle of the Telengana type.

A strong peasant movement, uniting the peasant masses and covering a big area is essential for the development of guerilla struggle. Without such a movement-armed struggle can be of no other character than sporadic attacks on landlords and moneylenders. Also, if the area is too small, the guerillas will have no place to retreat in face of police and military offensive and will be annihilated.

To build a mass peasant movement, uniting all sections of the peasantry is, therefore, our immediate task. Special attention has to be paid to the poor peasants

and agricultural workers who, together, form the overwhelming majority of the rural population and who alone can be more core and the driving force of the agrarian struggle s and the formally of the working class.

Tens of thousands of former active supporters of the congress in the rural areas can be drawn into the Kisan Sabhas and their co operation secured as well as the co operation of workers and peasants party of honest elements from the congress and the socialist party to build a mass Kisan movement round the central slogan of "Land to the Tiller" and for immediate demands like 50 percent reduction of rent and revenue, no evictions, no feudal levies, fair price, living wage for agricultural labourers, etc., We must formulate a concrete agrarian programme for each province popularise it extensively among all sections of the people and forge unity with all democratic elements to build a United Kisan Sabha and put this programme into effect.

This programme cannot be realised by agitation and propaganda along Direct action by the peasant masses refusal to pay rents and levies, seizure of land and the defence of such action by armed guerilla struggle will have to become increasingly the main feature of the agrarian movement as the inovement rises to higher and higher level, as peasant unity gets strengthened and as their consciousness and militancy grows. The whole movement will have to be firmly led from stage to stage and directed to the path of armed struggle as the situation in different areas matures.

Another task of vital importance is the winning of extensive popular support for the struggle in Telengana and other areas where we wage guerilla struggle.

It is necessary today, taking into account the existing level of our movement and the stage of mass consciousness that in our propaganda and agitation we adopt a correct attitude and make a correct approach. We have to stress the defensive aspect of the Telengana struggle the justned of the demands for which the peasants are fighting the conditions which forced them to take to arms, and the atrocities that are being committed by the Government forces, we have to rouse our entire people against the Government by emphasising these points.

Not that we are organising guerilla struggle to overthrow the Government but that the atrocities of the Government have compelled the people to take up arms to defend their lives, their property and the honour of their wives, mothers and daughers, their right to the land, they till this basic point must be emphasised again and again brought home to our people through pamphlets through visits of democratic non party men to these areas through formulaton of concrete demands, etc. To ignore all these tasks on the plea that this is "reformism" is to doom Telengana to isolation.

The same must be done about every area where we wage such struggle. Not merely guerilla sturggle is to be undertaken on the basis of active popular support active peasant support and the level of the movement is the area, but support and sympathy for these struggles must be conscious won even from those sections all

over the country who do not yet realise the necessity for armed struggle for the overthrow of the Government.

The Telengana Defence Committee must be broadened to include as many non party progressive elements as possible. There is no doubt that people can be roused on this issue and their support won if we abandon the present sectarian approach and sectarian methods. It is a matter of shame that while the people of Poland have sent 200 pounds, for the defence of Telengana comrades, we are unable to collect more than a few thousand rupées for our own people.

On this as well as on other issues like peace American aggression in Korea, we have been guilty of under estimation of the volume of democratic opinion in the country, under estimation of the possibilities of mass mobilisation failure to shed sectarianism and evolve slogans and tactics which will enable us to translate these possibilities into realities. Fear of committing "reformist deviations", fear of associations with the reformists, fear that we are abandoning the "straight path of Bolshevism" grips our leadership and our ranks.

#### **FOR UNITY OF ALL FIGHTING CLASSES & ALL SECTIONS**

OUR COMRADES in the All India Students Federation have to take the lead in uniting the student masses and increasing conditions for a single united student organisation. We transformed the AISF into a narrow sect of Communist Students. From the Students Federation platform we denounced every congressman as reactionary and went to the length of condemning all Left parties and all student organisations other than the AISF. The opposition that the Government agency "NationUnion of Students" has evoked from the Students Congress organisations in Bengal, UP and Kerala the united fight of the student masses of Gwali which won the support of all sections of people, led to student actions in many places, and compelled the Government to retreat the common demands being voice by students for lowering of fees , for adequate grant to educational institutions, for adequate hostel accommodation, etc, all these go to show not merely how urgent is the need for unity but also how great its possibilities. The victory of the Chinese people and the aggression in Korea have profoundly stirred the student masses and heightened their consciousness. Once active participants in all the struggles led by the Congress the student masses in the last 3 years have again and again defied bans and staged militant demonstrations. Their actions have played a major role in exposing the real face of the Congress rulers. Not merely for fighting for their own demands, but also on the issue of peace, on the issue of civil liberties, they can be unite and led forward.

Besides student actions, the last three years have witnessed big ten strikes of clerks, office employees, lower grade Government servants and teachers, including the 20,000 strong strike of the District Board and Municipal teachers of UP. With prices rising rapidly and with large scale retrenchment in all firms and Government departments, their conditions are rapidly becoming desperate. These elements can be a powerful ally of the proletariat they can also be enlisted in the army of Fascism.

It is a matter of grave concern that due to the absence of working class unity and the absence of Left unity which could galvanise them and due to the scant attention paid by us, thousands of these elements have joined and are joining the openly Fascist RSS which declares extermination of Muslims and war against Pakistan as the solution of their problems. It is essential that the working class and its party actively champions their demands about adequate wage, housing, education of their children, etc. Organises them in mass unions, carries on intensive campaign among them against all reactionary ideologies and wins them over.

We have to intervene actively on every issue affecting the life of our people and build their unity for action, we have to formulate concrete demands for the victims of flood and the Assam earthquake for the people in famine areas and over and above all, for securing food for our people. Today the issue of food has become one of the main and most important issues for our country. The slogans given in the CROSSROADS of September 15 are fully correct and must be carried out by mass mobilisation and direct action of the people against profiteers and food hoarder unloading their stock and taking possession of it to feed the hungry wherever we are in a position to do so. The Government must be made to declare the starvation areas of Bengal, Bihar and Madras as famine areas and take the responsibility of feeding the people. The military budget must be reduced by 50 percent to import food for the people, especially from the Soviet Union and other democratic countries. The land handed over to the tiller in all areas to solve the food crisis, we have to organise hunger marches and demonstrations in unity with other anti imperialist forces for these demands. Seizure of land by the peasantry in Telengana must be recognised and..

We have to conduct an all sided exposure campaign against the present Government-its policies on all international and national issues-Korea, food, blackmarketeering and profiteering, bogus integration and merger of States, shameful deals with foreign interests, starving educational institutions while swelling police budget, living wage, agrarian reform, callous disregard for the refugees and on each and every issue formulate concrete demands and slogans.

We have to conduct determined struggle against the Right wing socialists, expose their policies concretely and show how they are serving the imperialists and their collaborators, while simultaneously establishing fraternal relations with their ranks, who are becoming more and more critical of these policies.

We have to transform our newspapers into real mass newspapers, conducting all-sided exposure of the Government, reporting every crime against the people, full stories of corruption, shady deals and of the conflicts inside the congress establishing correspondence service in every centre so that the paper reports not merely our activities but reflects the rising tide of the mass movement against the Government and its policies. The papers can and must become powerful levers for building Left unity, democratic unity of the people and unity of the working class. The very fact that this is a period of growing radicalisation and the circulation of our papers

has not merely not increased, but has, in many cases gone down shows how we have failed to run them properly.

We have to create mass literature in India languages to meet the ever growing demand for information about the Soviet Union, about People's China about the people's Democracies, about events and happenings in our own country and abroad, how criminally we have failed in this can be seen from the fact that we closed down the "INDO-SOVIET JOURNAL" our FSU activities are at a standstill and we have produced practically nothing in Indian languages about China and Vietnam and even about Korea. The need is for cheaply priced pamphlets, streams of pamphlets and their wide sale.

We have to undertake immediate work among the refugees, formulate demands about their resettlement and education of their children, collect funds for their needs. We have to defeat the efforts of communalist reactionaries to use their miseries for their own ends.

We have to support actively the demand for linguistic Provinces and forge unity with the Congress and other elements for this purpose, we have to get rid of the idea that everyone connected with the congress is a counter-revolutionary. On the contrary, every effort must be made to draw Congressmen and those breaking away from the congress into the movement for Peace, for friendship with the Soviet Union and People's China, for food, for civil liberties, etc.

We have to popularise the Soviet Union and its achievements on the most extensive scale and among all sections of our people. The FSU must be made a really broad movement and the "INDO-SOVIET JOURNAL" must be re-started and a mass drive launched for the selling of literature on the Soviet Union. Also articles from the "PEOPLE'S CHINA" must be translated and brought in pamphlet form in all languages.

We must also formulate concrete demands affecting the life of the soldiers and armed forces in general and make them a part of our platform.

Inevitably, the forms of struggle will vary from place to place, depending on the nature of the issue, the degree of people's unity. For example, in one place, we may be able to assert the right to hold meetings by militant defiance of bans and wrest civil liberties temporarily, at another we may not be able to do anything more than a peaceful protest. At one place we may be able to unearth the hoarded stock and distribute foodgrains among the people; at another, we may have to adopt the method of demonstration alone. Due to the very nature of the period, however, and due to the growing radicalisation of the masses, resort to higher and higher forms of struggle will be both necessary and possible.

We have stated earlier that armed struggle must increasingly become the main form of our struggle, that this struggle must be spread all over the country as the situation natures and our own strength guester.

The imperialists, we must never forget, are in a desperate situation and will adopt desperate measures to maintain themselves in power. While not resigning

ourselves to the inevitability of fascism, while fighting determinedly to win civil liberties, while making full use of all legal possibilities, we must never forget the nature of the period. Never again we must allow ourselves to be taken by surprise as we did after the Second Party Congress. Every measure must be taken to keep unexposed a large part of the cadres of the Party, especially the new recruits. The underground organisational and technical apparatus have to be strengthened a hundredfold in order that the Party may function, may maintain its links with the masses and lead them even in the midst of worst terror. While it is stupid to reduce the question of struggle against the Government to merely a question of technique and military tactics, we must never forget also that in a colonial country, it would be suicidal to ignore the tremendous importance of these factors. The struggle to build the United Front of the people itself demands that our links with the masses are maintained in all situations, that we are able to create a force to defend the people in face of attacks from the enemy, that we are able to deliver repeated blows against the enemy, basing ourselves on active mass support and on the rising mass movement.

This is where we differ from those who would liquidate all militant struggles today and who visualise a period of peaceful preparation ahead.

We maintain that the immediate task before the Party in the greater part of the country is to develop a mass movement, create mass organisations and build mass unity, which alone would create the basis for real armed struggle.

This is where we differ from the present CC line which, as we have said, puts the cart before the horse by advancing guerilla war all over the country.

The perspective of armed struggle will be realised only if we abandon all complacency, all illusions both of a reformist and of a revolutionary浪漫家 nature, only if we mobilise and lead the masses in their immediate battles and build their unity and their organisation.

On every occasion, on every issue, and in every place, the Communist Party has to come out as the Party of people's unity and people's struggle, as the builder, organiser and champion of the people's battles. We have to transfer the people's hatred against the Government and their urge for a new life into a mass movement to end the present regime and establish real freedom and democracy. We have to unite all the little streams of opposition to the Government into one mighty torrent, into the revolutionary struggle for a People's Democracy.

### FOR A MASS PARTY

WE HAVE FORMULATED some of the immediate tasks facing the Party. But in the forefront of all tasks stands the task of re-unifying and re-building the Party itself, the task of transforming into a mass Party. The nature of the period we are passing through the nature of the period ahead, makes this our supreme task.

The Bombay textile strike has galvanised the working class all over the country. The sympathetic strikes in Calcutta, Cawnpore and other centres, the colliery

workers' strike in Bihar, the militant strike in centres, the colliery workers' strike in Bihar, the militant strike in Indore, show that a big strike-wave is rising again. Clashes are being reported from rural areas. Masses of hungry people have already, in some 40 areas, taken possession of profiteers' heards. Despite the lack of unity, lack of leadership, lack of organisation, the people are moving into action spontaneously, driven by hunger, driven by intolerable conditions of life. Wherever one goes, one sees clear indications of the coming storm.

The crisis is maturing fast. Big upheavals, gigantic battles are ahed.

But, as the history of our national movement has proved again and again, the upsurge, no matter how powerful, will spend itself in a series of organised clashes, dissipate its strength in uncoordinated battles and will be ultimately betrayed and crushed unless the Party has already entrenched itself in the masses has forged its links with them and with a clear perspective. We shall be taken by surprise by the volume and force of the avalanche, overwhelmed by the political and organisational tasks that will face us and be compelled to trail behind the events if we do not act correctly right now, win the leadership of the masses today, unite them through a correct mass policy round our banner and transform ourselves into a mass Party.

We have to discard the ridiculous notion that even if we remain isolated from the masses today, they will flock round our banner "When the time comes" because by then all other parties will have discredited themselves and we shall appear before the people as the only revolutionary Party. We have to realise that if we do not win the leadership of the masses today by a correct mass policy, by leadership of day-to-day battles, and by patiently building up mass organisations and a mass Party, we shall be able to do nothing in the coming period.

Only a mass Party can lead the mass upsurge. Only a mass Party can build people's unity. Only a mass Party can organise armed struggle on a big scale and in an effective manner. This is the key lesson we have to learn from the glorious history of the Chinese Revolution.

As Comrade Dimitrov said in his historic Report at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, "In the struggle for the establishment of the United Front, the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party increased extraordinarily. Only the Communist Party is at bottom the initiator, the organiser and the driving force of the United Front of the working class.

"The Communist Parties can ensure the mobilisation of the masses of toilers for a united struggle against the offensive of fascism and the offensive of capital only if they strengthen their own ranks in every respect. If they develop their initiative, pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy and apply correct flexible tactics, which take into account the concrete situation and the alignment of class forces."

These words of Comrade Dimitrov not merely retain their validity to this day, they are of special significance for us in view of the situation in our country and the state of our Party.

Dimitrov was ignored by the old PB. The Party for them was merely a shock-brigade and not the vanguard of the masses, not the leader, the organiser and the driving force of the United Front against the imperialists. When "analysing" the situation, they forgot that the Party is the most vital factor in the "situation" itself; its strength, its influence, its striking power, the decisive foce that would determine the fate of the whole battle.

Party-buildig has always been the task most neglected by us. Even when we led big mass battles all over the country. We could not draw mere than a minute fraction of them into the party. Thousands of militant workers and peasants thrown up by every struggle, men with initiative, capacity for leadership, courage and spirit of self-sacrifice were drawn towards the Party, but could not be enlisted in the Party and absorbed. The Party, therefore, always suffered from lack of cadres.

One of the basic reasons for this is our failure to conduct intensive political education among our cadres, supporters and sympathisers. Barring Andhra, and to a certain extent Bengal, the work of Party education has never been even seriously undertaken.

Study of classics, completely ignored in the period of reformism, is of course, a key factor in raising the level of consciousness of cadres. But that by itself is not enough. We have to study intensively the history of our own struggles, of the battles led by us, of mass fights that have taken place in our own country. We have to draw lessons from these struggles. Then only ranks can be educated and can acquire experience.

Our trade union cadres today know nothing except of the struggles in which they have been direct participants. They know nothing of the great strikes of Bombay, Calcutta and other centres of the past and their lessons. We have not prduced any literature on the Trade Union Movement in India. We have not produced the history of the great Tebhaga battle, the North Malabar peasant movement, the great fights in Andhra and the uprising in Telengana. The priceless lessons of these movements, lessens learned in the battle field itself, have not been made party of the consciousness of the whole Party but have remained confined only to the consciousness of the whole Party but have remained confined only the to the actual participants, and that too in a vague general way. Comrades in one centre have learned nothing from the struggles of another centre. Now cadres have had to start work every time afresh, without the guidance that the rich experience of the past can supply. We seldom review the movements of our people and even when we do the Reports on the Peace Movement, the working class and student movement in the "Communist"- they are full of vague generalisations, gross exaggeration and high sounding phrases and, therefore, do not teach anything.

A break has to be made with all this, the "COMMUNIST", our theoretical organ, has to be conducted not merely on the basis of reprints from international articles, but has to review the situation in our own country and the actual progress

of our own movement. Then only can it teach our cadres. Also, we have to prepare reports and reviews of our past struggles. Without this, we shall never be able to train our cadres..

The old PB not merely ignored the task of building the party. They followed a policy of systematically smashing it up. They poisoned the whole inner-Party atmosphere and destroyed all mutual confidence. They shattered the moral fabric of the Pabric of the Party by demagogic, by lies and by terror.

This is where we have to start from.

We have made a number of suggestions in our note on the "CRISIS IN OUR PARTY" and we request the CC to seriously consider them. We feel that the appointment of Control Commissions in all Provinces to review the cases of comrades against whom action was taken by the PB is a matter of vital importance. The question is not whether the CC is convinced about the correctness and justice of any action. The task is to convince all comrades and sympathisers that a clean break is being made with the past methods. The task is one of restoring confidence and discipline.

Abstract appeals for unity, for discipline and referring to clauses of the Party Constitution, these will not achieve the purpose of restoring confidence and re-unifying the Party. The manner in which the "re-constitution" of the CC was done, the inclusion in the new CC at least of two of the old CC comrades guilty of worst mistakes and even crimes, the failure to take suitable action against the authors of the Titoite-Turkish terror regime inside the Party, the "re-organisation" of Provincial Committees with only those who agree with the CC's interpretation of the Cominform article, the decision to call a Plenum of the CC's nominees-these are not steps which help in creating confidence. To this day the CC has not given the Party its analysis of the political situation in the country or a political-organisational report and yet it wants comrades in all committees to "unreservedly accept" the new line!

The decision of the PB to recommend to the CC that a Party Congress should be called is welcome. This decision should have been taken long ago. We have already expressed the opinion that the Congress should be preceded by Provincial Conferences - Conferences convened on the basis of a concrete political-organisational report in each Province and not merely to discuss the C.C. Letter.

In order that the Party Congress may really unify the Party and not be the starting point for renewed inner-party struggle, the following steps must be taken immediately.

(1) A concrete analysis of the political situation in our country must be made, a tactical line on its basis worked out and placed before the comrades for discussion.

2) No attempt should be made to implement the line given in the Party Letter, which should be withdrawn.

3) Immediate slogans must be given for rebuilding trade union unity, kisan unity, student unity and for developing a mass movement on the issues facing the people - Korea, Peace, Civil Liberties, Telengana, food agrarian reform, minimum wage, elections, etc.

4) Comrades BTR and Adhikari must be suspended from the Party, the CCMs from Bengal and Maharashtra removed from the CC and also the comrades mainly responsible for the mistakes for the last 2<sup>1/2</sup> years from PCs.

5) Control Commissions must be appointed in all Provinces to review the cases rapidly in order to enable the largest number of comrades to take part in the Party Conference and Congress. All wrong decisions of the old PB and other Committees must be openly withdrawn immediately to restore confidence and to create a healthy atmosphere inside the Party. No attempt must be made to minimise the crimes and mistakes of leading comrades as has been done in the Organisational Report.

6.) The leaders of the international Communist movement must be informed about the serious situation in the Party. Their fraternal assistance must be sought at once for an authoritative interpretation of the Cominform article and the tasks facing the Party in India.

Only the immediate undertaking of these tasks will help us to solve the crisis and create the basis for successful convening of the Party Congress.

We have already wasted eight months. The situation brooks no delay. Any further drift will cause disaster.

We hope the CC will pay serious attention to the criticism we have made and to the proposals we have placed before it. We are confident that if we take the correct steps at once, we can undo the harm caused by the last 2<sup>1/2</sup> years policies with the utmost rapidity, unify our class and lead our people in the battle for democracy and freedom.

The situation, we repeat, brooks no delay. Reeling under the blows of the heroic Korean people, the imperialists have become more desperate and the flames of war. Inside India, the forces of counterrevolution are consolidating their ranks. The election of the arch-reactionary and communalist Tandom to the presidentship of the Congress is an ominous pointer. It presages acceleration of the drive towards fascism, increasing resort to communal disruption and all-out offensive against the forces of revolution.

We have to act and act at once. The forces of the people are immense. But they have to be unified, they have to be consolidated, they have to be led firmly. Our party and our party alone can fulfil this task.



# Statement of Policy of The Communist Party of India 1951

## *Our Objective :*

The experience of the last four years has taught the people of our country that the present Government and the present system cannot solve their main problems of life. It cannot give them land and bread, work and wages, peace and freedom. They are coming to realise the necessity of changing the present Government, which mainly serves the interests of feudal landlords and big monopoly financiers and the hidden power behind them all, the vested interests of British imperialism.

The Communist Party, therefore, has adopted a programme, in which it says, that it "regards as quite mature the task of replacing the present anti-democratic and anti-popular Government by a new Government of People's Democracy."

Who should form such a Government ? The Programme says that it will be created "on the basis of a coalition of all democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in the country".

And this Government and the forces who form it, must be "capable of effectively guaranteeing the rights of the people, of giving land to the peasants gratis, of protecting our national industries against competition of foreign goods and of ensuring the industrialisation of the country, of securing a higher standard of living to the working class, of ridding the people from unemployment and thus placing the country on the wide road of progress, cultural advancement and independence." Thus, the Programme outlines the practical tasks which have to be carried out by the People's Democratic Government.

The immediate main objective being defined, the question then asked is, how is it to be achieved, with what methods, what forces ?

## *Our Past Policies :*

There are a large number of people who think that this Government can be replaced by a People's Democratic Government by utilising the parliament ushered in by the new Constitution. Such feelings are encouraged and fed not only by this Government and the vested interests but even by the right-wing Socialists, who preach that the very fact of a strong opposition Party on the parliamentary floor will shake the Government and make it topple down.

But hardly had the people started to believe in the efficacy of the new Constitution, which they thought was the outcome of their anti-imperialist struggles

of the past, than even the fiction of the fundamental rights and guarantees is thrown out of that very Constitution and the freedom of person, the press, speech and assembly, which the masses wanted to use to shake up this anti-democratic Government, are subjected to the rule of the police baton and the bureaucrat. Even the most hardened liberal would now feel ashamed to maintain, let alone the communist party and other democrats and revolutionaries that this Government and the classes that keep it in power will ever allow us to carry out a fundamental democratic transformation in the country by parliamentary methods alone. Hence, the road that will lead us to freedom and peace, land and bread, as outlined in the Programme of the Party, has to be found elsewhere.

History, enlightened for us by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, places before us its vast experience, arising out of struggles which have led nearly half of humanity to Socialism, freedom and real democracy, at the head of which stands the Soviet Union and in which the great Chinese and People's Democracies join hands.

Thus our main road is already charted out for us. Even then, each country has to seek its own path also. What is the path for us ?

The communists in India have been working with the people for the last thirty years either as groups or as a united Party. During these years, they built a mighty movement of the working class, fought their struggles and won their demands. They built a kisan movement and in vast areas as for example in Telangana, led them out of land lessness to land and from forced labour to freedom. They have fought for the rights of the people, and in these struggles hundreds and thousands have been killed, hanged, imprisoned, tortured and ruined. Naturally, while leading the working masses, many a time, at crucial points in our history, we were confronted with the question : which path to follow, what tactic would best secure the interests of the country and the people.

We do not refer here to the path that we traversed all these years, except in recent times, so that we can be clear as to what the path would be henceforth to lead us to achieve the programme.

Our Second Party Congress rejected the reformist policy pursued by the former Party leadership, which, in the name of building the United National Front, curbed the struggles of the workers, the peasants, and other sections of the people. After the Second Party Congress, differences and controversies arose inside the Party about the path that the Indian revolutionary movement must adopt. For a time, it was advocated that the main weapon in our struggle would be the weapon of general strike of industrial workers followed by countrywide insurrection as in Russia. Later, on the basis of a wrong understanding of the lessons of the Chinese Revolution, the thesis was put forward that since ours is a semi-colonial country like China, our revolution would develop in the same way as in China, with partisan war of the peasantry, as its main weapon.

Among comrades, who at different periods, accepted the correctness of the one or the other of these views, there were differences on the estimate of the

situation in the country, on the degree of isolation of the present Government from the people, and on many other vital issues. It was clear that these differences had to be resolved in order that the Party could lead the people to victory.

After long discussion, running for several months, the Party has now arrived at a new understanding of the correct path for attaining the freedom of the country and the happiness of the people, a path which we do not and cannot name as either Russian or Chinese. It should be, and is, one that conforms to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and that utilises the lessons given by all the struggles of history, especially the Russian and Chinese, the Russian because it was the first Socialist Revolution in the world carried out by the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin in a capitalist and imperialist country; and the Chinese because, it was the first People's Democratic Revolution in a semicolonial, dependent country, under the leadership of the Communist Party, in which even the national bourgeoisie took part. At the same time, one has to remember that every country has its own peculiarities, natural and social, which cannot fail to govern its path to liberation.

In what way then shall our path be different from the Chinese path ?

*China and India : Similarity and Difference :*

*Our Perspective :*

First, let us see where we are the same as the Chinese. It is in the character of our revolution. The thing of primary importance for the life of our country, same as the Chinese, is agriculture and the peasant problem. We are essentially a colonial country, with a vast majority of our people living on agriculture. Most of our workers also are directly connected with the peasantry and interested in the problem of land.

Our real freedom today means taking the land from the feudal landlords and handing it over without payment to the peasant. This anti-feudal task, when fulfilled, alone will mean the real liberation for our country because the main props of imperialist interests in our country, as they were in China are the feudal. So, like the Chinese, we have to fight feudalism and imperialism. Our revolution is antifeudal, anti-imperialist.

That makes the struggles of the peasantry of prime importance. Drawing upon the fact that in China, the liberation war was fought mainly on the basis of the partisan struggles of the peasantry, during which the peasants took land from the feudal landlords, and in the process, created the Liberation Army, it was asserted that in India too, the path will be the same, the path of partisan struggles of the peasantry would almost alone lead us to liberation.

The CC finds that drawing upon the Chinese experience in this way and to come to such a conclusion would mean neglecting to look to other factors of the Chinese Revolution and also neglecting to look into our own specific conditions. For example:

We cannot fail to take note of the fact that when the Chinese Party began to lead the peasantry in the liberation struggle, it had already an army which it inherited from the split in the Revolution of 1925.

We cannot fail to note the fact that China had no unified and good communications system, which prevented the enemy from carrying out concentrated and swift attacks on the liberation forces. India is different in this respect from China in that it has a comparatively more unified, well-organised and far-flung system of communications.

India has a far bigger working class than China had during her march to freedom.

Further, we cannot fail to note the fact that the Chinese Red Army was surrounded and threatened with annihilation again and again until it reached Manchuria. There, with the industrial base in hand, and the great friendly Soviet Union in the rear, the Chinese Liberation Army, free from the possibility of any attack in the rear, rebuilt itself and launched the final offensive which led it to victory. The geographical situation in India in this respect is altogether different.

This does not mean that there is nothing in common between us and China excepting the stage of our revolution and its main tasks. On the contrary, like China, India is of vast expanses. Like China, India has a vast peasant population. Our Revolution therefore, will have many features in common with the Chinese Revolution. But, peasant struggles along the Chinese path alone cannot lead to victory in India.

Moreover, we must bear in mind that the Chinese Party stuck to the peasant partisan war alone, not out of a principle, but out of sheer necessity. In their long-drawn struggles, the Party and peasant bases got more and more separated from the working class and its organisations, which prevented the Party and Liberation Army from calling into action the working class in factories, shipping and transport to help it against the enemy. Because it happened so with the Chinese, why make their necessity into a binding principle for us and fail to bring the working class into practical leadership and action in our Liberation struggle?

Such an outlook ignores the fact that we have a big working class and that it has a role to play, which can be decisive in our struggle for freedom. The grand alliance of the working class and the peasantry, acting in unison, the combination of workers' and peasants' struggles, under the leadership of the Communist Party, and utilising all lessons of history, for the conduct of the struggles, is to be the path for us.

It can thus be seen that while the previous line of reliance on the general strike in the cities neglected the role of the peasantry, the subsequent one of partisan struggle minimised the role of the working class, which in practice, meant, depriving the peasantry of its greatest friend and leader. The working class remained leader only "in theory", only through the Party, because the Party is defined as the Party of the working class.

Both the lines in practice meant ignoring the task of building the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, as the basis of the United National Front, ignoring the task of building the United National Front, ignoring the task of putting the working class at the head of this Front in the liberation struggle.

This, it has to be realised, was a wrong approach. The leadership of the working class is not realised only through the Party and its leadership of the peasant struggle but actually, in deeds, through the working class boldly championing the demands of the peasantry and coming to the assistance of the peasant struggles through its own action. The alliance must function in deed and fact, and not only in theory. The working class is the friend in action, that must help the fighting peasants and must ensure victory over the common enemy.

The working class, relying on agricultural workers and poor peasants, in firm alliance with the peasantry, together with the whole people, leads the battles in towns and rural areas to liberation, to land and bread, to work and peace.

The CC wishes to convey to comrades this great lesson of history, a lesson which is neither only the Russian path nor the Chinese path, but a path of Leninism, applied to Indian conditions.

Such an understanding of our perspective gives us a new outlook on how to build our mass movement, our trade unions, kisan Sabhas and also a new way to build the Party.

The understanding will also show to comrades that the main question is not, whether there is to be armed struggle or not, the main question is not whether to be non-violent or violent. It is our opponents who pose for us the question whether our creed is violence or non-violence. Such a poser is a poser of Gandhian ideology, which in practice, misleads the masses and is a poser of which we must steer clear. Marxism and history have once for all decided the question for the Party and the people of every country in the world long ago. All action of the masses in defence of their interests to achieve their liberation is sacrosanct. History sanctions all that the people decide to do to clear the lumber-load of decadence and reaction in their path to progress and freedom.

This should also tell us that all our previous understandings have to be discarded as being one-sided and defective.

#### *Combat Individual Terrorism :*

But one action history does not sanction and that is individual terrorism.

Individual terrorism is directed against individuals of a class or system and is carried out by individuals or groups and squads. The individuals who act may be heroic and selfless and applauded or even invited by the people to act and the individuals against whom they act the most hated. Still such actions are not permissible in Marxism. And why ? For the simple reason that therein the masses are not in action, Therein, the belief is fostered that the heroes will do the job for

the people. Therein, it fosters the belief that many more such actions will mean in sum total the annihilation of the classes or the system. Ultimately, it leads to passivity and inertia of the masses, stops their own action and development towards revolution and in the end results in defeat. Hence, Marxism warns against individual terrorism and bans it.

#### ***Immediate Situation and Tasks :***

The question that now remains, and an important one, is we have got the path and the perspective, but what now ? The question of the immediate, while certainly influenced by the perspective, is not solely determined by it. It is also governed by the assessment of the present situation. How far is the Government isolated, how far are the people disillusioned, how far are they ready to struggle, are some of the questions that determine the immediate tasks and slogans for them.

Some say that the Government is thoroughly discredited and isolated, the people are ready to rise in revolt and in places are clashing with the Government, which with the blatant rule of police firing, has already created conditions of civil war in the country. Hence, all our work must be guided by such an understanding of the situation. We do not think it necessary to argue the question in detail.

No doubt, the crisis of the Government is deep, but it is not yet thoroughly isolated. As the Programme of the Party puts it, “the masses have lost faith in the present Government, they are becoming deeply distrustful of it and start to consider it their enemy, who is protecting the landlords, money-lenders and other exploiters against the people.” Hence “the masses are slowly rising in struggle, no longer able to withstand this state of slow starvation and death.” But it would be gross exaggeration to say that the country is already on the eve of armed insurrection or revolution, or that civil war is already raging in the country. If we were to read the situation so wrongly, it would lead us into adventurism and giving slogans to the masses out of keeping with the degree of their understanding and consciousness and their preparedness, and the Government’s isolation. Such slogans would isolate us from the people and hand over the masses to reformist disruptors.

Equally wrong are they who see only the disunity of the popular forces, only the offensive of reaction and advocate a policy of retreat in the name of regrouping of forces, of eschewing all militant actions on the plea that this will invite repression. Tactics based on such an understanding of the situation will lead to betrayal of the masses and surrender before the enemy.

We have to lead the struggles of the people in the context of a sober evaluation of the situation. While it should not lead us into adventurism, we must also not forget that the crisis is not being solved but is growing. Hence, we cannot take a leisurely attitude and behave as if no deep crisis is moving the people and furious struggles are not looming ahead. Because insurrection and civil war do not exist, some would like to move and work as if they are living in a democracy with rights and liberties and nothing need be done to protect the Party and the leadership of

mass organisations from onslaughts of the law run mad. With such an outlook, we shall get smashed and will be able to build nothing.

But because the crisis is growing, and even a simple food procession like the one in Cooch-Behar leads to firing and brings thousands on the streets, some would like to do away with the daily humdrum task of running mass organisations. Taking fascism to be inevitable or already in power, they would scoff at parliamentary elections or fighting for civil liberties, for which broad sections of the people can and should be mobilised.

We have to realise that although the masses are getting fast radicalised and moving into action in many parts of the country, the growth of the mass movement has not kept pace with the growth of discontent against the present Government and its policies and methods. To ascribe this to repression alone would be wrong. This weakness of the mass movement is due, above all, to the weakness of our Party and the division in the camp of progressive forces. The Party therefore must strive to overcome this division and must stress the supreme need for unity of all progressive forces, build this unity in action and itself grow into a mass Party by drawing into its fold the best elements from the fighting masses.

We must fight the parliamentary elections and elections in every sphere where the broad strata of the people can be mobilised and their interests defended. We must be wherever the masses are and would like us to be.

#### *Role Of Working Class Unity And The Party :*

The Party has to build the unity of the working class and make it conscious of its tasks in relation to our entire people. The existing split in the working class movement which hampers the development of working class struggles must be overcome at all costs in the shortest possible time and united mass organisations of the working class built.

The class has also to be made politically conscious. Only a united and politically conscious working class can fulfil the role of the leadership of the people.

We have to rouse all sections of the peasantry including rich peasants, for the struggle for agrarian reform and in the course of this struggle, rebuild the mass peasant organisations, basing ourselves firmly on the agricultural workers and poor peasants who together constitute the majority of our agrarian population.

It must be understood that because of the vast expanse of our country, because of the uneven development of the agrarian crisis and of the working class and peasant movement, and the uneven state of organisation and consciousness of the peasant masses and the influence of the Party, the peasant movement will not develop at the same tempo everywhere and different forms of organisation and struggle will have to be adopted depending on the maturity of the crisis, the degree of unification of the peasant masses and their mood, the strength and influence of the Party, and other factors.

All these tasks call for the most intense, patient and daily work among the masses continuous agitation on our basic programme and immediate, simple

demands of the people, a concrete working out of such demands for every section of the people according to general and local conditions, practical leadership of mass struggles, a combination of various forms of struggles, and a systematic building up of a network of mass organisations.

Above all, they demand building up of the Communist Party, based on conscious unity and discipline, drawing in its fold the best and most advanced elements of the working class and the people, and steadfastly fighting for improving its ideological level and practical competence for fulfilling its mission as the leader of the struggle for freedom and democracy.

The mass organisations and the party that are built up must also be able to withstand the fire of repression to which the Government continually subjects them and the people's movement.

#### *Struggle For Peace :*

One of the key tasks that faces us in defence of the people is the building of the peace movement. We have to bring it to the active consciousness of the masses that the ruling classes, in order to preserve their power, will ever be ready to embroil us, the people, in a war, so that we may give up our war against them. We must bring into the consciousness of the people that while we support any move of any class or group including this Government for preserving peace, yet we must not forget that this Government under the influence of imperialist warmongers, landlords and profiteers follows, not a consistent and honest policy of peace but plays between America and England to gain from their rivalries and also plays between the peace-loving countries and warmongers. Such inconsistency must be overcome by the action of the masses. We must fight for a pact of peace between Pakistan, India and Ceylon, for banning of the Atom Bomb and reduction of armaments and military budget. The peace movement must be made real to the masses in terms of their own problems of land and bread, work and wages and prosperity for all.

The peace movement must mobilise widest opposition to the colonial wars waged by British, French, Dutch and American imperialists in South East Asia and prevent all direct and indirect support to these imperialists given by the present Indian Government.

The programme that the Communist Party has placed before the people is a programme which conforms to the interests of all progressive forces and classes in the country, of all sections who desire India to be free, happy and strong. We shall therefore strive to unite our entire people for the realisation of this programme and build their unity in action on all issues facing them. We shall strive to develop the struggles of all sections of our people and merge them into the common movement for freedom, democracy and peace.

While carrying out these tasks, we must learn skilfully to combine the struggles of workers, peasants and other classes and sections in each province and district, and in the country as a whole. From all these struggles, the heroic fighters that will

come forth must be transformed into the makers and builders of the Party, which then alone, will become a real mass Party and yet a well-knit Party of tested and tried revolutionaries. With the perspective and path clear, and immediate tasks outlined, we shall surely succeed in our liberation struggle against our feudal and imperialist enslavers and replace this anti-democratic Government by a Government of People's Democracy.

(Andhra Letter)

**P.B. Document for all P.M.s No. 18**

**April 29, 1950**

**From : Centre**

**Bombay, 9 July 1948**



# PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA ADOPTED IN ALL INDIA PARTY CONFERENCE HELD IN CALCUTTA IN 1951

1. When the British imperialist rulers of India established the government of the leadership of the National Congress in Delhi, in August 1947, and the hated British Viceroy and Governors departed from this country, the people of India were led to believe that foreign imperialist rule was at an end, that India had achieved complete independence and freedom and that now the government and the people could work out a happy life for the millions of our countrymen, with our resources of land and labour, our factories and work shops, our immense natural wealth and manpower. We could now set to work to gradually overcome our poverty and guarantee food, housing, clothing and the minimum decencies of life to everyone.

2. Four years of the Nehru Government in power has belied the hopes of the masses in every respect. Experience has led them to the conclusion that the government of National Congress that rose to power on the basis of the heroic struggle of the masses is a government pledged to the protection and preservation of parasitic landlords and the wealth of the princes of India, who for centuries had supported the foreign invaders and jointly with them robbed our people and our country. Experience is also leading them to the conclusion that the government of the National Congress was installed in power by the consent of British imperialists because it was a government pledged to the protection and preservation of foreign British capital in India. In every sphere of life of the masses, the government has failed to carry out its promises to the people. Everyday, life for the masses has worsened while the landlords and profiteers have enriched themselves more and more at the expense of the people.

3. The five million workers manning our factories, railways, mines, shipyards, plantations, etc. are suffering from fall in real wages, rising prices, capitalist rationalisation and unemployment. Their struggles for better wages and conditions are drowned in blood by shooting and police terror. Their fighting trade union organisations are disrupted, divided and suppressed by the government and its henchmen. Demanding increased production in the name of the people the government only imposes worsened conditions of labour on the working class, enabling the profiteers to increase their profits alone.

4. The millions of our peasants constituting eighty percent of our people are ground down as before. Those who have land and can cultivate it, their fruits of labour are looted by the landlord and the money-lender, through exorbitant rents and interests, and by the manoeuvres of the capitalist market and taxes of the State. But three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land of their own. Those who have no land and find no work live in conditions of perpetual pauperism. And those who do find work on the landlords and sowcars' (money-lenders) estates, as agricultural labourers or poor tenants, have to work like serfs and slaves, hardly getting even a subsistence wage for the family. As a result production of food and industrial raw materials is falling, leading to the worst food crisis in the country and starvation and death to millions. While the government run by the landlords and profiteers shouts about abolition of landlordism, it only hatches schemes of compensation of millions of rupees to those oppressors of the people, to enable them thus to indirectly realise their rent through the State from the toil of the peasant. The struggles of the peasantry for land, for reduction of rent, interest and taxes are also drowned in blood and their organisations suppressed, along with the struggles and organisations of the working class. Whole villages, talukas and districts are handed over to military and police occupation, because the peasants and landless labourers have dared to ask for land, for reduction of rent and interest and for increased wages and the establishment of better conditions.

5. The middle-classes in the towns are faring no better. High cost of living, falling salaries and unemployment is their lot too. The middle-class wage-earners in government services, private offices, banks, insurance companies, commercial concerns, schools and colleges etc., are faced with the same problem of life, as the working class and the toiling peasantry.

6. Even the industrialists, manufacturers and traders are hit by the policies of this government which is totally in the grip of monopoly financiers, landlords and princes and their foreign British advisers, working behind the screen. Allocation of capital issues, raw material, transport, import and export licences, etc., is carried out by the bureaucrats in the government machinery in such a way as to hit the small industrialists and traders and benefit the big monopolists in league with the banks and syndicates of foreign firms.

7. The schemes of "reconstruction", of building irrigation, hydro-electric stations, factories, etc., whether directly by the state or in partnership with private capital are all foundering, except such as feed war purposes. They are turning out to be the means of looting the state budget by foreign firms of experts and suppliers, by high-placed bureaucrats in charge and big speculators on the Stock Exchange. The demand for nationalisation of industries, promoted by the looting of the people by blackmarketeers, is used to swindle the state budget by making it acquire bankrupt or worn out units or participate in bogus schemes,

which invariably fail and are then sold out to the government henchmen and private capitalists. The result is that industrialisation of the country which is held at the mercy of the British and the Americans and who certainly are not interested in making India an industrial nation, is making no headway in the hands of this government which is tied to the chariot-wheels of British capital.

8. And whatever industries exist are continually finding themselves in a crisis, because of the growing poverty of the masses, especially the peasantry, does not give them an adequate market inside the country. Outside as well as inside the country, they come up against the competition of foreign firms and other imperialist masters of the colonial world and thus find themselves in a deadlock.

9. On the top of all this comes the fact that this tottering government in order to keep itself in saddle, when faced with the rising discontent of the masses, suppresses all civil liberties of the people, outlaws political parties and groups, bans trade unions and other people's organisations, imprisons thousands of workers, peasants, students, men and women in prisons and concentration camps. The supreme ruler becomes the police official and the bureaucrat, helped by the local Congress leader and landlord in the whole countryside. No wonder that to maintain such a police state, the burden of taxes increases and more than fifty per cent of the state budget is spent on military and police, prisons and the bureaucracy and not for food and cloth, homes and education, health and sanitation for the people.

10. The people of India are gradually realising the meaning of this state of affairs and are coming to realise the necessity to change this government of landlords and princes, this government of financial sharks and speculators, this government hanging on to the will of the British Commonwealth, the British imperialists. The disillusioned masses are slowly rising in struggle, no longer able to withstand this state of slow starvation and death. They are rising in struggles of the working class in towns and the resistance of the peasantry in the countryside.

11. In order to prevent this growing unity of the people, mainly the unity of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry, the unity of all classes that are interested in ending this government of landlords and princes and the reactionary big bourgeoisie, collaborating with the British imperialists, the present government is utilising other means apart from police repression.

12. Knowing the desire of the people to make our country completely independent of British imperialism, the government has proclaimed India a Republic. But unwilling really to break its ties with imperialism, it has shamelessly proclaimed the Republic to be a part of the Empire!

The membership of the British Empire is not only a formal matter, as is declared. While playing on the rivalries between England and America, to its own advantage

in certain circumstances, the government of India essentially carries out the foreign policy of British imperialism. Though it speaks for peace and against the atomic bomb under pressure from the people, who do not want war and want peace, it has not hesitated to send help, even though nominally medical, to the American troops in Korea; it has allowed British imperialists to recruit Gurkhas and Sikhs for the suppression of Malaya's fight for independence; it has allowed landing bases in India for the French planes on their way to fight against the People's Republic of Vietnam. The Indian Navy operates as part of the British Navy and under British Command and the keys to the military technique of the Defence Department of the government are held and moved by British advisers. If the independence of the armed forces of a country is a sign of its sovereignty and independence, then the key part of our independence is still left in the hands of British imperialism.

In addition to this subservience to British imperialists, the policies of the government of India are leading to penetration of American imperialists into our economy and life, into the affairs of State and threaten us with added slavery to American capital.

13. The British imperialists before hiding their hold under the mantle of the new Congress government drowned the country in Hindu-Muslim strife and massacres and then divided the country into the two states of India and Pakistan. The imperialists thereby weakened the economy of India in agriculture and the economy of Pakistan in industry. It thus put both the States at loggerheads and undeclared war with each other and dependent on the so-called "neutral third party", the imperialists.

The division of the country enabled the Congress government to drown the just demands of the people in a hysteria of Hindu-Muslim war. It enabled the government to spend on armaments the money which could have been used to improve the conditions of the people. It enabled them to buy armaments from the British imperialists who desired nothing better than to sell their second hand goods and services in exchange for its sterling debts to India and Pakistan, and to deprive our people of supplies of machinery and essential goods.

14. The devision of the country and communal religious strife was used to drown the demands of the various nationalities of India for their free development, for the reconstitution of the fomer mixed British provinces and the princely states into autonomous linguistic provinces in a united India. In the name of a united country, the language of a part of the country namely, Hindi, was declared an obligatory state language for all nationalities and states, to the detriment of their own national language. Vast areas and millions of people of one nationality are compelled to live under the rule of bureaucrats and governments dominated by another nationality. Large tribal areas, with their own economy and culture are

put at the mercy of the landlords and financial sharks of this or that alien group, thus utilising the desire of the masses for a united country to actually sow division and discord among its people.

15. In order, finally, to come forward as a government of the people, after spending millions of the people's money on wrangling in legislative houses, the government produced what it calls democratic constitution and in terms of that constitution upon the people to elect a government of their own choice and realise the fundamental rights given under the constitution. Thus the people are told that they can end the present rule of autocracy if they so desire and work their freedom through this "democratic" constitution of the free Republic of India.

16. While it is a fact that universal adult franchise now exists in the constitution of India and it can and will be used by the people, it is a deception of the people to say that elections alone under this constitution can end the landlord-capitalist rule in the country and the imperialist hold over its life. Adult franchise serves to gauge the maturity of the working class and the people and is formally an element of democracy but it cannot express the true will and the true interests of the exploited masses as long as the land is not the property of peasants but that of the landlords, as long as the power of land lords and capitalists holds the people in subjugation in fields and factories, so long as the power of capital over the press and means of propaganda drugs the people with lies, so long as the power of money utilises religious and caste frictions and rivalries to divide and to weaken the people, so long as the bureaucrats and the police ban political parties, suppress civil liberties and imprison without trial even the elected representatives of the legislatures for their political opinions and for their honest work.

17. It is also a deception of the people to say that under the new constitution the masses or the government elected by them can work their way to freedom and happiness. The constitution guarantees no rights to the people which are enforceable in any way or which are not subject to violation by the emergency autocratic decrees of the bureaucracy which is irremovable and inviolate. The right to strike, to living wage, to work and rest for the working class and salaried employees is not guaranteed and made enforceable. The land of the landlords and the properties and incomes of the dethroned or enthroned princes are made inviolable. The landless peasant can have land, it appears, but only if he can buy it or compensate the landlord for it. But to buy land and to pay compensation, capital is needed, and tens of millions of poor peasants who live from hand to mouth have no capital. Therefore, have to stay without land and continue their existence in poverty. It is characteristic that by several treaties with Britain and America, the government has made the property of foreign holders in our country sacred and inviolable, having provided them with such guarantees that even their profits cannot be touched and have to be let out of the country in the way they like.

And this at a time when the government refuses to guarantee the citizens from the club-law of the police officers and from the plunder on the part of the money-lenders and profiteers.

Thus while the stranglehold of landlords, princes and imperialists on our economy, land and capital is guaranteed by this constitution not a single item of the life and liberty of our masses is guaranteed, beyond stating them as pious illusory wishes. The constitution is not and cannot be called a truly democratic constitution but is a constitution of a landlord capitalist state, tied to foreign imperialist interests- mainly British.

18. It is quite natural that in view of the terrible conditions described above, dooming the people to poverty and subjecting them to a lawless regime, the people have lost their faith in the present government, they are becoming deeply distrustful of it and start to consider it their enemy who is protecting the landlords, money-lenders and other exploiters against the people. Moreover, the masses of the people openly voice their discontent and revolt in several provinces against the inhuman regime of the present government and are seeking out ways to substitute this government by a new people's government able to express the will and interests of the people, able to protect it against the oppression of landlords, capitalists, profiteers, money-lenders and foreign imperialists.

19. Faced with these facts, the Communist Party of India feels it its duty to outline to the people the practical tasks, the practical programme which the Communist Party of India upholds and which should be put into effect by the people of India if they wish to come out of the deadlock into which they have been forced by the present government, if they wish to attain their freedom and happiness.

While adhering to the aim of building a socialist society the Communist Party is not demanding the establishment of socialism in our country in the present stage of our development. In view of the backwardness of the economic development of India and of the weakness of the mass organisations of workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia, our Party does not find it possible at present to carry out socialist transformations in our country. But, our Party regards as quite mature the task of replacing the present anti-democratic and anti-popular government by a new government of People's Democracy created on the basis of a coalition of all democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in the country, capable of effectively guaranteeing the rights of people, of giving land to the peasants gratis, of protecting our national industries against the competition of foreign goods and of ensuring the industrialisation of the country, of securing a higher standard of living to the working class, of ridding the people of unemployment and thus placing the country on the wide road of progress, cultural advancement and independence.

What are the practical tasks which, in the opinion of the Communist Party of India, should be carried out by the new People's Democratic Government?

These tasks are as follows:

### In the Field of State Structure

20. The sovereignty of the people, i.e. the concentration of all power in the country in the hands of the people. The supreme power in the state must be vested entirely in the people's representatives who will be elected by the people and be subject to recall at any time upon a demand by the majority of electors and who shall constitute a single popular assembly, a single legislative chamber.

21. The restriction of the rights of the President of the Republic, in virtue of which the President and persons authorized by him will be deprived of the right to promulgate laws, which have not been passed by the legislature. The President shall be elected by the legislature.

22. Universal, equal and direct suffrage for all male and female citizens of India who have attained the age of eighteen years in all elections to the Legislative Assembly and to the various local government bodies; secret ballot, the right of every voter to be elected to any representative institution, payment to people's representatives, proportional representation of political parties in all elections.

23. Local government on a wide scale and with wide powers through People's Committees. The abolition of all local and provincial authorities appointed from above (e.g. governors, magistrates, commissioners, etc.)

24. Inviolability of person and domicile; unhampered freedom of conscience, religious belief and worship, speech, press, assembly, strike and combination; freedom of movement and occupation.

25. Equal rights for all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex, race or nationality, equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex.

Social disabilities from which women suffer shall be abolished and they shall be given protection to secure and exercise equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance of property, marriage and divorce laws, entrance to professions and service, etc.

Social and economic oppression of one caste by another or social and personal bans and prohibitions imposed by the so-called upper castes on the lower castes, especially the Scheduled Castes, in the name of custom, tradition or religion shall be abolished and made punishable by law.

Religious minorities shall be given protection against discrimination.

26. The right of all nationalities to self-determination. The Republic of India will unite the people of the various nationalities of India not by force but by their voluntary consent to the creation of a common state.

27. The present boundaries of the states in the Indian Union shall be recast and states shall be reconstituted according to the principle of common language. Princely states, where existing, shall be dissolved into the appropriate adjoining national states, and the foreign possessions shall be restored to the country and reconstituted on the same principle. The tribal areas or areas where the population is specific in composition and is distinguished by specific social conditions or constitutes a national minority will have complete regional autonomy and regional governments, and full assistance for their development.

28. Introduction of progressive income tax in industry, agriculture and trade and maximum relief in taxation for workers, peasants and artisans.

29. Right of people to receive instruction in their mother-tongue in educational institutions; the use of the national language of the particular state in all its public and state institutions; provision for the use of the language of a minority or region, where necessary, in addition to the national language. Use of Hindi as an all-India state language will not be obligatory. In Hindusthani-speaking areas, safeguard and protection to Urdu and devnagri scripts and the right of the people to use either of the two scripts.

30. Measures to foster, encourage and develop such literature, art and culture as will:

- help each nationality including the tribal people to develop their language and culture in their own way and in unison with the common aspirations of the democratic masses of the country as a whole;
- help the democratic masses in their struggle to improve their living conditions and enrich their life.
- help the toiling people to get rid of caste and communal hatred and prejudices and ideas of fear, subservience and superstition traditionally inculcated in them by the landlord bourgeois classes;
- help all people grow feelings of brotherhood with the peace-loving people of all countries and discourage ideas of racial and national hatred;
- discourage imperialist war propaganda and help people to realise peace and freedom for all.

31. The right of all persons to sue any official before a People's Court.

32. Separation of the State from all religious institutions. The State to be a secular state.

33. Free and compulsory primary education for the children of both sexes up to the age of fourteen.

34. Replacement of the police by militia. Elimination of the mercenary army and other punitive forces and the establishment of a national army, navy and air force for the defence of India, closely linked with the people.

35. The establishment of the people's health service with a wide network of medical centres and hospitals all over the country designed to liquidate the centres of cholera, malaria and other epidemic diseases in the country.

### **In The Field Of Agriculture And The Peasant Problem**

The agriculture and the peasant problem are of primary importance to the life of our country.

We cannot develop agriculture to any considerable extent and provide the country with food and raw materials because the impoverished peasantry deprived of land is unable to purchase the most elementary agricultural implements and thus to improve its farming.

We cannot develop our national industries and industrialise our country to any considerable extent because the impoverished peasantry constituting 80 per cent of the population is unable to buy even a minimum quantity of manufactured goods.

We cannot make our state stable to any extent because, the peasantry living in conditions of semi-starvation receives no support from the Government, hates it and refuses to support it.

We cannot improve the conditions of the working class to any considerable extent because hundreds of thousands of hungry people forced by poverty to leave the countryside for towns swam the "labour market", lower "prices of labour", increase the army of unemployed and thus make the improvement of the living standards of the working people impossible.

We cannot work our way out of cultural backwardness because the peasantry, living in conditions of semi-starvation, constituting the overwhelming majority of the population, is deprived of any material means to give education to its children.

In order to get rid of all these evils and get our country out of cultural backwardness, it is necessary to create human conditions of existence for the peasants, it is necessary to take land from the landlords and hand it over to the peasants.

To achieve this, it is necessary:

36. To hand over landlord's land without payment to the peasants including agricultural labourers and to legalise this reform in the form of a special land law and thus realise abolition of landlordism without compensation.

37. To ensure a long-term and cheap credit for the peasants to enable them to purchase agricultural implements and the necessary seeds. To ensure long term and cheap credit to small artisans to enable them to purchase raw materials, etc., and carry on their manufacture and trade.

38. To ensure government assistance to the peasants in the improvement of old and the building of new irrigation systems.

39. To cancel debts of peasants and small artisans to money-lenders.
40. To ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers.

### **In the Field of Industry And the Labour Problem**

Our national industry suffers not only from an extremely low purchasing power of the peasants but also from the fact that it is exposed to competition on the part of foreign goods in the country. Manufacturers who are not protected by the government from ruinous foreign competition, try to make good their losses which arise from this competition by increasing pressure on the working class, by worsening its conditions. But the industries cannot develop if the living conditions of the workers deteriorate, for a hungry and moneyless worker cannot be an adequate factor for the development of modern industry. This circumstance is another reason for the insufficient development of our national industry. To break through this vicious circle, it is necessary to guard our national industry against the competition of foreign goods, to launch an all-out industrialisation of the country and to improve the conditions of the working class. The Communist Party of India considers that to achieve this, it is necessary.

41. To provide for the protection of the national industry against the competition of foreign goods in the country by promulgating appropriate laws.
42. To develop the national industry and to prepare conditions for the industrialisation of the country without sparing any efforts and resources of the state to achieve this end.
43. To regulate and coordinate the various sectors of economy in order to achieve a planned economic development of the country in the interests of the people.
44. To improve radically the living and working conditions of workers by: fixing a living wage, application of the eight hour day and forty-four hour week in all industries and trades, introduction of a six-hour day in underground mines and other trades injurious to health, social insurance at the expense of the state and capitalists against every kind of disability and unemployment, establishment of labour exchanges working in association with Trade Unions, establishment of industrial courts, recognition of Trade Unions, the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike.

45. To introduce effective control of prices of goods of mass consumption.
46. The problem of the refugee population, mainly of the millions of the uprooted workers, peasants, artisans, middle-class employees, etc., must be resolved by their speedy rehabilitation by the State and specially by providing them with land, instruments of labour, employment and facilities for developing their life in their own national way.

## National Independence For India

In spite of the much-advertised statement that the British have left our country, it is a fact that a large number of factories and work shops, mines and plantations, shipping and banking of India are owned by the British capitalists who annually draw hundreds of millions of profit from them. With this power over our economic life and their ties and partnership with the big capitalists in our country who are collaborating with them, the British imperialists from behind the scene and their collaborators hamper the development of our industries and thus perpetuate our poverty.

We cannot be a strong and prosperous country until we are industrialised on a wide scale; but industrialised to such an extent we shall never be as long as British capital exists in India, for the profits of British enterprises are taken out of the country and we are unable to use them to expand our industries, as long as the big national capitalists, their collaborators, keep us tied to the Empire.

Moreover, one has to take into account the numerous British advisers with whom our navy, our army, police and other punitive organs teem.

To become a truly independent state, India has to break with the Empire, to put an end to the domination of the British capital in the country's economy and to get rid of the British advisers.

Therefore, the Communist Party of India considers necessary:

47. The withdrawal of India from the British Commonwealth of Nations and the British Empire.

48. The confiscation and nationalisation of all factories, banks, plantations, shipping and mining owned by the British in India, whether in their own name or under the signboard of Indian companies.

49. Removal of the British advisers in India from the posts held by them.

## Foundation Of The Foreign Policy Of India

India needs peace and peaceful development. She is interested in peace and economic co-operation with all states. In this respect, Britain is not an exception if she only proves capable of carrying on economic co-operation with India on the basis of full equality. The spurious play between peace and war, between partisans of peace and advocates of aggressive war, carried on by the present Indian government, is not in India's interests.

The chief enemy of peace and advocate of an aggressive war is now the United States of America which has rallied round herself all aggressive countries. This camp of war is facing the camp of peace which includes such states as the Soviet Union. The Chinese People's Republic and other countries of People's Democracy. Instead of joining hands with the partisans of peace against the aggressors and branding the United States of America as chief aggressor, the

Indian government is carrying on a suspicious play between these two camps, and is flirting with the USA thus facilitating the struggle of aggressors against peace-loving countries. What India needs is not play between peace and war, but a united front with peace-loving countries and friendship with them.

Still less in India's interests is the wrangling in which the Indian Union and Pakistan are engaged and which is not counteracte on the part of the present Indian government.

The unbalancing of the integral economy of India caused by the division of the country, the strife between Pakistan and India, which enables the reactionary ruling circles to divide the people and provides the American and British imperialists with opportunities for intervention, as in Kashmir, and for increasing their domination over both, will be overcome by a firm alliance of friendship and mutual assistance between India and the State of Pakistan. India must also enter into friendly alliance with the States of Ceylon and Nepal.

The economy of Ceylon is depdent on and complementary to that of India. Quite a large section of its people are formed from Indian plantation and other workers who have migrated to Ceylon. The Ceylonese and Indian landlords and traders incite the Indian and Ceylonese workers against each other to gain their selfish ends. The absence of alliance is utilised by the imperialist and their henchmen to sow discord among all these states and to sow hatred among their people's leading to the eviction of millions of people from their homeland. Only a firm alliance and friendship can defeat this game of imperialists and the reactionary ruling circles of these countries.

Therefore, the Communist Party of India considers it necessary to guarantee the following:

50. Honest and consistent policy of peace in alliance with all peace-loving states and united front with them against aggressors.

51. The policy of economic co-operation with all states capable of carrying on economic co-operation without any discrimination what soever on the basis of full equality.

52. The policy of alliance and friendship with Pakistan, Ceylon, and Nepal.

53. The policy of doing its utmost to protect the legitimate rights and interests of Indians residing abroad.

The Communist Party of India puts this programme before the people of India, in order that they may have a clear picture of the objective they are fighting for.

Our Party calls upon the toiling millions, the working class, the peasantry, the toiling intelligentsia, the middle-classes as well as the national bourgeoisie interested in the freedom of the country and the development of prosperous life-to unite into a single democratic front in order to attain complete independence of our country, the emancipation of the peasants from the oppression of the feudals, improvement in the life of all working people, to bring about a major forward stride in our agriculture, a major forward stride in our national industry and secure the cultural advancement of our country.

The people of India led by its working class and its Communist Party, guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, firmly allied with the million-headed peasantry of our land will achieve this programme. The principles and the philosophy of Marxism and the leadership of the Communist Party have led nearly half of humanity of Socialism, to freedom, to real democracy, at the head of which stands the Soviet Union. The peoples of Asia led by the great Chinese People's Democracy are now battling to free themselves from imperialism. India is the last biggest dependent semi-colonial country in Asia still left for the enslavers to rob and exploit. But the Communist Party believes that India too will soon take its place in the great nations of the world as a victorious People's Democracy and take the road of peace, prosperity and happiness.



