

THE PEOPLE'S WAR GROUP : IT'S RIGHT DEVIATIONS AND LEFT ADVENTURIST TACTICS

Everyone now knows that the Peoples war party (PW) in Karimnagar district is responsible for the murder of our comrade Rajalingu. Their journal 'Krantī', dated 15-8-81 carried a reply supporting the murder as an action by the people. It made counter-charges against us and reeled out blatant lies. But it cannot conceal behind these lies, the murder and attacks by its leaders in Karimnagar district. The events in Karimnagar are not accidental. They are infact, the culmination of the right deviationist politics, adventurist tactics and the hostile attitude towards our Party. The events have to be properly examined and lessons drawn to defend the mass movement we have built.

Of late, they have taken to right deviations in politics and are adopting right opportunist policies in relation to the national and international spheres as can be seen from their political resolution of 1980.

International scene

In the name of opposing Soviet social imperialism, they have taken up the task of forming an united front with American imperialism and are presenting theories in support of this.

Over-estimation of war threat

"Clouds of third world war are looming large", they have declared. This estimate is both foolish and contrary to the real situation. While both the superpowers are competing for world hegemony and the striggle and the arms race have intensified, the contradictions between American and its west European allies have also been growing.

There has been a strong trend in west Eurpoe and America in favour of peace with Soviet expansionists. On the other hand, the contradictions and struggles between the Soviet Union and some east European countries have also intensified. The incidents in Poland show the crisis the Soviet Union is facing in those countries.

Thus both America and the Soviet Union are facing severe crises in

their respective camps. Both of them are making misleading pronouncements about "peace", the Soviet Union being more deceptive in this. In the guise of efforts for peace, they are making all-out efforts for war.

Therefore, both the policies of "contention" and "collusion" are being adopted by the superpowers. While "contention" is principal, "collusion" is temporary.

What therefore is the immediate task of the revolutionaries? They have to tear off the masks of peace worn by both the super powers and expose the fact that both are paving the way for another world war. They have to rally the people of the world to oppose the war efforts. This is the only way of protecting world peace and postponing the threat of war. This is the immediate task before us.

P.W's resolution does not say even a word about the "peace" farce being played by the super powers or about the "forces of compromise" rising in west Europe and America.

Do they believe that America or the Soviet Union can get down to war without preparing their respective camps politically, economically and militarily? Do they think the super powers have readied their camps for war? If the two camps are not ready for war, how can they claim that war clouds are looming large?

It is evident that such a situation of war has not arisen. How then can P.W mouth exaggerations that "clouds of war" are looming large on the horizon? All those itching for an united front with America have propped up the same theory. They do not see the farce of "peace" going on between the super powers. Only by defeating this plot can the war ploys of the super powers be thwarted. Showing up a bogey of war and exaggerating the threat of war will only lead to alliance with American imperialism.

Their shortcut to the Indian revolution

Their assessment of the world situation has gone to the extent of making them say that India's revolutionary strategy and tactics should merge in the revolutionary strategy of all countries.

Let us see what they have to say. "As Com. Mao has said, 'at the time of imperialist war, the revolutionary strategy and tactics of individual countries merge with the tactics of the world socialist revolution'.... our tactics

should be such as to make this strategy successful". Why do imperialists prepare world war? To serve their imperialist interests during war. What then is the role of revolutionaries during imperialist war? To turn the imperialist war into civil war. This is Lenin's theory. This was put in practise by Communists under the leadership of Stalin during the second world war. If this principle is outdated, P.W should openly declare so.

World Communists have never changed this principle. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, this took the form of the world anti-fascist united front.

What was Stalin's programme during the second world war? Both the allies and the Axis were imperialist blocks. Stalin exposed the aims of both the blocks. He rendered whatever help he could to the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggles being waged against both the blocks. At the same time, he recognised Hitlerite fascism as the greater danger. He urged Britain, France and America to come forward to oppose Hitler's expansionist actions. When they did not come forward, he entered into a no-war treaty with Hitler. He broke the plan for all imperialists to unite against the Soviet Union. The war broke out between the two imperialist blocks and Communists tried to convert the war into civil war.

In the meanwhile, the Soviet Union strengthened its defences. Hitler launched his attack on the Soviet Union and the imperialist war became a world war. The Soviet Union offered heroic resistance. America, France and Britain which had been weakened joined the Soviet Union, a world anti-fascist united front was formed and the fascist powers were crushed.

Why is P.W ignoring this entire sequence? No one can say for sure when the world war will start but our friends say Indian revolutionary strategy and tactics should be merged in the world revolutionary strategy and tactics. This amounts to saying that our revolution is dependent on the world war and its outcome.

P.C. Joshi did the same thing during the second world war. He said Hitler's defeat meant the liberation of the people of all countries. He said India's liberation was inevitable. With this understanding, the Communist party helped British imperialism.

At one time, Charu Mazumdar did the same thing. Even before 1972, he said America and the Soviet Union would jointly attack socialist China. He called it a world war and said the defeat of the super powers was inevi-

table in the world war. He said India would definitely be liberated by 1975. 1975 has come and gone but India is still in the grip of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial system.

The People's War party drunk on Charu's left adventurism is harping on the same theme. They say the Indian revolution is dependent on the world revolution and would have us await it.

Anti-Soviet front

In keeping with their resolution, they say their main task is building an anti-Soviet united front. This only means that an united front should be formed immediately with America. That is why the resolution deliberately overlooks the fact that America and Soviet social imperialism are the common enemies of world's People.

Of the two super powers, the Soviet Union is more dangerous. This does not mean that both the super powers are not the common enemies of the people. P.W is trying to hide this fact.

US imperialism is suppressing the people of South America and is supporting the attacks on the African People by South Africa. It is America that is propping up the Taiwanese reactionaries against China and is belligerent towards North Korea. It is well known that the recent Israeli raids on Lebanon, the genocide it had perpetrated and the plots to wipe out the PLO were undertaken with the help of America. That is why we say both the super powers are the People's common enemies. What is our duty in this situation ?

— All anti-imperialist struggles should be strengthened.

— Soviet social imperialism should be recognised as the greater danger. Liberation and revolutionary struggles against both the super powers should be strengthened.

— Soviet interventionist actions should be defeated with the help of all forces that rally against it.

— In courses of coordinating both these functions, the world revolutionary movement should be taken forward. Calling for an anti-Soviet united front at this juncture will only strengthen the hands of America.

P.W. has declared a 17-point programme but has not said even a word

against America or its exploitation of India. This clearly shows their desire for an united front with America.

In the present world situation, America is trying to defend its imperialist empire while the Soviet Union is fighting for world hegemony. The super powers are thus locked in a fierce combat and are engaged in an arms race for world domination. This is increasing the danger of world war. While the Soviet Union will be the main cause of world war, at the same time, we feel American imperialism, though to a lesser extent, will also be the cause for such a war.

In their resolution, they have passed over the question whether America and Russia are the common enemies of the world people.

They are giving class for "joint action" against "imperialism in general" and Soviet fascist war mongering in particular. Through this formulation, they have minimised the hegemonistic, interventionist nature of America and have equated it with the imperialist second world countries.

At present, both America and Russia are mutually competing for domination of India. The Soviet Union has gained the upper hand in this but America still has strong political and economic bases in the country. While there is a need to fight against both the super powers and the Soviet Union in particular, their political resolution has ignored this task. Evidently they will take up America's case only after the destruction of Soviet social imperialism and the people would have to wait until then.

True face of the anti-Soviet democratic government

In accordance with their resolution, they have stated their goal to be the establishment of democratic government opposed to Soviet fascism, under the leadership of the working class and based on worker-peasant solidarity. They have declared the need for a popular united front against Soviet fascism under the leadership of the proletariat. This they have declared as their immediate programme and have called upon the working class to take the initiative in this direction.

Being a semi-feudal, semi-colonial society, we are in the stage of the new democratic revolution. Our enemies (including social imperialism) are imperialism and the big landlord big bourgeois classes. Our allies are the workers, peasants, middle class sections and the national bourgeoisie. All these friendly classes have to be organised into a popular democratic front

under the leadership of the proletariat. Worker-peasant alliance is its basis and only an armed agrarian revolution can achieve the goal.

Whatever they might have said in the past, these are the principles they accept, at least in words.

Building a popular democratic front under the leadership of the working class is our strategic objective. We cannot say this can be achieved in one step. The struggle for this might be launched in several sub-stages. In each sub-stage, the tactics necessary for the united front should be adopted according to the specific conditions prevalent.

P.W. has given a call for a united front against Soviet fascism. What are the classes that will join this front? What are the political forces and political parties representing these classes? Their resolution does not answer any of these questions. Does the front they propose include sections of the ruling classes? Does it include pro-American sections and sections that are pro-second world countries? If so, what are their political parties? If the classes have no place in the front, the only classes left are workers, peasants and the middle class. Then it is the strategic people's democratic front under the leadership of the working class. Where then is the necessity for calling it a united front against Soviet fascism?

Building "united front against Soviet fascism" is not necessary in the present national and international situation. But our friends say they will build a "united front against Soviet fascism". This only means that there is a united front with pro-American and pro-second world classes and sections.

What then is the difference between the anti-Soviet front being proposed by Satyanarayan Singh and the People's War's? What is the difference between the call given by Satyanarayan Singh in the past for a "people's democratic government" and the call for the "anti-Soviet democratic government"? Revolutionary cant cannot conceal facts.

Contradictions among the ruling classes must certainly be used in launching people's struggles. Our party has said that struggles should be launched on the issues of civil rights, Soviet expansionism, particularly the attack on Afghanistan, the Indo-Soviet military treaty, the Indira government actions in favour of the Soviet hegemony and other immediate problems. Joint action on these issues should be linked with the agrarian revolution and only in course of this can a people's democratic front be formed.

under the leadership of the proletariat.

Adventurist struggle tactics

In the international field, they have taken a pro-American line in the name of the anti-Soviet united front. Within the country, they have taken up the programme of forming a united front with pro-American and pro-second world ruling class sections-programme that is purely opportunistic and rightist. To conceal this, they are adopting left adventurist struggle tactics.

Their followers are openly propagating these adventurist tactics among the people. They are calling upon the people to prepare for armed struggle in the near future. To prepare for this, they claim to be launching anti-government struggles and building "guerilla zones". All these slogans are meaningless rhetoric. The emptiness of these slogans is exposed when we examine them in the light of the people's level of consciousness and preparedness for launching an armed struggle and building guerilla zones, their preparedness for struggle, the economic and political struggles to be fought for preparing the people, tactics of the united front, the state of preparedness of the party and the people's movement for launching a guerilla struggle, the people's struggles led by the People's War party so far and the question of mass base of a guerilla zone.

Let us look at the people's level of consciousness all over the country or in Andhra Pradesh and their preparedness for struggle. It would be foolish to believe armed struggles are being fought anywhere in the country except in Nagaland and Mizoram. All over the country, we still have to work with the armed revolution as the goal. There is severe discontent among the people against the government and their conditions of life but the people's movements have not reached the stage of armed struggle.

The people are participating in strikes on their immediate problems. Sporadically, they are having spontaneous confrontations with the government forces. Merely on the basis of this, one should not think the movements have attained the level of armed conflict. The people are participating in class struggles. They are resisting the landlords and their goondas but when the police and military enter the scene, they are generally withdrawing. Moreover the great majority of the people haven't overcome their illusions about parliamentary institutions. People still entertain illusions about elections and the majority of the people are still behind ruling class parties and the revisionist and neo-revisionist parties. Economic and political struggles should first be fought to bring the people of any place towards

armed struggle. To pass over this stage and think of "guerilla struggle" is foolishness.

People still harbour illusions about Indira Gandhi's promises and revisionist and neo-revisionist reformism. Reformist tendencies are still strong among the people. The victory of the above parties in elections proves this.

With these realities in mind, our party has placed before the people the following tasks.

The principal aim of the party is building a revolutionary peasant movement. For this, strategic areas in the villages have to be selected and activists chosen for concentration on these areas. After extensive discussions with the people, slogans for struggle should be coined. The people should be rallied to agitate on their problems and on this basis peasant organisations should be built. Volunteer squads should be formed and the people should be prepared to resist the atrocities and repression of landlords, goondas and the police. From the beginning, the people should be armed with locally available arms in the anti-landlord struggles and in this course, a resistance struggle in rural areas should be built, strengthened and protected. In this process, armed struggle should be started and revolutionary bases built in rural areas. A strong secret party organisation should be built to carry out this programme.

Simultaneously the party has set the following tasks for the cities. The main goal in the cities is to build a revolutionary trade union movement. Ideological and political struggles against economist and legal illusions should be intensified and worker-peasant unity should be built. Volunteer squads should be formed among the workers and the atrocities of the police and managements goondas should be resisted. A secret party organisations should be built and some of the workers who volunteer consciously should be sent to build the movement in rural areas.

In accordance with the programme taken up by the party to build a resistance struggle, it has decided to work among the students, women and in the slums.

It is by integrating the people's struggle-resistance and political struggle that we are able to take forward our movement in forest and plains areas and are progressing towards the agrarian revolution.

The P.W. party does not like this programme. They have never tried

to link the mass line with the resistance movement. That is why they are giving irresponsible calls for building guerilla zones.

They have never recognised the fact that a people's struggle is a war fought by the people and that a guerilla war begins only when the people directly participate in it. What about the party leadership that conducts a guerilla struggle? What about building a people's movement? They themselves admit their party is primarily confined to students and middle class youth.

What is the condition of their people's movements? They say they have started activities among the peasants and industrial workers in several places. Conferences are said to have been held in two districts and there are said to be opportunities for conferences in four to five other districts. This clearly shows the extent of their mass base and their organisational weakness. Their magazine "Kranti" has accused us of "tall claims and little achievement" but the description applies to them accurately.

Without taking into consideration the people's readiness, they are merely misleading their followers by calling for the building of a guerilla zone.

They have been giving adventurist slogans since 1969. Since the Naxalbari, Midnapur, Mushahari and Srikakulam movements began as people's struggles, most of the people did not recognise the danger of their adventurist policies. They realised the nature of these policies only after the revolutionary movement suffered severe losses.

Now the slogans have lost their appeal and people are beginning to question adventurist tactics. Their youth are mostly drawn from the middle class with no experience of people's struggles and some have lumpen background. Implementing their slogans will inevitably lead to individual terrorism, economic raids and political degenerations.

Other main points of difference

Around 1968-69 and later, Charu's left adventurism took insane forms. The P.W. party totally accepted his adventurism and hailed all his slogans.

— The national bourgeoisie in India is linked up with big capital and is an enemy. We should be hostile towards it, said Charu. Their leadership assented.

— The principle character of rich peasants in India is feudal exploitation and hence the working class has a relation of struggle with it, he said. Even this they hailed.

— "Annihilation of the class enemy" is the highest form of class struggle said Charu.

— "Annihilation of the class enemy" is the beginning of armed struggle, he said.

— In this new age in India, economic and political struggles and mass agitations are not necessary, said Charu.

— The Indian government does not have enough police force to protect its police stations.

— The government does not have enough military personnel to attack the Srikakulam struggle.

— By 1973 the red army will be marching from one end of Bengal to the other, he said.

These are the left adventurist slogans given by Charu from 1969 to 1971. The present leadership of the people's War had hailed all of these. Any one with a little knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and a little sense can understand the foolishness behind the slogans.

No sooner the Srikakulam girijan struggle broke out, the leadership gave a call for expanding it all over Andhra Pradesh and starting armed struggles in the plains. For this, it propagated Charu's shortcut --- "annihilation of the class enemy". They organised squads with some youth in the plains areas and heads started to roll. Count of scalps began and whoever had claimed more scalps was considered more revolutionary.

This head hunt gradually took insane forms. Occasionally even rich and middle class peasants were killed. Every one knows that the armed struggle they had carried out in the districts of Andhra Pradesh, particularly in the Telengana areas, was pure individual terrorism

The Andhra Revolutionary Communist Committee at that time opposed all or Charu's adventurist slogans. At that time, his policies even had international support and had a strong hold on middle class youth and students. But the committee opposed Charu's adventurism and made sugges-

tions for taking the Srikakulam movement along the mass line towards agrarian revolution. It tried its best to build a revolutionary agrarian movement. It tried to propogate revolutionary politics, build mass organisations, rallyese people to economic and political struggles, build village volunteer squads, offer mass resistance to oppression by landlords and the police and form people's committees in villages.

All this was totally opposed by their policy of head hunting and their leaders were up in arms against us. They said Nagi Reddy, D.V. Rao and Chandra Pulla Reddy were traitors of the revolution. They called them the latest revisionists. They gave calls of "down with armed revisionism" and "down with forest revisionism". They wrote these slogans on the walls, took them to meetings and papers.

But human history progresses on the basis of contradictions and not on the basis of anyon'e wishful thinking. The bad effects of Charu's "left" slogans became evident by 1971. The people's struggles of Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Mushahari, Midnapur and other places were destroyed in the enemy's fascist attacks. Revolutionaries and the people were sacrificed. With this, a revolt against Charu's policies began. Severe debates arose among the revolutionaries on finding a mass line. In course of this, splits started in Charu's party and it started breaking up into several groups. But in Andhra their leadership was not prepared for any rethinking on their line of individual terrorism. Moreover, they branded as revisionists all those who demanded such rethinking.

The Srikakulam movement suffered a severe setback due to Charu's left adventurism. Most of the leaders had been martyred. The rest tried to organise the movement. A new Srikakulam regional committee was formed. This committee released a circular, "prepare for protracted armed struggle to attain victory". The circular brought to the fore several important issues. It called an end to Charu's attitude that economic struggles are wrong and immediately took up a programme of agitations to organise a mass movement. Re-occupying lands illegally occupied by landlords, refusal to repay inflated loans and usurous interests, seizing excess grain from the landlords or making them sell the grain cheaply, illegal extortions by forest and revenue officials and bonded labour were some of the problems on which the circular called upon the people to agitate immediately.

To an extent, the circular realised the left adventurist nature of their tactics in Srikakulam. It clearly said "our losses are not due to the battle skill of the mercenary police gangs but due to our underestimation of the

enemy's strength in formulating our tactics”.

Regarding the attitude of the party committees towards landlords, it said “we shall definitely oppose those who oppose our movement. Towards those who assist our movement, we shall adopt a suitable attitude”.

The leaders realised that the movement had suffered a setback. The circular clearly said “we are trying to organise our forces which have been put in disarray in this time of a setback”. These were the words of comrades who had directly participated in the Srikakulam struggle. This was their first attempt to come away from Charu's path.

But the P.W. leadership did not pay heed to this. In reply to this circular, they sent another circular in 1971, which called upon the members to “oppose revisionism at every step”. They once again firmly supported Charu's foolish arguments”. 1960-70 is the decade of liberation! Victory is at hand, they shouted.

They opposed the stand of the Srikakulam committee saying “it is an illusion to think that economic struggles build the consciousness for an armed struggle. It is the road to revisionism”. They endorsed Charu's “conspiracy methods” saying “from organising the people to hitting out at the enemy, guerilla tactics have to be implemented”. They regretted that Charu's “annihilation of the class enemy” was not properly implemented in Srikakulam. They said the movement had suffered losses due to this.

“The foundation for a red army and for liberated zones is laid only through carrying out the war of annihilation of class enemies in a wide region on a large scale”, they theorised. The movement in Srikakulam had suffered a setback as this “great task” was not properly carried out, they said.

They accused the Srikakulam committee of giving way to revisionist thinking. They opposed taking up economic problems and called it a betrayal of the revolution to differentiate between landlords.

We have to clarify a point here. Charu's left adventurism had been exposed all over the country by 1970. There was rethinking among revolutionaries but the P.W. leaders in Andhra refused to learn though the movement had suffered severe losses all over the country and in Andhra also. They implemented annihilation as their lone policy. With this, the Srikakulam committee broke away from them. Gradually the committee joined .

Andhra Revolutionary Communist committee and they have been working as a single body ever since. People began to abhor annihilation, valuable cadre had been sacrificed and the leadership at all levels was weakened. Exactly at this stage, their annihilation of class enemies took wild forms.

The gathered village level anarchist forces (lumpen types), formed squads with these elements and middle class youth had directed them to implement the annihilation line but the squads did not have the former strength to implement it. Gradually the anarchist elements in the squads gained the upper hand. They started raiding the houses of some individuals and began robbing them. It became difficult for the leaders to convince others that they were struggling for “annihilation of the class enemy”. They started calling them economic raids.

With these raids, the anarchist elements in villages and towns started gathering around them in larger numbers. Middle class youth and intellectuals who believed in revolution, mass line and left policies began to gradually decline in number and the hold of the anarchist element on the squads was strengthened. The uncontrolled raids and other actions of these elements did irreparable damage to the very concept of mass struggle but their leaders refused to face the truth. They hailed the raids as revolutionary actions. With this, the anarchist elements found a good “political” shield.

They supported their arguments until the end of 1974. They continued to organise some youth here and there along with anarchist elements to carry out “economic raids” at some far away place and “take shelter” in some other place. They tried to present these as “revolutionary” struggles. All those who opposed these practices were branded revisionists.

As these actions were unconnected with the people, their movement suffered severe setbacks. Splits became inevitable among the groups under their leadership and they broke away into splinters.

Because of these splits, they needed new friends. The C.O.C. was formed in February 1974 but the annihilation programme in our state continued without any change. They started supporting Charu's faculty theories with the help of new arguments. The group published a book “The criticism of disruptionists against Charu Mazumdar” aimed at supporting Charu's old theories with the aid of new interpretations.

— They denied saying that the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants would not be members of the national united front. They accepted

that both the classes would join the front. At the same time, they said struggles would have to be conducted against the above classes in the beginning. Only after rallying the democratic classes under our leadership, we shall adopt the tactics of unity with the rich peasants and the national bourgeoisie, they said.

In effect, this is supporting Charu's theory of hostility towards the above classes.

— They blindly supported Charu's "annihilation" theory for some time but gradually found it difficult to support it. "It would be wrong to presume 'annihilation' would do everything for us", they said but added it would continue as a form of struggle. Economic and political struggles would have to be conducted along with this and the building of mass organisations should be done in tandem with "annihilation", they said. This is nothing but implementing "annihilation" in a new form and this is what has happened till the end of 1976.

— Charu prophesied that India would be liberated by the end of 1975. Their leadership unquestioningly accepted this. By the end of 1974, it became extremely difficult to support this. They reinterpreted it calling it a slogan to enthuse the people and the cadre for the imminent revolution. While most of the revolutionaries in the country were changing their views their leadership blindly implemented "annihilation" till the end of 1974. In addition to this, their other anarchist methods have to be seen.

— They said bourgeois courts had to be boycotted. They issued a "heroic" statement that they do not recognise the magistrates. All those who said the courts would have to be utilised depending upon the level of the movement were branded "traitors of the revolution".

— The very same people who called it revisionism to differentiate between landlords later would have to be utilised. For this, they discovered a easy formula. They would call a landlord "small", declare him "progressive", take shelter with him and attack his opponent. They implemented this crude policy in Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts. They even embroiled themselves in disputes between Congress landlords.

This they theorised as utilising the conter directions between the enemies and deceived themselves. They carried out this programm until the end of the emergency and did severe harm to the revolutionary movement. Ultimately, they degenerated to the extent of supporting robberies in the

name of "economic raids". The entire programme had helped only the landlords and the congress governments.

— Lastly, they wiped out all distinction between the party and mass organisations, in practise. Even on fora organised with the mass organisations of others, they violated agreements. They used these fora for propogating their party slogans and giving calls for annihilation of the class enemy. We have seen the disruption of such mass organisations.

Somersaults upon somersaults

The emergency was lifted in 1977 and parliamentary elections were held. The people were angry with the Congress and beleived the false promises of the Janata and elected it to power.

With this, new political conditions were created in the country and the revolutionaries started changing their tactics.

Our party changed its policy of boycotting elections adopted until then. It decided to participate in the elections keeping in view the level of the people's movement and their consciousness. It decided to intensify class struggles with the agrarian revolution as its principal goal. To help achieve this aim, it decided to participate in elections.

Immediately the leaders of the People's War party were up in arms. They called it betrayal of the revolution and declared they would continue the "armed struggle" until the red flag is hoisted on the red fort. They declared from jails and the courts that the armed struggle would continue.

A few months after making these "valiant" declarations, they announced withdrawal of the "armed" struggle.

These are not the people who had started the Naxalbari or the Srikakulam struggles. What they had conducted was not armed struggle. From beginning to end, it was mere "annihilation of the class enemies" and towards the end, they conducted merely "economic raids".

It is sheer deception to announce that they had started an armed struggle, conducted it and had called it off.

They took to naked opportunism and this lead to another split in the party. The Rouf group which had imbibed the annihilation and economic

raids theories even more than them, broke away as the re-organising Committee. During the Janata rule, they said they had changed their struggle tactics. They said it was wrong to claim annihilation as the only path of struggle. But they still said annihilation was a struggle tactic. They said annihilation should be linked with other economic and political struggles basing on the immediate problems of the people and the building of mass organisations. while it is left adventurism to say that annihilation is everything, it would be right opportunism to deny annihilation of the class enemy as a form of struggle they said.

While they accepted that boycott of elections was not a question of strategy but one of tactics, at the same time they said they would call for passive boycott of elections. All these are in essence, reinterpretations of Charu's old policies.

But we still expected that their announcement of struggles on the people's immediate problems and building of mass organisations would bring about some good. WE HOPED THE ADOPTION OF MASS LINE to any degree would to that extent discourage "annihilation of the class enemy" and "economic raids". But from the Janata days, their practise has not been in accordance with the mass line.

At first they took up people's problems here and there and conducted mass agitations. They were able to build up an anti-landlord struggle to an extent in certain villages of Jagityal taluk in Karimnagar district.

But due to their deep-rooted left adventurism and lack of deep understanding and believe in mass line, they were unable to conduct the movement properly. An examination of their movement over the last three, four years shows this clearly.

It has become their practice to mobilise the people of some areas on their immediate problems and withdraw from there as soon as repression begins. It is their habit to abandon one centre for another. That is why they have not been able to build a sustained mass movement anywhere in the state.

First they started working in Jagityal, later they moved to Panditapuram and they are now speaking of Indravelli. All this shows their failure in building a sustained mass movement.

Let us examine some incidents. At one time they said Lothunuru and

Muddunuru in Jagityal taluk were their main centres. After a firing, they fled from there. Now the people of the same villages are opposed to them.

Later they said Panditapuram in Khammam district was their main centre.

After a firing, they fled from there also. All their followers have joined the CPI and Congress-I. At present, they are speaking of Indravelli and repression has begun even there. It remains to be seen where they will reappear.

This is how they are building a people's movement. Due to the repression resulting from their activities unconnected with the people's movement, they are shifting centres and deceiving their followers that it is expansion of the movement. Whenever repression grows, they form a squad with some of their followers and launch attacks on some persons and kill some these they methodically present as heroic deeds. Due to these policies and work methods, the anarchist elements in their party have come to the fore. At some places, these are leading the party, The compromise with landlords, robberies and physical attacks on our party by these elements in Karimnagar district is the culmination of this trend.

Attitude towards elections

In 1968 Charu Mazumdar said that elections should be boycotted as a matter of strategy throughout the period of the new democratic revolution. Even at that time, several had opposed this. But these leaders supported this thesis. Later they said the principle was outdated and declared the question of elections to be a tactical and not a strategic matter.

But they said they will not participate in elections under any circumstances. This shows the inconsistency between their thinking and their practise. They said it was their aim to make general propoganda for boycott of elections. This is merely a continuation of their boycott of elections. To support this, they are unable to find reasons in the country and say the principal reason is the world revolutionary situation. However, the revolution in a country mainly depends upon the conditions in that country. Participating in or boycotting elections is dependent on those conditions. These are the only people who say it depends upon the world situation.

They carried out general propaganda for boycott of elections. Even this has turned out to be a farce as can be seen from several incidents.

Every one knows that their followers had worked for the victory of a CPM candidate during the 1978 elections to the Assembly in Nalgonda. During the present panchayati board and samiti elections they directly participated in them from villages where they have connections. We can even give the names of the villages. It is an open secret that in the Vemulavada samiti elections, their followers opposed our candidate and worked for the victory of landlords who had been exposed as oppressors of the people.

Outwardly they boycott elections and in practise they participate in them.

Mass organisation

Earlier they had said that mass organisations and trade unions were not necessary and abused us for starting mass organisations. But now they accept the necessity of mass organisations and say they will build them but they have an anti-Marxist understanding of mass organisations.

The basis of the party is Marxism, Leninism and Mao thought. Its path is the path of armed agrarian revolution. Mass organisations have a broad mass base and conduct struggles on the economic problems of different oppressed sections. The organisations consist of party members and non-members. Most of them are not party members. It is foolish to say that Marxism, Leninism-Maoze dong thought should be the criterion for membership of the organisations. This merely erodes the mass base of the organisation.

Mass organisations are not party organisations. To say that the mass organisations should implement the slogans of the party is to reduce them to party branches. In the present conditions only the new democratic revolution can liberate the people that is why it is necessary for the mass organisations to have the new democratic revolution as their goal. The working class takes up the leadership in the mass organisations.

This is the Marxist-Leninist conception of mass organisations and we have following it. But the People's War's thinking is entirely opposed to this. They have announced that Marxism-Leninism-Maozedong thought is the criterion for membership of the mass organisations. (Whether they are following it is a different matter) From these forums, they have been giving party slogans of "annihilation of the class enemy" and armed struggle. In practise, they are reducing them to branches of the party. Moreover, they have been following the same policy while working in organisations with

others and have caused their disintegration.

Different lines — different results

Over the last 13 years, a severe ideological struggle has taken place between our party and the People's War party over building the revolutionary movement. These are two different lines. The correct line is decided upon by the results in practice.

Results of our line

— We were able to build up a movement over a vast area in the Godavari valley forest and protect it. The movement which started in Mulug taluk spread to the forest areas of five districts. We protected this movement in the face of severe repression and the movement is growing. People have occupied lakhs of areas of forest lands and are conducting class struggles over several problems.

— We were able to build a strong mass movement in Khammam, Warangal, Nalgonda and Karimnagar districts. We are conducting anti-landlords struggles and are trying to build a resistance struggle. The movement is growing. Among these, the Karimnagar movement has grown strong. It has been growing in the face of the Disturbed Areas Act, police camps, raids, firings and tortures. What started in 20 villages in Sircilla taluk has spread to four to five taluks and has developed into a strong anti-landlord struggle.

— At one time, we had a limited student movement. Today, we have been able to build a strong student movement in the state.

— Earlier, we had no working class base. Now, the party is working among workers in textiles, tobacco, chillies, fertiliser, beedi, coal and other industries. It is building a strong worker's movement in some centres.

— Due to concentrating on the various oppressed sections of people in some areas, we have been able to build a stable mass movement in some places and a stable resistance movement in the forest areas.

— We have been able to unite with the revolutionaries in Srikakulam, Visahkapatnam, Ongole and Nellore districts. Today, our party is the strongest force among revolutionaries in the state.

In this process, our party has emerged as the strongest among all the revolutionary organisations in the State and is standing before the people as a growing political organisation.

Results obtained by the People's War Party

We urge the people to compare the results obtained in implementing our party line with those obtained by the People's War party. From 1969 to 1976 their programme was "annihilation of the class enemy" and "economic raids". The people of Andhra know what result they had obtained.

From 1978, they said they were linking the mass line with annihilation. This has in practice led to adventurist tactics. With the growth of repression, they are leaving their old areas and searching for new ones. This is why they have never been able to build a stable mass movement.

Even now their movement is mainly confined to middle class students, youth and intellectuals. Their mass base is limited.

Above all this, we have been observing splits among them right from 1971 as the Charu group C.O.C. and now the People's War.

They say their main centre is A.P. The people of Andhra know what place they have here.

Incidents in Karimnagar district -- murder politics

It is our firm opinion that the district leadership of the People's War party has taken to murder politics in the district. The leadership of the district party has gone into the hands of anarchist elements. The leadership has taken shelter with landlords and has compromised with them. Oppressors of the people have been given the title of "progressive" and their agents, goondas and a robber gang have been given the title "radicals". In collaboration with them, the leaders have been conducting attacks and murders among our Rythu-Coolie Sangham activists. The government and the police fully supported these raids. Their practice shows that the People's War leadership in the district has fallen into total political degeneracy.

Their state leadership has taken to right deviationist political policies, adventurist slogans and a sectarian and hostile attitude towards us. It has lost the ability to control their followers in Karimnagar district and is coming forward to defend its followers politically with naked lies and unashamed

counter allegations.

This is not a sudden development but is the culmination of their policies and tactics since 1977. When the emergency was lifted in 1977 our movement was confined to merely 20 villages in Sircilla taluk of Karimnagar district. According to our party's decision, we participated in the 1978 Assembly elections and fully utilised other legal opportunities. As a result, we were able to take revolutionary politics to people all over the taluk.

We selected some centres in the taluk, allotted organisers and studied the conditions of the people deeply. We decided the agitational slogans on the problems of landless labourers and poor peasants. We decided the slogans against the landlords and the government. We took up the problems of washermen, barbers, shepherds, potters and other artisans. We organised the rural poor in the Rythu-Coolie Sangham. Agitations were conducted on the issues of banjar lands, lands illegally occupied by landlords, forest banjars, exploitation by forest officials, tendu leaf picking, interests on loans, bribes extorted by landlords and forced labour. Strikes were conducted and forced labour, bribes and extortions by officials were stopped.

Along with these struggles, we took up anti-government agitations on behalf the middle class and rich peasants.

We united all the people of the village against the landlord and achieved some victories. Landlords employed goondas to suppress the movement and launched attacks. We rallied the people and resisted the attacks. We took up one problem after another and built mass organisations. Propagation of revolutionary politics, anti-landlord struggles and resistance to landlords attacks were seen at several places. The Rythu Coolie Sangham gained the upper hand in villages. With this, there was an awakening in the villages of Sircilla. Coolies and poor farmers formed peasants and workers associations in all the villages. The red flag started flying in every village.

People of several villages united and conducted an open trial of Prabhakar Rao, landlord of Boyinapalli, who had committed atrocities against women. They tied him up and paraded him in all the surrounding villages. They later handed him over in the police station. With this, the landlords started fearing the people and they fled to towns.

All the landlords who fled sought the aid of the Congress ministers and bribed them. The government came out in support of the landlords. Sircilla and Jagityal were declared "disturbed areas". The government deployed police in their hundreds, police camps were started and attacks on

the people began.

They beat up and arrested all those pointed out by the landlords. They destroyed the people's properties, took away their crops and raped women. Cruelty ruled the villages.

In those circumstances, our party implemented the following programme in district.

— All the chief organisers in the villages should evade arrest. They should work secretly among the people.

— People should be rallied to prevent arrests.

— Comrades in jail should struggle for their rights.

— Village level party organisation and the mass organisations should be consolidated.

— Village volunteer squads should be formed to resist the atrocities of landlords, goondas and the police.

— In the face of repression by the enemy, people and villages of the struggle areas should not be left alone and all connections should be maintained.

People should be rallied in large numbers under the leadership of the volunteer squads to fight back against repressions. To rally the people, their political, economic and social problems should be taken up. The people's resistance should be linked with the struggles on their problems. Secret and open activities should be coordinated. Open and loud propaganda should be stopped. People should be made accustomed to secret meetings. Agitations for civil rights should be intensified in the district. Agitation should be launched all over the state against the repression in Karimnagar district.

The movement should be expanded from Siricilla to neighbouring taluks. Through this programme, the Siricilla movement has consolidated itself and has spread to other taluks. The Congress government launched a smmeer campaign against us, calling us thieves but could not convince any one with its naked lies. Civil rights organisations from other states and from the state toured Siricilla and Jagityal taluks and revealed the truth to the world. They said it was an anti-landlord struggle and that the government

was unleashing brutal repression against it.

Newspapers and magazines sent their reporters who visited the areas and at least to an extent revealed the truth to the world. This was a political defeat to the government.

The landlords tried to incite quarrels among the people and thus disrupt the movement. We defeated their plots by uniting the poor of all communities.

In these conditions, elections were declared to Parliament in 1980. We contested from Karimnagar and propagated revolutionary politics and the need for agrarian revolution all over the district. We participated in the election while the disturbed areas Act was still in force.

People in four to five taluks moved in a big way and hundreds of activists came forward to organise the people. The landlords and the police were taken a back at the re-emergence of a movement they thought had been suppressed. They started plotting again and arrested Com. Chalapati. People from several villages rallied together and about 7000 persons demonstrated before the Siricilla police station. The police took this as an excuse and conducted a lathicharge and firing upon the people. A farmer, Jakkula Elanna died in the firing and eight persons were severely injured. This happened a few days (3-1-80) before the elections. Police repression started in the villages again. People in several villages were not allowed near the polling booths. Party representatives were not allowed near the place of counting of votes.

After the parliamentary elections, people are again coming forward in anti-landlord struggles and several struggles were conducted in Jagityal taluk. In Kodurupaka village, the people beat up the landlord. J. Venkatrao and his goondas. In Adavi Padira village people of a Lambada hamlet resisted the atrocities of the police. A farmer was killed in the police firing and a woman was injured.

Throughout Metpalli taluk, a big movement was launched demanding higher price for maize crop. A huge procession was taken out in Metpalli with 5000 persons. They achieved higher rates for the crop. They conducted another struggle demanding higher price for milk and succeeded. Another movement was conducted throughout the taluk against the extortions by village officials. The extortions were stopped. We were able to make the people give up child marriages. We conducted successful strikes in three

taluks demanding higher wages for collecting tendu leaf. Recently, agricultural workers in 12-15 villages of Metpalli taluk went on strike demanding higher wages and were successful.

At the same time, the student movement in the district has grown and is being consolidated.

The movement which started in 20 villages of one taluk has spread to over 300 villages in eight taluks. The movement has grown due to our adopting the mass line by organising the people on issues, organising resistance, building the party and propagating revolutionary politics in course of our work. This is one of the biggest mass struggles in recent times after the Srikakulam and Godavari valley girijan movements. It has attained recognition all over India.

Neither the people of Andhra nor the people of Karimnagar district believe the cheap propaganda of the People's War that it is a movement that has compromised with landlords. A militant peasant-worker movement came forward in Sircilla taluk in 1978-79 but the People's War party never recognised or supported the movement.

At that time a militant anti-landlord struggle was launched in some villages of Jagityal taluk under the leadership of the People's War. Our party hailed and supported the movement. We propagated both the movements among the people of the state and all over the country. We condemned the repression on both the movements.

Police and landlords repression increased in Jagityal taluk also. Landlords opened fire on the people in Chinametpalli and Lothunur. Two persons died in the firings. Government repression also was intensified. The People's War leadership did not patiently organise the people to resist the repression and build a resistance movement with a mass base. Their left adventurist tactics came forward and they took up tactics unconnected with the people. They organised squads and started individual attacks. With this the militant mass movement was affected. The people were terrorised their activists became passive and the main leadership left the area itself.

With this, the anarchist elements gained the upper hand in the party. They started "annihilation of the class enemy" and "economic raids" became their line of struggle.

After the firings in China Metpalli and Lothunur villages, they have

conducted no mass agitations in those areas. The disruption of their movement when we see that they have not conducted any mass struggle, or organised the people on any problem in Jagityal taluk during 1979-81.

In 1978-79 while a militant peasant movement was progressing in Jagityal taluk, they started befriending landlords in Sircilla taluk. They started a campaign among their cadre against us. Even in meetings held along with us to condemn the murder of their activist by landlords in Timmapuram village, they launched a campaign against us.

Moreover, the goondas of Chakapalli Baghavantrao and Kodurupaka Venkatrao took out processions saying that theirs was a Radical Youth League. We mistook it as a ploy by the goondas to mislead the people as we were not yet fully aware of the developments.

When representatives of our state committee met the representatives of People's War, we brought this issue to their notice. They said they were not aware of it and denied any connections with the landlords.

But they did not condemn the atrocities of these landlords against the people and the revolutionaries. The goondas still continued to parade themselves under the name of RYL. On the other hand, their district leaders and activists started false propaganda that our's was a revisionist party. Their links with landlords is clear from this.

The consequences of these actions were even more unfavourable to us in Jagityal taluk. People of Lothunur and Bankura villages which were once centres of struggle, threw their activists out of the village. Until two years ago, Mallanapeta and the surrounding villages were considered their villages but the people of those village, fed up with robberies, have come over to our Rythu Coolie Sangham. The struggles against landlords were intensified and the landlords there had to yield to the people. With this, their leadership nakedly took the side of landlords and is conducting raids on the people on their behalf.

The People's War leaders have formed alliances with landlords like Baghavanta Rao of Chakapalli, Venkatrama Rao of Kodurupaka, Narsan Rajaiiah of Mallanapeta, Mohan Reddy of Almaspur, Linga Reddy of Gollapelli, Venkatrao of Sanugula, Jaggarao of Jogapuram, Dhammal Rao of Lingappuram, Satyanarayana Rao of Pegadapalli, Venkatrao of Tandryal and Divakar Rao of Takallapalli village. They have given them titles of "progressives" and are acting as their agents. All the landlords are parading

as Naxalite lords and the party leaders have joined the faction fights between landlords. They are gloating over this as their mass struggle.

They are projecting landlord's goondas as Radical Youth League activists and are concealing their atrocities.

In Siricilla and Jagityal taluks, they are befriending thieves like the Sukla gang. They are giving titles of "Radicals" to all these. They are taking shelter with bootleggers and police agents like Sankarreddy.

They are trying to re-establish in the villages all the landlords who had surrendered to the people and who are being subjected to a social boycott. This is how they are utilising the contradictions between landlords.

In 1979 they expelled landlords in the villages of Jagityal taluk and in 1981 they are re-introducing the landlords in the villages. They are converting the contradictions between people into antagonistic contradictions, taking the side of one section and are attacking the other. They have come down to politics of murder, having compromised with landlords, their agents and thieves.

Their organising of people's struggles is even more curious. As soon as they make some promises to the people who meet them. They do some general propaganda among the people on the problems they are taking up, they gather a handful of people or the activists themselves attack the enemy or their opposition faction leader and get him to concede their demands. Of late, they have given up mobilising the people on the issue of wages for picking tendu leaves and are bringing pressure on the contractors with the help of a few people. They have likewise stopped the sale of arrack. Their activists attacked a hotel owner in Ippapalli village and made him serve tea to Harijans. Six of them attacked landlord Venkatrao in Vemalukurthi village. They project such actions as heroic actions in which hundreds of people had participated.

These are acts which reduce the people to mere spectators and exhibit the "personal heroism" of some. This is based on the faulty conception that the people will move spontaneously after the attacks by a few persons. Their denial of reports in Vimochana that they have connections with landlords, convince none. We have given the names of several villages and dozens of landlords they are connected with. Writings in Kranti might deceive a few for some time in other districts but there are hundreds of thousands of people in Karimnagar who are witness to their deeds. None can deceive them with

lies.

Murder of Rajalingam

A supplement of Vimochana has already published all the details of this murder. In this connection they are making the fantastic allegation that we are admitting into our party people they had expelled for being thieves and police informers.

Gunjamadugu Narayanareddy and Boddila Rajamallaiah came to us from the People's War as they said they had been expelled for opposing raids. We did not admit them immediately but asked them to work in a given place and prove their good behaviour. Members of our state committee told all these details to members of their state committee.

Coming to Rajalingam, he first worked with their party for some time. At that time, landlord Narasan Rajaiah got him and five others arrested. People's War itself took this to the people at that time.

After the declaration of the disturbed areas, Rajalingam opposed their programme of raids. He came out of their party and started working in our Rythu Coolie Sangham and rallied people against the atrocities of Narsan Rajaiah. With this, their party strengthened its links with the landlord.

They took up a campaign that Rajalingam was a thief and a police agent. They joined hands with Narsan Rajaiah and murdered him. People's War has ignored the normal political convention that if any person, who is in a party, is accused of being a police agent, the matter is brought to the notice of that party for inquiry and action if necessary. They knew very well that Rajalingam had connections with our party.

Poor peasants and labourers in the villages keep joining the parties they know and keep changing parties. When different revolutionary organisations are working, these changes are inevitable branding people as thieves and police agents and killing or maiming them whenever this happens is inhuman. People's War has been committing such atrocities in Karimnagar district. They cannot protect their party by such murders nor can they prevent change. This is merely another example of their political degeneracy.

Their district committee which is acting in collusion with thieves, landlords, goondas and police agents has no moral right to make allegations

against Rajalingam.

Then there is the instance of Koteswararao in Guntur district. There is no revolutionary in Andhra who does not hate him. When he was arrested, he made a written statement giving all the details of where he took shelter, who gave him food, names of couriers and the location of dumps. Police officers themselves spat on his face at his treachery. This traitor was expelled from the party in 1971.

Their state leadership is now parading this traitor as their leader in the district and is showing him up as a political teacher.

At the state-level meeting between the two parties after the murder of Rajalingam, they denied all connections with the murder. They said the people of Mallanapeta had killed him. Gradually they started propagating that they had committed the murder and that any one who opposes their party would meet with the same fate.

Even after the murder of Rajalingam they does not stop attacking our activists nor did they stop taking the side of landlords and village elders and sabotaging mass struggles. When our party was waging a struggle in Siricilla taluk in Novembe-December 1981, of agricultural workers, they held meetings in Yellareddypet and Padira villages, with the help of landlords, saying that farmers would go bankrupt if wages are increased. They colluded with tendu leaf contractors and opposed the struggle of tendu workers. They have thus come out openly in support of the People's enemies.

They attacked and beat the sarpanch of Padira village Com. Kumbala Mallareddy, who was leading the struggle of agricultural workers, at the bus stop in Yellareddypeta. They beat com. Balaiah, leader of our Rythu Coolie Sangham in Dharmaram village. They beat and threatened with a revolver 10 women of the village for participating in the tendu leaf struggle. They attacked and beat the sangham members in Dumala village. They attacked with axes, Com. Bhoomiah and two other activists of Mothkurrao pet village, who were working in the tendu leaf struggle. In Satakkapalli village of the same taluk, Mettupalli, they attacked people of the village along with 50-60 goondas.

In Pegadapalli, Cherlapalli, Lingapuram, Adpapalli, Kalleda, Takellapalli and other villages in Jagityal taluk, they joined hands with the landlords and attacked our sangham leaders. In Adpapalli village they attacked the people in support of a robber gang. In Kalleda village, they

colluded with village elder Gangam Ramaiah who had occupied the land of a agricultural worker, Gandla Rajanna and attacked Rajanna. In Lingapuram village they came out in support of Dhamalrao and Sankariah who had raped Harijan women, and attacked the people. In Pegadapalli village, they attacked the people in support of Satyanarayana who had misappropriated the school budget, books and scholarships. People in their hundreds retaliated against all these attacks. The P.W activists in several villages confessed their crimes before the people but the P.W. party has not made any official statement on these. Moreover they are supporting the attacks.

In the January 5, 1983 elections to the state Assembly, our party contested the polls from Jagityal and Medaram constituencies. In Sircilla constituency, it supported an Independent candidate. The P.W. party openly supported the Telugu Desam candidates in Sircilla and Jagityal constituencies. In Mettupalli taluk where our movement is strong, their RYL leaders Tandryala Venkatrao, Tikkalapalli Divakar and others were the chief camapigners for the Congress-I candidate and former labour minister. V. Venkateswara Rao. In Jagityal, Narsan Rajaiah has worked as the chief camapaigner for the present Excise Minister T. Jeevan Reddy. The Jagityal town RSU leader Devender Reddy was the backbone of the camapign machinery.

In addition to supporting the Telugu Desam and Cong-I candidates they in addition to the police machinery, tried their best to obstruct our election campaign. They tore up our party banners, wiped off our wall writings and severely tried to attack our activists. On 27-12-82, they attacked and beat our main activists Com. Chandram and Com. Mallesh in Kalleda village. In Maddutla, they tried to murder Com. Ram Reddy. They released a pamphlet during the elections saying that the relationship of the P.W. with our party was that of a class enemy. All the above attacks took place after distribution of this pamphlet. All their activities during the elections resembled the attacks of the police. During this time, they committed robberies in Sircilla and tried to foist the crime on us. They created disturbances in four villages of Jagityal taluk by uprooting statues of village deities. Through the election period they tried to attack us with explosives.

To this day they are continuing their attacks. They are colluding with the class enemies and are causing severe damage to the revolutionary movement.

What is clear from these is that the clashes in the district are not between the P.W. and our party but the clashes between the oppressors of the

people-landlords, their goondas, thieves, police agents and politically degenerate anarchists and the oppressed masses. Merely by anointing them as "Radicals", landlords, goondas and police agents do not become revolutionaries.

What is happening in Karimnagar is an anti-landlord struggle by the people and our party is leading it.

Principal differences between the two parties

To clarify the differences between the two parties briefly :

— Our party considers both the superpowers to be common enemies of the people. The Soviet Union is the more dangerous enemy.

P.W. is showing the Soviet Union as the lone enemy of the people. It is trying to form a united front with USA in the name of anti-Soviet united front.

— Inside the country, the Soviet lobby is the more dangerous enemy. The plots of both the superpowers in the country should be exposed and their ruling class lobbies should be exposed before the people. At the same time, joint action should be taken up with opposition ruling classes on problems like immediate issues, civil rights, and definite Soviet expansionist actions. This programme should be conducted along with the agrarian revolution. Only in this process is a people's democratic front formed under the leadership of the proletariat. This is our party's opinion.

The P.W. party is jointing hands with opposition ruling class parties in the name of an anti-Soviet united front. Thus, it is our firm opinion that both nationally and internationally, P.W. has taken to right deviation in politics.

— Depending upon the level of the movement and the people's consciousness, we should participate in elections. The place and form of participation should be determined in each election. While the struggle for agrarian revolution is principal, the election programme should assist it. This is our opinion.

The P.W. strikes a "left" pose on the elections question. At first they said it is treachery to participate in elections through the stage of the new democratic revolution. Even now they are continuing boycott of elections.

Even this is only a pretention. Their followers are participating in elections at several places. At some places they are even shamelessly supporting Congress landlords.

— Practise has shown that “annihilation of the class enemy” and economic raids have caused severe damage to the revolutionary movement in the country. They are not at all struggle tactics and are opposed to Marxist thinking.

From the beginning some of the revolutionaries have been opposing this trend and tried to implement the mass line. Mass struggles, political struggles and mass resistance -- these three should be linked in practise. Only in this process can the people be prepared for armed struggle. This is the line of struggle we have been adopting.

P.W. has all along praised annihilation and economic raids and implemented them. Later, they said they have changed their policy. But they still argue that annihilation and economic raids, though not their sole tactic are nevertheless a tactic. In practise they are degenerating to individual terrorism. Their practise over the last three, four years proves this.

Indifference to unity of revolutionaries hostility towards our party

The above differences are serious issues. They involve theoretical problems and political assessments. They cannot be resolved merely through discussions and debates but only through practise--through the progress of the agrarian revolution and experience.

All revolutionaries are united on questions (semi-feudal, semi-colonial society, stage of agrarian revolution, principal allies, people's democratic front and mass line) of strategy.

United action on issues and friendly debates will in course of the development of the revolutionary movement pave the way to unity of revolutionaries. For this, a fraternal attitude towards other groups is necessary. With this aim our party has from the beginning been friendly with other revolutionary organisations.

We took the initiative for joint action with P.W. in 1974, 75, 76 and in 1978, 79 but our efforts were not fruitful because of the indifference of P.W. towards unity and its hostility and sectarian attitude towards us.

P.W. believes unity is not possible as our policies are revisionist. Kranti has come out with political justification of the murders and attacks by their party on us in Karimnagar even after a joint declaration by a meeting of 13 parties, calling for unity of revolutionaries.

Lessons

It is necessary to draw lessons from our 13 years experience with the leaders of P.W. the theoretical, political struggles with them and the incidents of their attacks on us.

From the beginning they have no believe in mass line but believe in adventurist tactics. They depend mainly on a few middle class youth and intellectuals. That is why their resolutions and practise show left and right deviations. In essence, their line is "resistance without the people". That is why they have not been able to build a definite base among the people or in an area. Due to their individual attacks and economic raids, anarchist elements have joined their party in large numbers and in some places they have assumed leadership. In Karimnagar district our party has to get into clashes with these politically degenerate elements.

Deu to their left adventurist methods, annihilation and raids that are unconnected with the masses, their state committee is unable to control the anarchists in their party in Karimnagar. They are not able to separate the sincere revolutionaries in their party from the anarchists. They are being pushed to the helpless position of supporting the murders and collusion of these elements with landlords.

The P.W. leadership has taken up right deviationist policies both nationally and internationally. To cover up this, they are giving left adventurist slogans. They are adopting a hostile, sectarian attitude towards our party. If this continues, their political ruination is inevitable. To avoid this, a change in their attitude is necessary.

Harm done by them to the revolutionary movement in Andhra

The leaders of P.W. supported the wrong line of Charu in 1969 when the Srikakulam struggle was progressing and class struggles had broken out in other districts. They have played a major role in diverting the Srikakulam struggle to a left adventurist line.

They indulged in individual terrorism in the plains districts in the name of annihilation. It supported "economic raids" in the plains and consequently the movement suffered severe setbacks in the plains areas. Their activities have helped the Marxist party, CPM which had lost its base, regain support as some of the revolutionaries went back to it.

When our movement was being consolidated in the Illendu forest area of Khammam district in 1971-72, their squad which had no connections with the people there murdered a liberal landlord in Ramagundam, who was friendly with us. With this their squad was ended but our movement had to face severe repression.

According to a plan they launched individual attacks in areas we were working in with the sole intention of disrupting our movement. Such incidents took place regularly in Nalgonda and Manukota areas. In Ongole district, they put up poster and wrote hostile messages against us. They attacked our student activist in Kavali.

Now when the attacks by landlords and the unleashing of fascist attacks by the Indira government have increased, P.W. is indulging in physical attacks on us in Karimnagar district.

These actions are giving a fresh lease of life to revisionists and are helping the landlords and the government. There is a danger of the mass movement being diverted and P.W. will have to accept total responsibility for these actions which are causing concern to our friends.

While P.W. is hostile towards us we have condemned attacks on them by the government. Our party has condemned the attack on the people of Indravelli. It rallied people in the state against it. We distributed pamphlets and put up posters against it and called for a bandh in Karimnagar district. The P.W. used the joint meetings with us to propagate their left adventurist policies.

The revolutionary movement in Andhra is facing severe repression today. The P.W. group in Karimnagar and the Rauf group in Warangal are indulging in attacks on us.

Our stand is that :

— The differences between P.W. and our party are chiefly connected with question of theory, political problems and tactics.

We shall carry out a principled political struggle against all their wrong policies. Most of the persons in P.W. still sincerely desire a revolution but due to their impatience are being subjected to left deviations. They are hostile to us. We have to carry out a theoretical, political struggle with them and also support their efforts however limited to build a mass movement.

— We have to protect our mass movement from the attacks by anarchists among them and resist the attacks.

We should separate the sincere revolutionaries among them from the anarchist elements.

Most important of all — people in the entire district should be mobilised to mass struggles. We can defeat these anarchists by implementing the mass line with more determination. We make an appeal to the top leaders and the members of People's War.

The present attack by you on us will harm the revolutionary movement, affect the unity of revolutionaries and only help the enemy. We urge you to give up your hostility towards us and observe the harm done by your attitude to the revolutionary movement. You are travelling in the same path again and this will severely harm the revolutionary movement.

We call upon all supporters of the revolution to come forward to halt this dangerous trend "Kranti" has said they are prepared to the constitution of an impartial committee. We made our proposal on this even before the announcement. You are still persisting in physical attacks on us in Karimnagar and are running a hostile campaign against us. Unless you stop the attacks and the campaign the committee cannot be formed or work effectively.

We request all supporters of the revolution to help implement our suggestion.

Defeat the anarchist forces in Karimnagar !

Condemn disruptionist actions !

Continue in the path of agrarian revolution !

Long live unity of revolutionaries !

10-2-83