

SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE PATH OF PEOPLES WAR IN INDIA

**BY A.P. REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST
COMMITTEE.**

The present Congress Government is a big bourgeois big land-lord Government, which has converted our country into a neo-colony of imperialists, especially of U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism. The broad masses of the people have understood the true nature of the present Government and are fighting in various forms against its policies of exploitation. With the armed peasant struggle of Naxalbari, the people's liberation movement of our country has taken a decisive turn. The communist revolutionaries in various states have rejected the parliamentary path, have taken up the path of people's war, the path of protracted armed struggle. Already in some states, the peasants under the leadership of communist revolutionaries are waging armed struggles. The Nagas, Mizos and other tribal people in various states have taken up the path of armed struggle. In towns and cities the workers, students and middle class employees are waging bitter strike struggles against the Government's policies of exploitation both on state and national scale. Very often these strike struggles are resulting in clashes with armed-police.

The Congress Government led by Indira Gandhi and the United Front Governments including those under the leadership of old and new revisionists are preparing brutal fascist repression to put out the raging flames of peoples struggles in the blood shed. Fascist police forces are deployed and they are on the rampage. Wherever the armed struggles are advancing, the armed police is raiding hundreds of villages. Village after village is burnt down. The properties of the people are looted. Hundreds of communist revolutionaries and the people are tortured. Dozens of communist revolutionaries are shot dead in cold blood. Hundreds of women are raped and humiliated vast areas are declared disturbed areas and police raj is imposed in the place of civil administration.

But defying this fascist repression the people's struggle are advancing. They are rapidly developing from the stage of ordinary agitations to the stage of armed struggle. The armed struggles are spreading from place to place and state to state. If they suffer a temporary set back at one place, they are rising at another place.

With the intensification of general economic crisis and with the growth of the people's struggles, the contradiction among the various ruling classes are intensified leading to open clashes among them. Finally, the congress party, the party of the ruling classes has broken up into two. A bitter dog fight for power is going on between the two rival congress groups. This has resulted in permanent political instability from top to bottom at all levels. As a result of daily growing instability, the ruling classes are fast becoming weaker and weaker.

The deceptive manoeuvres of the old and new revisionists in the name of UF governments have miserably failed. The UF governments are also engulfed in the political crisis. One after the other they are also meeting their doom. As their mass base is shrinking, the exploiting classes, in order to save their rule of exploitation, are resorting to fascist methods or repression.

Today abolition of Assemblies, imposition of President's rule abolition of civil administration, declaring of disturbed areas, establishing police rule, indiscriminate mass arrests, lathi charges and police firings, provoking communal clashes-these are the methods adopted by the ruling classes to save their tottering regimes.

Today there is an excellent revolutionary situation in India and it is daily growing. The broad masses of the people are refusing to live in the old way; they are decisively coming forward to fight for a new society, a society free from exploitation. The ruling classes have failed to deceive the masses with the bogus parliamentary methods and hence are resorting to fascist repression.

In this excellent revolutionary situation, the only weak link is the lack of a strong popular communist party that could successfully lead the Indian revolution to a victory. We must build a strong communist party with a broad mass base by waging armed struggle based on Mao's Thought. This is the key task of all the communist revolutionaries in the country today.

Our people and friends ardently wish that all the communist revolutionaries who have rejected the parliamentary path and have taken up the path of people's war unite and build a strong communist party with a broad mass base and fulfill the revolutionary task.

All the communist revolutionaries are in agreement on the following basic points concerning our liberation struggle.

— The path of people's war is the only path for the liberation of our country and the people. And the parliamentary path should be rejected.

— Our revolutionary movement can grow only as a part of the world revolutionary movement.

— Today the great socialist China is the centre of world revolution.

— Mao's Thought is the Marxism-Leninism of this era.

— Marxism Leninism-Mao's Thought is the ideology of the communist revolutionaries.

— Modern Revisionism led by the Soviet social imperialists is acting as the enemy of world revolutionary movement. The Soviet social imperialists are acting in collaboration with U.S. imperialism against the great socialist China, against the world revolutionary forces and to create their own sphere of influence.

The leadership of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), instead of pursuing a policy of uniting all the communist revolutionaries, is condemning all those who differ with them especially, the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist committee as "counter revolutionaries" "cowards" etc. Our people and friends are naturally agitated over this development.

Without getting provoked by the abuses showered on us by the leadership of the CPI (ML), we are making our views clear here on some questions raised by them. Our only aim is to remove the differences among the various groups of communist revolutionaries and help in building their unity.

There is one important difference between the China of 1927-28 and the India of today, Since 1928 there was a regular Red Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. With the strength of the Red Army and the support of the masses the C.P.C. was able to establish liberated areas in some or other part of the country and carry on liberation struggle. At present we do not have a Red Army or a liberated area. Therefore, the communist revolutionaries have to struggle for building up a Red Army and establishing liberated areas. For this we must have a correct political and military line.

Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist committee has divided the areas in the state into three categories, based on the level of mass move-

ment, in order to implement the path of people's war. The forest areas where the mass movement has reached the stage of armed struggle; the areas where there is a wide mass base and the class struggles are getting intensified; and the areas where the mass movement is relatively weak. We resolved to take the mass movement on to the path of armed struggle in the forest and mountainous areas; to gradually develop the mass struggles into armed struggle in the areas where there are powerful class struggles by expanding and intensifying them; and to systematically strive to develop class struggles in other areas. We decided first to concentrate in such areas where we could develop the people's movement into armed struggle in a short duration and thus influence the revolutionary movement in the whole province.

With this understanding we have given top priority to develop armed struggle in forest areas.

— We have a forest very vast in area running into many thousands of Sq. Miles. This lies on both the sides of river Godavari. On the right side of Godavari, the forest comprises of Telangana districts Khammam, Warangal, Karimnagar and Adilabad, and on the left side it comprises of coastal districts of West Godavari, East Godavari and Vishakhapatnam. This forest is linked with Sreekakulam district's forest area with a gap of a small plain area. Moreover, the same forest extends into Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Maharastra states. Thus it can be seen that this will serve as a revolutionary base for the armed struggle in the said four states.

— This is not an uninhabited area. Lakhs of girijans and other exploited mass live in this area. They are subjected to worst forms of exploitation by feudal land-lords big money lenders, forest contractors, forest officials. Patel, patwaris and the police. The discontent among the people is acute and the peoples are fighting against the exploiters and the government in various forms.

— This area is economically self sufficient.

— This is an area with poor communication and transport facilities and the Govt. machine itself is very weak. This is an area where, if the people decisively take to the course of armed struggle, the Govt. machine could be destroyed in a short period.

— This includes the area which the peasant armed guerillas of the great heroic Telangana armed struggle used as their base and heroically fought against the Nehru military for a period of two years. Hundreds of girijans - men and women - took part in that armed struggle. Those memo-

ries are fresh in the minds of these girijan people even today.

— Thus these people enthusiastically support and participate in the present armed struggle against the much hated exploiters, and the reactionary congress government.

— Moreover the Telangana plain area, where armed struggle was carried on for years, lie adjacent to this forest area, and this has a wide mass base for people's struggles. The struggles both in the plain and forest areas could be coordinated and developed to a higher stage.

If we could mobilise the people of the forest area for the people's war. On the basis of correct political and military line, we could develop this area soon into a guerilla zone and then a liberated area.

If our state committee has given priority to the question of developing armed struggle in the forest areas, does it mean that we have abandoned struggles in the plain areas? Certainly not. Our call for the seizure of food grains from the land-lords by the people during the days of famine, the struggles that developed on the basis of this call in Nalgonda district, especially the movement that developed in Jangoan taluk of Warangal district, our struggle for the seizure of Banzar-lands in Kurnool, Anantapur districts and in Jangoan taluk of Warangal district, agricultural labour strikes and today tapper's strikes in Nalgonda district all these clearly go to show our efforts to intensify class struggles and develop them into armed struggles. These class struggles are organised and waged under extreme repressive conditions. After every struggle, our party workers and militants are threatened with large scale arrests and false cases. On all such occasions, while keeping urgently needed cadre to carry on struggles in the plains we are sending rest of the militants forest areas to intensify our struggles there.

Our decision to give top priority to developing armed struggle in forest areas and to send party workers and militants to the forest from the plain areas to intensify the struggle there, is being ridiculed by our C.P.I. (M.L.) leaders as 'Jungle theory'. They are accusing us of 'cowardice' and they charge that we are not waging armed struggle in the plains; they are loudly declaring that they would wage armed struggle wherever there are peasants and this they declare to be a 'new discovery'.

Can any one who really wants to conduct people's war in India forget an extensive forest and mountainous area, inhabited by lakhs of people, which is economically self sufficient and lies on the borders of four states and still think of conducting an armed struggle?

If any one out of subjective thinking refuses to build this areas and such other areas into base areas then he is not serious of conducting a protracted armed struggle. Whatever they may say or write on this subject, are in practice, abandoning the struggle to create base areas in the countryside.

The learned pundits of the C.P.I. (M.L.) are attacking us for concentrating in forest areas to develop the armed struggle But did not the Naxalbari peasant armed struggle start in a forest area? Did not the Terai peasant armed struggle in U.P. start in a forest and mountainous area? Did not the peasant armed struggle in Sreekakulam district start in the forest areas of the district?

Let us see what comrade Mao says on the question of establishing base areas.

“What, then, are the base areas? They are the strategic bases on which the guerilla forces rely in performing their strategic task and achieving the object of preserving and expanding themselves and destroying and driving out the enemy. Without such strategic bases, there will be nothing to depend on in carrying out our strategic tasks or achieving the aim of war..... guerilla warfare could not last long or grow without base areas. The base areas indeed are its rear”.

(Selected Military writings - P.167)

“Base areas are mainly of three types, those in the mountains, those on the plains and those in the river-lake-estuary regions”.

“The advantage of setting up base areas in mountainous regions is obvious where.. guerilla warfare can be maintained for the longest time and are important strongholds for the War of Resistance....”.

“Ofcourse the plains are less suitable than the mountains, but it is by no means impossible to develop guerilla warfare or establish any base areas there... while there is as yet no evidence on the possibility of setting up base areas there and maintaining them for long, it has been proved that setting up of temporary base areas is possible, and it would be possible to set up base areas for small units or for seasonal use..... the objective conditions for spreading guerilla warfare and setting up temporary base areas in the plains are therefore fulfilled. Given competent military command it should of course be possible to establish bases for small guerilla units there, bases which are long termed but not fixed. Broadly speaking the enemy. will undoubt-

edly launch savage attack on all the guerilla base areas, and those in the plains will naturally be the first to bear the brunt. The large guerilla formations operating on the plains will be unable to keep on fighting there for long and will gradually have to move up into the mountains as the circumstances required.

“Objectively speaking, the possibilities of developing guerilla warfare and establishing base areas are greater in the river-lake-estuary regions than in the plains, though less than in the mountains”.

(Selected Military writings - P. 168)

What are the main points in the teaching of Comrade Mao on the question of establishing base areas?

— We cannot carry on a protracted armed struggle without establishing a base area.

— The base areas are mainly of three kinds—those in the mountain region, those on the plains and those in the river-lake estuary regions.

— Base areas in the mountainous regions are the strongest and most stable.

— Base areas in the plains are useful for small guerilla units; but they are of temporary nature and cannot hold for a long duration. With the experiences gained in the war of resistance comrade Mao has said that under certain circumstances it is also possible to establish long standing and stable base areas in the plains if the broad masses of people are extensively mobilised and where the enemy forces are less.

Based on the teachings of Comrade Mao on the question of base areas, our State Committee has given top priority to develop armed struggle in the vast forest area covering seven districts and to develop it into a guerilla area and then into a revolutionary base.

Describing their aim of armed struggle in the plain areas, the leadership of the C.P.I. (M.L.) say “The purpose of our present phase of armed guerilla struggle is to build up reliable revolutionary base areas” (Liberation, September 1969. P.26). That means, the purpose of their armed raids in the plain areas of various states is to establish base areas in the plains.

Comrade Mao says that we could establish only temporary base areas

in the plains. And only in certain areas and under certain conditions, we could establish stable base areas in the plains. But our 'Marxist-Leninist comrades are speaking of establishing stable base areas in any part of the country at the 'present phase' of the struggle itself. What is the basis for this new theory which totally differs from the teachings of Com. Mao? Do they conclude that base areas can be set up in the 'present phase' of the struggle by conducting a few un-coordinated armed raids on the land-lords in different places in the plains? Yes!

Comrades, we are certainly rejecting this new theory of 'Marxist Leninists' on the question of establishing base areas in the plains. At the present phase of the movement we must struggle to create base areas in the forest areas, develop armed struggle in the plains, and as the conditions permit we must try to establish temporary base areas in the plains. As the armed struggle advances wherever necessary conditions develop we must try to establish stable base areas in the plains also.

It has been established by the great heroic Telangana armed struggle that we can carry on peasant armed struggle in the plains depending upon the level of the movement the consciousness and the preparedness of the people.

After carrying on armed struggle for more than three years, with the concentration of Nehru's military, the guerilla in the plains of Telangana districts after suffering heavy losses retreated to the mountainous and forest area, established guerilla base there, and then continued the struggle for more than two years.

Our experience has taught us that, when class struggle advances to a higher stage, the movement could be advanced only through armed struggle, whether in the plains or any where else. At the same time, the great heroic Telangana armed struggle has thought us, that we could not carry on protracted armed guerilla struggle without establishing a revolutionary base. This lesson is in consonant with the teachings of Comrade Mao. With this lesson, in view, while intensifying the class struggles in the plains, with the definite aim of developing them to the stage of armed struggle, we are concentrating in the forest area from the very beginning to create a guerilla zone and then a liberated area.

2. PEOPLE'S DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN THE PEOPLE'S WAR :

We wish to add a few words on armed struggle in the plains. The leadership of CPI (ML) is criticising us that we are not conducting armed struggle in the plain areas and that we are working only in the forest area. It is true that we are not doing what the 'Marxist-Leninist' Comrades are doing in the plain areas. Along with the propagation of revolutionary politics among the people, we are intensifying class struggles in the plains. We are trying to organise village volunteer corps with the militants who are coming forward in these class struggles, we are trying to resist the repressive measures of land-lords and the police with the help of the people. We are working with the definite aim of advancing these class struggles to the stage of armed struggle depending on the consciousness, preparedness of the people and level of the movement. We have to work in the plains in the face of heavy repression with absolutely no legal possibilities. We can carry on armed struggle only by depending on the consciousness of the people, their preparedness and their organisation. We cannot carry on armed struggle by conducting a few uncoordinated armed raids against land-lords with the militants alone. The Marxist-Leninist Comrades are refusing to see this basic truth. They are refusing to learn proper lessons from the few uncoordinated armed raids against land-lords they have conducted in the districts of Vishakhapatnam, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Khamman, Warangal, Nellore, Anantapur etc. If they want to persist in the same course, they are at perfect liberty to do so and learn new lessons. As for ourselves, we certainly refuse to follow this wrong path. Let us consider the point more deeply.

Comrade Mao says that "the revolutionary war is a war of the masses". It is not enough if a few communist revolutionaries accept the path of people's war. Overwhelming majority of the people must accept this path. Only then the people will come forward to organise people's war based on Mao's Thought. Only then it becomes really a people's war of the masses.

Our masses in the countryside are suffering from the age-long oppression and exploitation of feudal land-lords. They have been deceived by the parliamentary path of the old and new revisionists for the last 20 years. Today we have to rouse revolutionary consciousness among these people, make them realise the necessity of armed struggle; make the people to directly participate in the people's war. In the beginning such a task is a very difficult one and demands utmost patience. Comrade Mao says, that "since the guerilla units in the War of Resistance (and in all other revolutionary wars) generally grow out of nothing and expand from a small to a large force, they must preserve themselves, and moreover they must expand. Hence

the question is, what policies or principles have to be adopted before we can attain the object of preserving and expanding ourselves and destroying the enemy?" (Problems of strategy in guerilla war).

If we compare ourselves with the total population of our country, the communist revolutionaries are a small force; the area where the armed struggles are going on when compared with the total area of our country is very small. How to develop this small force into a big, powerful force? This object can be achieved only when the people are made to directly participate in the people's war and their revolutionary potentialities are brought into full play.

Accepting in words that a revolutionary war is a war of the masses, is not enough. We must make the majority of the people accept the path of people's war and with their own experience directly participate in the people's war. This is a crucial task in the people's war.

Comrade Mao Says :

"Guerilla warfare is basically organised by the masses and there is no possibility for it to survive and develop once it is cut loose from the people or fails to attract the participation and cooperation of the broad masses".

(Aspects of China's anti-Japanese struggle)

But our 'Marxist-Leninist' Comrades are refusing to accept the necessity of making the majority of our people to directly participate in people's war. According to them "the peasants wage war against the State through their guerilla". (Liberation, Sept.1969 - Page.24) While Com. Mao says that guerilla war is a war basically organised by the masses and the masses must directly participate in the People's war, the 'Marxist-Leninists' are advancing a new theory of peasants waging war against the state through their guerillas. Thus according to them the people participate in the people's war only indirectly.

See what the 'Marxist-Leninists' say on the participation of the people in the guerilla struggle.

"The participation by hundreds of people in giving shelter and food, in collecting intelligence and information about the enemy's position, guarantee of passage for retreat and advance of guerillas, their participation in the attack and celebration of victories after a successful attack the functioning of Krishak Samithies and people's courts".

Will this be sufficient for a protracted armed struggle? From the military writings of Comrade Mao, we learn that people must directly participate in all aspects of people's war-formation of village volunteer squads, local guerilla squads, regular guerilla squads, regular Red Army, village revolutionary committees, government organisation at all levels, resistance against land lords, police and military. But for our Marxist-Leninist Comrades it is enough if the people give shelter, supply food, collect intelligence about the enemy, participate in a few raids and celebrations; Is there any connection between their conception and that of Com. Mao on the subject?

3. THE ROLE OF PARTIAL STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES IN PEOPLE'S WAR :

The key task of the Communist Revolutionaries in India today is to make the people directly participate in the armed guerilla struggle.

Because of the uneven economic and political development of the country, the level of consciousness of the people, the organisation of the masses is also uneven. Under such conditions it is only through the mass struggles on immediate issues, we can make the people class conscious, make the over whelming majority of the people realise the necessity of overthrowing the present rule of exploitation by armed force. We must conduct mass struggles on immediate issues, build up mass organisations, organise village revolutionary committees along with armed struggle.

In those places where armed struggle has not yet started, mass struggles on immediate issues will intensify the class consciousness of the masses and advance the class struggles to the stage of armed struggle. By combining the mass struggles on immediate issues with the armed struggle we can win the support of broad masses of the people for the people's war. Only through their own experience the broad masses of the people will realise the necessity of people's war and directly participate in the same. This is the principle that helps us make the people directly participate in the people's war.

What is the understanding of the 'Marxist-Leninists' on this question?

They say, "the political propaganda and annihilation of class enemies

- are the two political tasks." (Liberation, October, 1969 -P.30) and declared that when the guerilla units begin to act in this manner in any area the class enemies will be forced to flee from the countryside and the villages will be liberated. (Liberation, November 1969 - P.74)

The meaning of this is quite clear. Along with the propagation of politics of armed struggle, by organising guerilla squads with the available militants and by killing the land lords in a particular area, that area or village could be liberated. They further say that guerilla struggle start in any area with the killing of land lords. This is the principle of the 'Marxist-Leninists' to carry on guerilla struggle.

Without taking into consideration the level of consciousness of the people, their preparedness to fight, the political and organisational level of the masses, to think of establishing a liberated area by killing a few land lords with guerilla squads of a few militants alone, is nothing but an empty dream.

It is true that People have deep hatted against the land lords and they will be certainly happy if any body kills a land lord. But with the Government repression, all the temporary debilitation of the masses disappears because the people have not participated in the anti-land lord struggles they are not conscious of the necessity of resistance to the landlord and police repression; they will not come forward to resist the police repression; they cannot but surrender to police repression; and the movement will be disrupted. It is only through the mobilisation of the masses on immediate issues, by organising anti-land-lord mass struggles, we can make the broad masses of people consciously participate in people's war. It is only through such struggles, the people will consciously come forward to resist police and military to preserve the achievements of previous struggles, to win back their lands from the occupation of the land-lords to preserve the lands that they have won back from them. Thus they would realise the necessity of overthrowing the present Government and consciously participate in the armed struggle.

Comrade Mao Says :

"To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the needs and wishes of the masses. All the work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual however well-intentioned. It often happens that objectively the masses need a certain change, but subjectively they are not yet conscious of the need, not yet will-

ing or determined to make the change. In such cases we should wait patiently we should not make the change until through our work most of the masses have become conscious of the need and are willing and determined to carry it out. Otherwise, we shall isolate ourselves from the masses. Unless they are conscious and willing, any kind of work that requires their participation will turn out to be a mere formality and will fail."

"..... there are two principles here; one is the actual needs of the masses rather than what we fancy they need, the other is the wishes of the masses, who must make up their own minds instead of our making up their minds for them".

(Emphasisours)

Comrade Mao further says :

"Commandism is wrong in any type of work, because in overstepping the level of the political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of voluntary mass action it reflects the disease of impetuosity. Our comrades must not assume that everything they themselves understand is understood by the masses. Whether the masses understand it and are ready to take action can be discovered only by going into their midst and making investigations. If we do so, we can avoid commandism. Tailism in any type of work is also wrong."

Who is implementing this teaching of comrade Mao that we make the people consciously participate in the people's war? Is it 'Marxist-Leninists' or We?

We follow the line of propagating revolutionary politics of armed struggle among the people, of carrying on the mass struggles against the land lords and all other exploiters and co-ordinating them with the armed struggle. But the 'Marxist-Leninists' follow the line of 'Propagating the politics, forming guerilla squads of few militants and killing the landlords. They assert that "the spread of guerilla actions helps the broad masses to participate in the struggle". (Liberation Dec 69 - Page 10)

4. CO-ORDINATION OF OTHER FORMS OF STRUGGLES WITH THE ARMED STRUGGLE :

The path of people's war is the only path of liberation for our country. So the armed struggle is the main form of struggle and the Red army is the

main form of organisation.

At the same time we are definitely of the opinion that mass struggle on immediate issues should be co-ordinated with the armed struggle. Only by co-ordinating the mass struggles with the armed struggle, by co-ordinating mass organisations with the organisation of the Red army, we could make the broad masses of the people consciously participate in the armed struggle

This is not only our opinion but an important lesson that Comrade Mao has taught us :

Comrade Mao Says :

“In the past year we have fought in many places and are keenly aware that the revolutionary tide is on the ebb in the country as a whole. While the Red Political Power has been established in a few small areas, in the country as a whole the people lack the ordinary democratic rights, the workers, the peasants, and even the bourgeois democrats do not have the freedom of speech or assembly, and the worst crime is to join the communist party. Where ever the Red Army goes, the masses are cold and aloof, and only after our propaganda do they slowly move into action We have an acute sense of our isolation which we keep hoping will end soon. *Only by launching Political and economic struggle for democracy, which will also involve urban petty-bourgeoisie can we turn the revolution into a seething side that will surge through the country*” (Emphasis ours)

(Struggle in the Chingkong Mountains)

Stressing on the necessity of co-ordinating armed struggle with other forms of struggle, Mao says :

“Our party was already able to achieve direct or indirect co-ordination of armed struggle, the principal form of struggle with many other necessary forms, that is, *to co-ordinate it on a national scale, with the workers struggle, the peasant's struggle (which was the main thing) the struggle of the youth, the women and all other sections of the people, the struggle for political power, the struggles on the economic, anti-espionage and the ideological fronts and other forms of struggle.*” (Emphasis ours)

(Introducing the Communist-1939 Oct.

Comrade Mao clearly says that only by fighting for the immediate

demands of the people, we can win their confidence

He Says :

“We should pay close attention to the well-being of the masses from the problem of land and labour to those of fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt. - All such problems concerning the well being of the masses should be placed on our agenda. We should discuss them, adopt and carry out decisions and check upon the results. We should help the masses to realise that we represent their interests, that our lives are intimately bound up with theirs. We should help them to proceed from these things to an understanding of the higher tasks which we have put forward, the tasks of the revolutionary war, so that they will support the revolution and spread it throughout the country, respond to our political appeals and fight to the end for victory in the revolution.”

While Comrade Mao says that we should take up every problem from the smallest to the highest from labour to land, affecting every aspects of people's life, to win their confidence, the leadership of the CPI (ML) say that mass movements and mass organisations “increase the tendency for open and economist movement” (Liberation, Dec.69-Page 11) and that mass struggles and mass organisations, are “impediments” in the way of development of armed struggle.

It is not only we who say that mass movements and mass struggles on immediate issues should be co-ordinated with armed struggle but this is one of the important teachings of Com. Mao.

“In China War is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organisations. Other forms such as mass organisations and mass struggles are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve the war.”

(Problems of war and strategy)

“..... Stressing armed struggle does not mean abandoning other forms of struggle; on the contrary, armed struggle cannot succeed unless coordinated with other forms of struggle.” (Selected writings - Page 36)

Our line on the question of co-ordinating other forms of struggle with the armed struggles is not only in line with the lessons drawn from the experiences of Chinese Revolution and the teachings of Com. Mao, but

also in complete accordance with the specific advise given by the C.P.C. to the Communist Revolutionaries of India in 1967.

“It is entirely necessary for India's poverty stricken peasants to wage a mass struggle to combat eviction, seize land, obtain rent reduction and resist taxation. But the various forms of mass struggle must be combined with the general struggle for seizing power by armed force; the armed struggle must be the main form of struggle. Otherwise, it is impossible to destroy the feudal system root and branch and to win complete liberation for peasants. Armed struggle is the basic task of the New Democratic Revolution in India at the present stage and this revolution will inevitably be a peasant armed struggle.”

Com. Mao while stressing on the importance of mobilising the broad masses of the people into various organisations, says that even the armed squad must undertake this task. He says :

“The third indispensable condition for establishing a base area is the use of all our strength, including our armed forces, to arouse the masses for struggle against Japan. In the course of this struggle, we must arm the people i.e., organise self-defence crops and guerilla units. In the course of this struggle, we must form mass organisations, we must organise the workers, peasants, youth, women, children, merchants and professional people - according to the degree of their political consciousness and fighting enthusiasm --- into various mass organisations necessary for struggle against Japanese aggression and we must gradually expand them. Without organisation, the people cannot give effect to their anti-Japanese strength.”

(Problems of strategy in Guerilla war)

But the ‘Marxist-Leninist’ comrades are advancing a totally new theory completely different from that of Comrade Mao on this subject.

They say :

“Is it possible to wage guerilla warfare without mass movement and mass organisation ?

“The revolutionary peasants have demonstrated through their struggle that neither mass movement nor mass organisation is indispensable for waging guerilla warfare.” (Liberation, Dec.1969 - Page10)

Another theoretician further says that the mass movement and mass organisation are not necessary to carry on the guerilla warfare in the "present era".

Comrade Mao says that mass movement and mass organisations are indispensable for conducting armed struggle. But our "Marxist-Leninist" theoreticians say that they are not indispensable and even are impediments for conducting the armed struggle. What a gross distortion and that too from persons who claim to be the sole custodians of Mao's Thought in India !

5. THE ROLL OF MASS STRUGGLES IN PEOPLE'S WAR - CONTRADICTIONARY STATEMENTS OF 'MARXIST-LENINIST' THEORETICIANS :

Look at the contradictory statements of the 'Marxist-Leninists' on the role of mass struggles in people's war.

In April 1967 they said :

"Naturally the problem arises whether there is any further need for mass movements based on partial demands. There is certainly such a need now and it will remain in the future. India is a vast land and the peasantry is divided into many classes. Thus in every area and among all classes the level of political consciousness cannot be the same. Thus an opportunity will always exist for peasant movement based on partial demands and communists must make good use of this opportunity.

"How should we conduct these movements for partial demands ? Tactically we should try for the largest peasant participation and our principal aim should be to see whether the peasants class consciousness is enlarged and whether it moves forward towards armed struggle. Mass movements based on partial demands will intensify the class struggle and increase the political consciousness of over whelming masses of the people. Overwhelming masses of peasants will be inspired to make sacrifices and the struggle will spread to new area. The movements for partial demands can take many forms but communists must always propagate the necessity for a higher form of struggle. Under no circumstances will it be proper to circulate as 'best' whatever from the peasants adopt. In reality communists will always propagate revolutionary politics among the peasants i.e., the politics of armed struggle and the campaign for gun collections. But inspite of this propaganda the peasants may decide on mass deputations and if they

do so, it will be our duty to lead them. During the period of white terror the effectiveness of these mass deputations cannot be minimised because these will draw into the struggle large number of peasants. Movements for economic demands are not wrong but to conduct these movements with the technique of economism is a crime”.

(Liberation November 1969 Pages 83.)

What fine words ! A completely correct formulation for co-ordinating the economic struggles with the armed struggles. It is not either Comrade Chandra Pulla Reddy or T.Nagi Reddy who said this it is none but Comrade Charu Mazumdar himself who wrote this.

But a small doubt. What is the difference between what we are saying on this question and what Com. Charu Mazumdar said in 1967 ?

Then how is it that Com. Charu Mazumdar becomes a revolutionary for saying this and we become, for our Marxist-Leninist Comrades. “Counter-revolutionaries” for saying and practicing the same?

Com. Charu Mazumdar who said in 1967 that “mass movements based on partial demands will intensify the class struggle and intensify the political consciousness of overwhelming masses of the people” now says that, “mass organisations and mass movements increase the tendency for open and economist movement”

(Liberation, Dec.1969 Page 10)

Com. Satyanarayan Singh, who said “this ofcourse, does not mean that we do not take up economic issues in a new area where we begin work” (Liberation- Sept. 1969 Page 24) says in the very next month that “economic struggles” are “economic inducements” to the peasants. They even go to the extent of saying that in the present era the mass struggles are not indispensable and are even impediments for conducting guerilla warfare.

How many contradictory Statements ! Can we expect such fine circus feats on a single question from the “learned pundits” who arrogantly claim that “now the people of India know that, except the C.P.I. (ML) all other parties, though different in name, are in essence the parties of Morarji or Indiraji, that they are the agents of Soviet Social imperialism or of US imperialism ?”

(Liberation, Sept. 1969 Page 21)

Yes. Comrades, we have certainly refused to dance to the tunes of our "Marxist-Leninist" pundits on this question. We are not sorry for not having satisfied the "Marxist-Leninists" by behaving as obedient schoolchildren.

The "new" "creative" principles of the "Marxist-Leninist" the orientations are against the teachings of Com. Mao on this subject and also they are against the practical experiences of armed struggle.

The great heroic Telangana armed struggle started with the agitation on very ordinary issues like abolition of free labour (vetti) and reached the highest stage, the stage of armed struggle. It started with the struggle for abolition of debts in all forms, against grain levy and reached the stage of occupying the lands of land lords. Starting with ordinary agitational forms it reached the stage of establishing People's Government in thousands of villages. The great heroic Telangana armed struggle has proved that if the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle is combined with mass struggles on immediate issues and with class struggles, they can be developed to the stage of armed struggle. Coming to the present period, has not the armed in Terai area of UP started on the basis of peasant mass struggle against the landlords? Has armed struggle in Bihar started on the basis of peasant struggles for the seizure of lands under the occupation of zamindars?

Sreekakulam armed struggle is the highest form of struggle in the recent period against the land-lords and the Government. It is a People's struggle where the people participated on the broadest scale possible. Could we imagine the present Sreekakulam armed struggle without mass agitation, mass struggles conducted there for the last eight years?

6. ANNIHILATION OF CLASS ENEMY :

We firmly hold that by coordinating the class struggles with armed struggle, by coordinating other forms of struggle with armed struggle, we could make majority of the people consciously participate in the armed struggle. This is in consonance with the teachings of Com. Mao on the subject. 'Marxist-Leninists' are rejecting this correct principle.

Instead, they are advancing a new principle that 'annihilation' of class enemies along with the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle as the key task. They are loudly declaring that killing of a few land lords will lead to the establishment of liberated area, that killing of land

lords should be the main aim of the guerilla struggle at the present stage.

During the period of Paris Commune in 1871, when the capitalist Government was killing thousands of workers Marx gave a fighting call "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" to save the movement from complete destruction. When the Chinese Red Army was fighting against the armies of Chiang-Kai-Shek. Com. Mao gave the call "tit for tat".

If only these principles are implemented taking the objective conditions in any particular area into consideration, the movement will definitely advance.

As the class struggles and the armed struggles get intensified, some of the land lords, who completely expose themselves as the arch enemies of the people will certainly be killed by the people in the course of the struggle. But so far we have not seen a single example where killing of land lords has been declared to be the main aim of the struggle. We know that destruction of class society based on exploitation has been declared to be the sole aim of the class struggle. But we have not seen anywhere in the writings of Marx-Engles-Lenin-Stalin and Mao, wherein they have said that by killing land-lords one could liberate a country.

We the Andhra Revolutionary Communists are certainly rejecting the strategic slogan of the 'Marxist-Leninist' leaders that liberated areas could be created by killing a few land lords. Their theories on this question are against the fundamental principles of class struggle itself.

They declare that "annihilation of class enemy is the higher form of class struggle". When class struggle gets intensified, the exploiting classes and their Government will resort to police repression to throw the people's movement in blood. Then the people are forced to arm themselves and fight it back. With this, class struggle will change from ordinary form to the higher form of struggle, i.e., the stage of armed struggle. So armed struggle is the higher form of class struggle. Some of the class enemies will certainly be killed by the people both in the lower and higher forms of class struggle. It is wrong to say that killing of class enemies is the higher form of class struggle.

They further say that "the act of annihilating class enemies through guerilla actions is the primary stage of the guerilla struggle. What an atrocious formulation! The sole aim of the guerilla struggle from the primary stage to the end, is the destruction of class society of exploitation. Its quite

wrong to say that the act of annihilating the class enemies through guerilla action is the primary stage of guerilla struggle. Comrade Mao has said that armed struggle has got three stages - the period when the strength of the enemy is superior to us; and the period when our strength and that of the enemy are equal and the period when our strength is superior to that of the enemy. Com. Mao has never said that act of annihilation of the class enemies through guerilla action is the primary stage of the guerilla struggle.

As the armed struggle advances, some of the peoples enemies will certainly be killed by the people. But the sole aim of the armed struggle could only be the destruction of class society of exploitation and the killing of landlords could never be the aim of armed struggle.

Com. Mao says :

“Our task is to abolish the feudal system, to wipe out the landlords as a class and not as individuals”.

But the ‘Marxist-Leninist’ comrades are declaring that the annihilation of class enemies is the key task of the present stage of the guerilla struggle and killing of a few land-lords in a particular area will turn that area into a liberated area. This is against the teachings of Comrade Mao on the subject.

7. MOBILISATION OF WORKING CLASS AND MIDDLE CLASSES FOR PEOPLE'S WAR :

In India People's Democratic Revolution, armed Agrarian Revolution should be led by the working class. The working class should directly participate in the revolution. We should formulate a program that helps us to draw the entire working class into the struggle. We have to rouse the working class with revolutionary consciousness and make them realise the necessity of People's war, mobilise the working class and lead their struggles against the present Government and its policies, send the militants who come forward in their struggles to the rural areas to join and lead the armed struggle there. It is only by organising them on economic issues, keeping in view their consciousness organisation and readiness to fight, that we could draw the working class into armed struggle. All the fighting slogans in our ‘Immediate Programme’ are directed to the purpose of mobilising the working class for struggle against the present Government's rule of exploitation and oppression.

Without giving such a programme the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are satisfied by repeating the strategic slogan "Workers of the World unite, you have nothing to lose except your chains. You have a world to win!" With such strategic slogans we may draw a few militants into the struggle and some of them may go to the areas of armed struggle. But without mobilising working class on economic issues along with the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle, to think of drawing working class into armed struggle through mere political slogans is a mere day dream.

The 'Marxist-Leninists' are taking the same sectarian attitude towards the middle class. We firmly hold that we must work among the middle classes to remove their illusions in the parliamentary institutions. We firmly hold that it is only by mobilising the middle classes for struggles on partial demands along with the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggles that we could win the support of middle classes for armed struggle.

Without such a fighting programme, mere strategic slogans like, "Oh Intellectuals! Go to the villages and carry forward the armed struggle" can at best draw a few people into the armed struggle, but will never help us to mobilise the support of majority of the middle classes for armed struggle.

These comrades are adopting the same sectarian attitude towards the small land-lords and small merchants.

In the rural area, to concentrate in the beginning on the big land-lords and neutralize small land lords is a common tactic of the struggle. With such tactics we could isolate, the big land-lords. Our 'Immediate Programme' has clearly said that as the armed struggle advances the small land-lords will be distributed to the extent as the necessities of the movement demand. Such a tactic is in accordance with the teaching of Mao on the subject.

Similar tactics should also be adopted towards the big usurious merchants. In the beginning the struggle must be concentrated to isolate them. We must not attack the small merchants who accept the people's demands. Such tactics will help us in isolating the main enemy.

8. SEPARATE TELANGANA MOVEMENT :

Com. Mao has said that "in the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." But, the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades distorted this statement and said 'only in the final stages, national struggle will change

into class struggle', and as such communists should not take up national issues. Having distorted the national issue these very comrades, within a few months came forward to support the separate Telangana Movement and criticised us for not having done the same.

Telangana People do not constitute a separate nationality. In their struggle for power a section of land-lords in Telangana took up the demand of separate Telangana as against those in power. Students, youth, middle classes and even a section of poor classes, who were dissatisfied, disgusted with the policies of Congress Government took part in the movement. A section of land-lords of Telangana utilised this dissatisfaction of the masses; or their own selfish ends. In these circumstances, we Revolutionary communists of Andhra Pradesh, exposed the conspiracies of land-lords, who were leading the separate Telangana movement, we declared that only by over - throwing the present Congress Government the people of both the regions can be liberated. We worked to direct discontentment of the masses against the present Congress Government and the entire system of exploitation.

Oppression of one nationality by another should be opposed by the communists. Communists should support and participate in all the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, national struggles and utilise all the opportunities to convert all such struggles into liberation struggles. There is no nationality issue in the separate Telangana struggle. It does not have any anti-feudal or anti-imperialist character.

Now the landlords of Telangana who took up the separate Telangana movement have further split themselves into three groups. One group supports the slogan of separate Telangana, another group of state within a state and the third group demands referendum on the question. Now Marxist-Leninist comrades are at liberty to choose as to which group of the landlords they want to support.

9. TWO PRACTICES - TWO RESULTS

We followed the line of co-ordinating armed struggle with mass struggles on partial demands. The Marxist-Leninist's followed the line of forming armed squads with the available militants and carrying on raids against land-lords. Let us analyse the results of these two lines followed in Andhra.

Let-us take the experiences of our own armed struggle.

In the beginning, we started our work in the forest area of Mulug taluk of Warangal district, where we had a mass base. Along with the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle among the people, we mobilised the people against the exploitation of forest officials, contractors, village patels, patwaris, landlords etc. We mobilised the people for the occupation of forest lands for cultivation and also uncultivated lands of land lords, wherever the landlords tried to oppose this mobilisation of people we resisted them on the basis of squads. When the landlords of Pagider area in Khammam district tried to terrify the people with guns we had to forcibly seize those guns from the land-lords. Government sent central Reserve police in large numbers to suppress the movement. With this our armed resistance has started. In Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar districts along with armed struggles, we are mobilising the masses of the people on immediate issues against landlords, forest officials, patels, patwaris and forest contractors, we concentrated our armed attacks against the arch enemies of the people. Forest officials have been driven out of the forest area majority of village patel, patwaris have been forced to take shelter either in the towns or in the police camps. They dare not move about freely in the forest villages. Our armed squads attacked some of the landlords and burnt to ashes the promissory notes worth lakhs of rupees. In some cases the people have seized the grain stocks and guns from the landlords. Sixteen landlords or their agents who are responsible for heinous crimes and who are notorious enemies of the people have been so far killed in this armed struggle. With this, some of the landlords of the forest area have run away to the towns.

Similarly in East Godawari district, the people have been mobilised for the re-occupation of the lands that have been seized by the landlords. The people in some places both men and women, resisted the landlords and police with the available weapons and re-occupied their own lands, raised crops on the lands and gathered the produce. In some villages, the people recovered their 'range' gardens from the landlords and the people are freely enjoying the forest produce.

While we are carrying on armed attacks on the enemies of the people, is the Congress Government sitting with folded hands? Certainly not. The Govt. have concentrated thousands of armed police in the districts of Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar. The police has raided every village in the forest area where the armed struggle is going-on. Masses of the people have been lathi charged to force them to give out the whereabouts of our armed squads. At the village level, party workers and family members have been subjected to cruel torture. Properties of the people have been looted by

the police; thousands of rupees have been extracted from the people by the police; many women have been raped. Hundreds of police have raided certain areas from all sides to put down the armed squads. They repeatedly carried out these "encirclement and suppression" campaigns to wipeout the armed squads. We could defeat all these campaigns with the support of the people. When CRP squads and our squads came face to face, the police had to run away in many cases. When our squad attacked a home guard centre, the commander of Home-guards was killed and the rest of them ran for life, our squad attacked the Peruru Police Station in Nuguru taluk which was suppressing the people in the surrounding area; the police were forced to look themselves inside the police station to save their skin.

Before the armed struggle started, we propagated the lessons of great heroic Telangana armed struggle, both in the forest area and the plain areas. With this we tried to take the conception of armed struggle to the nook and corner of Andhra Pradesh.

During the today's of famine we mobilised the broad masses of the people to forcibly seize the grain stocks from the land lords. A broad mass movement has developed on this issues in Jangaon taluq of Warangal District. In this taluq, people were mobilised to occupy the banzar lands under the illegal possession of the landlords. The people not only seized the banzar lands but also standing crops and moveable properties on these lands.

In Kurnool and Anantapur districts the people were mobilised for the occupation of banzar lands. In Anantapur district a broad people's movement developed on this issue, covering several taluks and drawing thousands of people into the movement. But to our Marxist-Leninist Comrades all this appears to be a mere 'counter-revolutionary' acts; Hard facts do not seem to have any value to our Marxist-Leninists. In Anantapur district majority of the banzar lands are already under the occupation of the landlords. Our 'Marxist-Leninist' pundits do not seem to know even this simple fact. At first people of some villages came forward to seize these banzar lands from the land-lords. Against all the threats of the land-lords and police, the people occupied the banzar lands in the possession of the landlords. Soon this developed into a big people's movement. The people of one area after another area came forward in hundreds and thousands, for the forcable seizure of these lands. This movements developed in the face of fierce resistance and threats from the land lords and the police. But all this appears to our Marxist-Leninist pundits as simple occupation of mere Govt. Waste lands. What a colossal ignorance! What Janduced eyes! In their arrogance and blind hatred against us these comrades are stooping to such low depths

as to condemn even a people's movement wherein thousands of people participated.

During the past year in the course of armed struggle, four comrades, namely Bathula Venkateshwara Rao (state committee member), Suryanarayana, Venkanna and Yella Reddy have lain down their lives. Majority of our Leaders both at state and district levels working in the plains have been arrested and two conspiracy cases have been hatched against about 100 comrades. Many comrades, especially in Warangal and Khammam districts are thrown into the jails.

Armed attacks on the people's enemies, seizure of their movable properties and guns, burning of promissory notes, Government records with the Patels, Patwaries, re-occupation of lands from the land-lords, attack on the police station seizure of grain stocks from the land-lords and distributing them among the people -- are all these acts revisionist and counter revolutionary?

It is true that we have co-ordinated all these actions with mass struggles partial issues. In our experience, when the people's movement is advancing, wherever we lagged behind in forming armed squads to fight back land-lord and police suppression, the movement has suffered a set back. And similar wherever we carried armed attacks without taking into consideration the level of the people's consciousness, their political and organisational level, the movement has suffered a setback. Wherever the armed struggle was correctly co-ordinated with mass-struggles on partial issues, the movement has advanced.

Only by correctly applying Mao's thought all the mass struggles could be developed into armed struggle and the partial struggles into a struggle for state power.

Intensive propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggles, mass struggles on immediate issues, formation of guerilla squads wherever necessary carrying on necessary armed attacks on the enemies of the people - i.e., co-ordinating the mass movement and mass struggles with armed struggle - is our line for developing the mass struggles into armed struggle. We are trying to firmly implement this line to advance our armed struggle.

It is by pursuing this correct and fighting line, the movement started in Mulugu Taluk as our base, has developed in a contiguous area of 7 taluks of the three districts. Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar. In this vast area, no government department could function except with heavy police

protection. Even land revenue could be collected with police help. Even the police could enter the forest villages only in large numbers.

People's support to the armed struggle has increased. The people have begun to move on their immediate issues. The number of armed squads, the number of squad members, and the weapon strength has increased.

In East Godavari district, the movement has spread to about 100 villages in the agency area. In about 50 villages, village committees have been formed. But, the movement, here the results of the line followed by us suffered a temporary set back which we hope to overcome soon. Let us now analyse the results of the line followed by the 'Marxist-Leninist's in Andhra Pradesh.

In Sreekakulam district the people moved on a big scale against the land-lords and the police. Broad masses of the people participated in the movement. The people, pursued the liberation struggle and heroically fought back Govt. repression. Dozens of comrades have laid down their lives in this heroic struggle. What are the results of this struggle? How far has it advanced? How far has it spread? What are their experiences? We do not have any detailed reports on this. When such reports are available, we will certainly take proper lessons from them. But here we wish to say a few words on two issues.

— It is fact that even in Sreekakulam district, the armed struggle developed out of anti-feudal struggles. We are of the firm opinion that the future of the struggle here depends only on the co-ordination of the armed struggle with the agrarian revolutionary programme.

— Now Sreekakulam comrades are writing that they have established red political power in the agency areas of the district. But comrade Mao has taught us that along with other conditions we must have a regular Red Army to create Red area.

He says :

— "The existence of a Regular Red Army of adequate strength is a necessary condition for the existence of a Red political power. If we have local Red Guards only, but no Regular Red Army, then we cannot cope with the regular white forces, but only with the land-lords forces".

Comrade Mao has clearly said that without a Regular Red Army of adequate strength capable of fighting back the enemies, we cannot establish a Red area. Have the Sreekakulam comrades established 'Red Area' by

creating a Regular Red Army, or through the guerilla squads only? What is the shape of the Government in the 'Red Area' at all levels? What are their functions? If the Sreekakulam comrades could supply these details, we will certainly study them and take proper lessons.

Let us now see the results of the line pursued by the 'Marxist-Leninists' in other districts.

Inspired by the movement in Sreekakulam district, Militant youth in other districts came forward to advance the cause of people's war. At such a time any leadership will naturally give such youth a programme to organise mass struggles and to create mass base for armed struggle in various areas. But this is not what the leadership of C.P.I. (M.L.) did in Andhra. They organised these militant youth into squads and asked them to conduct armed raids against the land-lords. Let us see how this line was implemented in the districts other than Sreekakulam.

Some of the youth both from Andhra districts and other provinces were gathered and sent to Visakhapatnam district to carry on this line. These comrades without doing any mass work and political propaganda among the people and even without establishing any preliminary contacts with the local people straight away started planning for armed raids against the land-lords and soon they were all arrested.

The youth that were sent to East Godavari were soon either got arrested or ran away from the field because of the same reason.

In Guntur district, youth gathered from different places of the district carried armed raids in some taluks, and took shelter in some other taluks. In many villages where they have carried on armed raids on the land-lords the 'Marxist-Leninists' do not have any cadre. They did not carry on any political propaganda in these villages or in the neighboring villages before the raids nor did they establish any contacts with the local people.

In Jangaon taluk of Warangal district 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades repeated the very same course. Their 'armed struggle' ended with only two raids.

In two other districts, the 'Marxist-Leninists' with the encouragement of one group of landlords killed two men belonging to the other group of landlords. These incidents have nothing to do with any mass issue or any political issue. They were carried out only for-money and nothing else.

It is only in Khammam district they have pursued their line for quite sometime. Here two squads with about 30 members each were formed in

Manukota and Palwancha taluka and about 50 raids both minor and major were carried out. In Palwancha taluk they carried raids in the plains and took shelter in the forest. This was their only programme. They neither did any political propaganda nor did they carry out any mass work either in the plains or in the forest area. They did not establish even minimum contacts with the people of the villages either in the plains or in the forest area. But his struggle ended within three months of its starting.

Their squad in Manukota taluk carried out raids both in Manukota and Illandu taluk. Armed raids in the plains and shelter in the forest area was their only programme. No mass work or political propaganda was carried out. Their raids were not even confined to only big land-lords, the arch enemies of the people. They raided even the middle class peasants homes. The raids were indiscriminate.

This squad was taking shelter in the very same area where one of our squads was also working. Our squad tried to discuss with them and make them realise the great harm that was being done because of indiscriminate raids and that too with no relation to mass movements. But they refused to yield to reason. With what consequences?

Two squad leaders, one after another, deserted the squad and ran away with money. The squad which started with a strength of about 30 in May 1969 was soon reduced to 7 by October as a result of surrenders, desertions and arrests. When the leader of the remaining 7 members tried to run away with money he was killed by the squad itself. Of the six remaining on surrendered to the police and the rest were arrested.

Excepting in Sreekakulam, this is the way the 'Marxist-Leninists' have implemented their line of people's war in other districts. Contrary to these facts, these comrades are boast fully claiming that their movement "has now spread to 7 of the 20 districts of Andhra and is about to start in 5 others; that we have been able to win over the masses under the influence of all the various political parties which serve reaction (Liberation September 1969 Page 82). They further declared "that Red political power which has been established in this hilly area of Sreekakulam has turned the whole district, nay the whole of Andhra Red" (same paper page 83).

The unfortunate thing is that at the time when these boastful claims were being made their 'armed struggle' has come to an end in other districts except in Sreekakulam. Such statements may succeed in temporarily deceiving the people who are far away from Andhra, but they will never succeed in deceiving the people of Andhra who are seeing the facts with their own

eyes.

Not satisfied with the result so far obtained, recently they have carried out similar raids in Nellore and Anantapur districts and met with the same results.

Leaving apart Sreekakulam district, what is the character of 'armed struggle' that these comrades carried on in other districts of Andhra Pradesh? They gathered a few militant youth from one corner of the district, carried out armed raids in the villages of another corner and took shelter in another part of the district. Either before or after the raids, they did not even carry on political propaganda nor did they establish any contacts with the people of the locality where they carried out armed raids. This, in essence, is the character of 'armed struggle' that they carried on in the district other than Sreekakulam.

These 'armed' raids have nothing to do with any mass work or the mass issues or the mass movement. They were not co-ordinated and not conducted in a contiguous area. Such raids, at best, can only reflect the deep-rooted dissatisfaction and discontentment among the youth at the present situation and their determination to do something to put an end to the present order of things. But they can never be considered as part of an armed struggle based on Mao's thought. Such uncoordinated raids, having no connection with any mass movement cannot help organise people's armed struggle and more over they harm the very concept of armed struggle based on Mao's thought.

The line of Marxist-Leninist comrades that liberated areas should be established by way of political propaganda, organisation of squads, annihilation of class enemies has masterably failed in all these districts.

Our line political propaganda, mass struggles on partial issues and armed struggle and their co-ordination, that was implemented, has helped the armed struggle to spread to seven taluks of three districts and to develop extensive mass movement in East Godavari and some other places.

Here are the two lines and two results. Which is correct and which is wrong (-) practice itself has proved.

It is true there are differences between the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Committee and the leadership of C.P.I. (M.L.) on the question of application of Mao's Thought and the path of people's war under the concrete conditions of India.

— We say that propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle, mobilisation of broad masses of the people for mass struggles on partial issues and co-ordination of mass struggles with the armed struggle will help in drawing the majority of the people to consciously participate in the armed struggle and in broadening and advancing the armed struggle. It will help in creating guerilla zone in a particular area and establishing revolutionary stable base area to carry on protracted armed struggle. This is how the Revolutionary Communist Committee of Andhra Pradesh understands and implements the path of people's war.

But the leadership of the CPI (ML) says that mass struggles and mass organisations will increase the tendency towards legalism and breeds economism and they are impediments in the way of development of armed struggle. Political propaganda, organisation of squads and killing of land lords is the line of people's war.

— We say that we must conduct the struggles at the present stage to create guerilla zones and then liberated areas in the forest and mountainous areas; the struggles in the forest areas and the plains must be co-ordinated to achieve this aim.

But the leadership of the CPI (ML) says that, at the present stage itself, stable revolutionary base areas could be established in all the areas in the plains. They assert that by killing a few land lords in any area stable revolutionary base areas could be established; and mass movements and mass organisations are not necessary and are impediments in the way of developing the armed struggle.

— We say that the aim of the guerilla struggle is to overthrow the present big bourgeoisie - big land lords Govt. and establish people's Democratic Government in its place. It is true that in the course of this struggle some of the arch enemies of the people will certainly be killed by the people but the aim of the struggle at any stage could not be the killing of individual land lords. Our sole aim should be to destroy the present semi feudal and semi colonial society.

But the leadership of the CPI (ML) says that killing of land lords is the key task at the present stage of the guerilla struggle.

— We say that the working class and the middle classes should be drawn towards the revolutionary politics and the path of peoples war through mass struggles on partial demands and propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle and thus make them to consciously and directly participate in the armed struggle.

But the leadership of the C.P.I. (M.L.) says that it is enough if a general call is given asking them to go to the villages and carry on the armed struggle there.

— We say that in the beginning of the struggle, in the rural areas, the struggle must be concentrated against the big land lords and the big usurious merchants; As far as possible small land lords, and small merchants should be neutralised; thus isolating the big land-lords and the big merchants to easily breakdown their resistance. As the movement advances and the necessities of the movement demand, the lands of the small land lords will also have to be distributed to the extent necessary.

But the leadership of the C.P.I. (M.L.) says that no difference should be shown between the big and small land lords, between the small and big merchants and that we should attack both the big and small land lords and merchants all alike at the same time. This wrong tactic is the result of their having no agrarian programme to implement now. See their contempt for it in the following :-

“..... the agrarian revolution has to await the smashing of state power. To attempt an agrarian revolution without first smashing state machinery is straight forward revisionism”.

(Liberation, Nov. 69 Page 80)

We are certain that on all these issues, the line of thinking and practice of the ‘Marxist-Leninists’ is opposed to the teachings of comrade Mao.

Our programme, on all these issues, will help us to win necessary support of broad masses of the people to the armed struggle, make them realise, through their own experience, the necessity of armed struggle and their participation in the armed struggle.

The ‘Marxist-Leninists’ refuse to see the necessity of patiently working among the people to make them consciously participate in the armed struggle; refuse to have faith in and rely on the masses. They say that by killing land lords in any area, the broad masses of the people could be drawn into the armed struggle and stable revolutionary bases can be established. Thus the ‘Marxist-Leninist’ comrades are exhibiting naked revolutionary impetuosity on all the issues affecting the people's war.

If we carefully analyse all their arguments, it will be clear that in the place of individual terrorism which is against Marxism-Leninism, ‘Marx-

ist-Leninists' are adopting squad terrorism. Marxism-Leninism has long ago rejected the theory that people can be moved into action through the heroic deeds of individuals against their exploiters. But the Marxist-Leninists are adopting in its place a new theory that through squad heroism the people can be moved into action against their exploiters. Both these new theories are against the Marxist principle that the people alone will make history.

Our program will enable us to work patiently among the people, to go deep into the people and move the masses step by step towards armed struggle. However, we firmly believe that in the national and international revolutionary situation of to-day, if we work with patience and perseverance among the people on the basis of the path of people's war, we will soon be able to draw broad mass of the people into the armed struggle.

But the programme of the C.P.I. (M.L.) of no faith in and no reliance on the masses, of no mass organisation and mass struggles will only lead to adventuristic actions by a few individuals. With such an understanding nothing can be achieved and after some time they will be reduced to mere empty left-phrase mongers. It is no surprise that our programme appears to them, a 'revisionist programme'. We can only remind them with comrade Mao's reply to all those theoreticians of "Quick victory" who opposed the line of protracted war.

Comrade Mao said :

"Are we not afraid of being denounced as nonresisters? No; we are not. Not to fight at all but to compromise with the enemy—that is nonresistance, which should not only be denounced but must never be tolerated. We must resolutely fight the war of Resistance. But in order to avoid the enemy's deadly trap it is absolutely necessary that we should not allow our main forces to be finished off at one blow, which would make it difficult to continue the war of Resistance—in brief—it is absolutely necessary to avoid national subjugation"

(empharisations) (on Protracted war)

We must preserve our small forces from destruction by the enemy; combine work among the people with armed struggle and thus win the support of the broad masses of the people for a protracted armed struggle. This is our aim. This is the only course that must be adopted when we have to fight an enemy whose military strength is far superior to us. This is the only course that helps us to accumulate strength, become a strong and powerful force and ultimately overpower the strength of the enemy.

Because of the uneven economic and political development and uneven development of mass movement in India certain differences are bound to arise on the steps to be taken to implement the path of peoples war in various part of the country. We should patiently study the experiences of armed struggle in various parts of the country. It is only through mutual discussions based on practical experience that a general fighting programme applicable to the whole of India can be hammered out. We must always remember comrade Mao's saying.

“History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but only in the course of struggle. These lines must combat ‘left’ opportunism on the one hand and ‘right’ opportunism on the other. Without combating and thoroughly overcoming these harmful tendencies which damage the revolution and the revolutionary war, it would be impossible to establish a correct line and win victory in this war”.

We are prepared for such mutual discussions between communist revolutionaries implementing the path of people's war in various parts of the country. But the ‘Marxist-Leninist’s without showing any patience for such mutual discussions are accusing all other communist revolutionaries who differ with them as ‘cowards’, counter-revolutionaries and ‘revisionists’ etc. and are mainly responsible for the disunity among the communist revolutionaries in India today.

11. DISTORTIONS - AND LIES :

We must carefully note how the leadership of the CPI (ML) is distorting even the principles of Comrade Mao in order to support their wrong principles and lines

— While Comrade Mao says that “In the final analysis National struggle is a matter of class struggle, the ‘Marxist-Leninists’ say that only in the final stage national struggle will change into class struggle.

— While Comrade Mao says, that along with the armed struggle “other forms of struggle such as mass organisations and mass struggle are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances be overlooked”. The ‘Marxist-Leninists’ say “neither mass movement nor mass organisation is indispensable” and that they “increase the tendency for open and economist movement”.

— While Comrade Mao says that armies of the enemy should be anni-

hilated, the 'Marxist-Leninists' say that the annihilation of land-lords should be the key task.

— While Comrade Mao says "Our task is to abolish the feudal system, to wipe out the land lords as a class and not as individuals", the 'Marxist-Leninists' put forth the killing of land-lords as the key task to establish stable revolutionary base areas.

Towards us, the revolutionary communists of Andhra Pradesh, the 'Marxist-Leninist' Comrades have adopted a hostile attitude and resorted to distortions, lies and abuses in their polemics against us.

For instance, take only three examples of their gross distortions :-

— In the third page of our "Immediate Programme" we have used the expression "Soviet Revisionist neo-colonial exploitation". The 'Marxist-Leninist' pundits are trying to show that this expression is different from "Soviet Social Imperialism" as characterised by the great Chinese Communist Party. But in the fourth page of the very same document we have characterised the International Policies of the Soviet Revisionists as "Soviet Social Imperialism".

For the benefit of Marxist-Leninist pundits who are so labouriously trying to show that Soviet revisionist neo-colonial exploitation is different from "Soviet Social Imperialism", we refer them to the following lines from paeking review, 30, 1969 wherein it is said :

"However the so-called exemplary model is nothing but a typical example of Neo-colonialism pushed by soviet revisionism in Asian-African region. The so-called "tremondous achievements" is nothing but India's heavy dependence on Soviet Revisionist social imperialism economically, financially and militarily, that is to say, India has been reduced to a colony of both Soviet Revisionism and U.S. imperialism."

We request our 'Marxist-Leninist' professors to see that both soviet revisionist neo-colonial exploitation and soviet social imperialism are terms used to mean the same and are used by the great Chinese Communist Party itself.

— To dub us as anti C.P.C. the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are criticising us for having included British imperialism along with American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism who are exploiting India. Do the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades not accept the fact that British capital still oc-

cupies an important place in Indian industries? Do they not see British capital in the form of loans and 'aid' in India? Do they want to argue that British capital in India does not have the character of neo-colonial exploitation? Or do they want to protect British capital in India?

In their blind anxiety to attack us, they do not see what C.P.C. has said on this point. Peking Review 30, 1969 says: "Soviet revisionist renegade clique is also ruthlessly exploiting Indian people by large scale capital export to India in the form of 'Loans'. The Soviet revisionists have become India's third Largest creditor next to the U.S. and Britain.

British capital is still occupying an important place in the Indian industries. In the countries supplying Loans to India, Britain still occupies second place. India is still a member of British commonwealth. Thus we see that India is still being subjected to neo-colonial exploitation by British imperialism. Accepting the fact of neo-colonial exploitation of India by Britain does not in any way reduces the leading position of U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism in the neo-colonial exploitation of India.

Look at the political Resolution of the C.P.I. (M.L.) themselves;

"At the same time, various sections of the ruling classes and parties who have tied their future with American, Soviet and British imperialists are having a dog fight among themselves" (Telugu version P.5)

In their blind hatred towards us the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are even forgetting what they have said in their own political resolution.

— Our "Immediat programme" has really said that one of the tasks of people's Democratic Revolution is nationalisation of foreign capital in industries and banks and the capital of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie tied to foreign capital. This can never mean, as the Marxist-Leninist pundits say, that we should leave the foreign capital in the form of loans untouched. The aim of the people's Democratic Revolution is to abolish foreign imperialist capital in any form.

12. BLATANT LIES :

In their blind hatred against us the 'Marxist-Leninist' comrades are resorting to blatant lies. Look at only a few examples :

— In two of our earlier documents, we had condemned the stand of the neo-revisionists on the internal situation in India and these documents

were in the possession of the 'Marxist-Leninists'. But still they had the audacity to falsely declare that we had no criticism of the stand taken by the neo-revisionists on the internal situation in India.

We proposed to the 'Marxist-Leninists' that comrade Nagi Reddy would resign his membership of Assembly in the February budget session of 1969. The 'Marxist-Leninist' leadership wrote a letter to us accepting it. But they made a false accusation later that comrade Nagi Reddy has refused to resign his Assembly membership.

— Our armed struggle started in April 1969 in the forest areas of Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar districts. It took 15 to 20 days for the news to reach Vijayawada, as soon as the news reached our paper "Janasakti" prominently published this news of armed struggle. Soon after, our State Committee met and greeted the armed struggle and extended full support for the same. Our weekly "Janasakti" wrote an editorial in support of the armed struggle.

But, while these were the facts the 'Marxist-Leninists' have published in the "Liberation" of September 1969.

"Nagi's followers are carrying out guerilla actions in the two districts in the plains where they have some influence. This has put Nagi & Co. in a fix. They can neither disown the actions of their own followers nor can prevent them from doing it. So Janasakti, their organ has to play it safe by completely shutting out news of the actions their own followers are carrying out".

What a Himalayan lie!

— The 'Marxist-Leninists' are claiming that "Naxalbari represents the first ever application of Mao's thought on the soil of India and it was in Naxalbari that the peasants, for the first time, launched their struggle for the seizure of power". But what are the historic facts?

The heroic and glorious Telangana armed struggle of 1946-51 brought on the agenda for the first time the path of the Indian Revolution - The Chinese path or the Russian path? The Andhra communists advocated that the Indian Revolution should follow the Chinese path, should follow the path of protracted armed struggle to achieve complete liberation and led the peasant armed struggle in Andhra based on the writings of comrade Mao. For the first time in India, during the course of the great heroic Telangana armed struggle the Govt. machine at the village level was destroyed in about

three thousand villages and People's Raj was established in these villages - 'Marxists-Leninists' are distorting this historic truth.

But when we are speaking of this historical truth. We do not want in any way to minimise the importance of the Naxalbari peasant armed struggle. This struggle has opened the eyes of the communist Revolutionaries who have sunk them selves in the mire of the Parliamentary path. It has again opened the way for armed peasant struggles in various parts of the country. With this liberation movement of Indian people based on Mao's thought has taken a decisive turn and advanced with great strides. We whole-heartedly congratulate the Naxalbari comrades for this. But out of over-enthusiasm one should not distort historical facts.

Truth is greater than lies, it is greater than the lies of the leadership of the C.P.I. (M.L.) too. We can remove the differences between the Communist Revolutionaries through out the country only through mutual, comradely discussions. Angry words cannot occupy the place of reasoned arguments. Foul, arrogant accusations like "cowards" and "counter-revolutionaries" etc. cannot replace the arguments based on the thought of Mao and the path of people's war.

The 'Marxist-Leninist' leadership is refusing such mutual and comradely discussions on the differences between the Communist Revolutionaries through out the country. All their foul accusations like "cowards" and "counter revolutionaries" are being taken by our Andhra people as the ravings of men who have reached the edge of madness. Our work among the people, our armed struggle against the exploiting classes will certainly smash all that of the 'Marxist-Leninist' leaders about us.

An Appeal to the communist revolutionaries

Comrades, we have refused to be provoked by the abusive language used against us by the leadership of the C.P.I. (M.L.). We have patiently tried to explain our views on some of the differences standing in the way of unity among the Communist Revolutionaries through - out the country. We are always prepared for mutual, comradely discussions with other groups of Communist Revolutionaries on the existing differences. We are always prepared to learn from the experiences of other comrades. We firmly believe that this is the only way to build unity between the various groups of Communist Revolutionaries.

Let us remember that we are living in an era of disintegration of world capitalism and era of world-wide victory of the socialist forces. Recent world

events have clearly demonstrated the correctness of the stand taken by the great Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of comrade Mao we just remind all the communist revolutionaries about the great historic statement of Comrade Mao made on May 20, 1970. "People of the world unite and Defeat the U.S. Imperialists and their running dogs".

The American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, hand in glove with the Indian reactionary ruling classes are conspiring to make India a base against socialist China; against the revolutionary movement in Asia. It is the sacred duty of all the groups of the Communist Revolutionaries of India to defeat these conspiracies of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. It is only by overthrowing the present big bourgeois-big land-lord Government through people's war that we can defeat these conspiracies.

Unity among the various groups of the communist revolutionaries in India is the only way of vigorously continuing the people's war based on Mao's thought and the effective way to discharge our sacred duty towards not only our own people, but towards the people of the world also.

We dip our Red Banner in memory of those comrades who have laid their precious lives in the armed struggles through out our country.

We dip our Red Banner in memory of comrades Panchadi Krishna Murthy, Panchadi Nirmala, Ganapathi, Dr. Bhaskar Rao, Panigrahi Subba Rao, China Babu, Vempatapu Satyanarayana, Adibhatla Kailasam and others who have laid their precious lives in the Sreekakulam armed struggle and Jagadish in Warangal district.

We dip our Red Banner in memory of comrades, Bathula Venkateshwar Rao, Suryanarayana, Venkanna and Yella Reddy who have laid their precious lives in our armed struggle in Warangal and Khammam districts.

We salute all those comrades who are valiantly fighting in various parts of the country for the cause of people's war.

We firmly believe that the sacrifices of our martyr comrades and the cause of people's war will soon unite all the groups of Communist Revolutionaries into one.

Long live the path of People's War!

Long live the Thought of Mao!