

## **Party will Emerge More United and Stronger\***

**Editorial of the "People's Democracy", June 23, 1968**

Nagi Reddy, Pulla Reddy, D. Venkateshwara Rao and Kolla Venkayya have been expelled from the Party for their anti-Party activities, subverting all discipline and deliberately pursued to compel the Party's hands and invite expulsion.

All Party members in India, all well-wishers and sympathizers of the Party are bound to feel worried and concerned over this development in Andhra.

It was only two years ago that our Party leaders and ranks were released from jail and started reforging their contacts with the masses and rebuilding the Party on revolutionary foundations. The courage with which all our Party ranks faced the period from 1962 onwards, when avowed American agents, and Government circles, abetted and aided by the treacherous group of Dange revisionists, joined in hunting us out as Chinese agents, drew forth the admiration of the people. The courageous way in which our Party called for an end to the Indo-Pakistan war, when the revisionists and other parties once again betrayed the people, made a deep impression on all sections. The elections and the subsequent collapse of all other Left parties before opportunism once more concentrated attention of the progressive forces on our Party.

\*This is on expulsion of Party Comrades in Andhra Pradesh. This is connected with the Document covered under Item No. 29 of this Volume. This may also be connected with the Document covered under Item No. 20, 31, 32 of this Volume

It is, therefore, but natural if our sympathizers and well-wishers feel sad and distressed over the recent happenings inside the Party when some of its units or members had to be disciplined. And it is but natural if they feel shocked or overwhelmed when they hear that certain prominent leaders of the Party in Andhra have to be expelled from the ranks of the Party.

However, it must be realized by all that Nagi Reddy and others left no other course open to the Party. Either the Party had to defend its line and discipline, its capacity to act as a class party or to disband itself and accept the right of Nagi Reddy and others to spread anarchy inside the Party, to reduce it to a debating club, with each member professing his own opinions on national and world problems, and acting according to his individuals whims and fancies.

It must be realized that inner-Party struggle is often a class necessity and a leadership which neglects it, refuses to face it, just becomes an instrument of disrupting the Party. A Party grows stronger not only in its struggle against the external enemies, but also in its fight against all harmful and poisonous tendencies that arise in its midst.

Knowing that Nagi Reddy and others held different views on questions concerning the international disputes within the world Communist movement, knowing that of late they also professed profound disagreement with the Party Programme, they were given full opportunity to place their views before the Burdwan Plenum of the Party. They were given full time to expound their views to the Plenum, their documents were circulated to the Plenum members and there was full debate on their views. Unfortunately for them the Plenum delegates were not impressed by their childish adventurist line and views and their alternative document which when put to vote got only 22 votes out of a total of 210. A few abstained while the remaining voted down their document and endorsed the Central Committee Draft.

The Plenum by a very big majority rejected the amateurish line of Nagi Reddy and Pulla Reddy. Did they accept the

verdict of the Plenum and indicate by word and gesture that while holding to their opinions, they will carry out the line of the majority as loyal Party members? This is the minimum that is expected of every Party member. Without this no party—no Marxist Party—can function.

The Party is a fighting organization, the vanguard and the organized detachment of the working class. Stalin wrote: "The principle of the minority submitting to the majority, the principle of directing Party work from a centre, not infrequently gives rise to attacks on the part of wavering elements, to accusations of 'bureaucracy', 'formalism', etc. It need hardly be proved that systematic work by the Party, as one whole, and the directing of the struggle of the working class would have been impossible if these principles had not been adhered to. Leninism in the organizational question means unswerving application of these principles. Lenin terms the fight against these principles 'Russian Nihilism' and aristocratic anarchism, deserving only of being ridiculed and swept aside."

The Polit Bureau knowing that these were old members and leaders of the Andhra unit of the Party wanted to be patient with them and give them one more chance to rectify themselves; when the Central Committee, after the Burdwan Plenum, directed the Polit Bureau to take all necessary steps to protect the discipline and unity of the Party in Andhra to implement the Burdwan decisions, the Polit Bureau refrained from removing any of them from the strategic posts they occupied; it contented itself with filling in the vacancies in the Andhra State Committee with members loyal to the Party line.

The Nagi Reddy-Pulla Reddy combination took advantage of the situation to create disruption and confusion. They openly organized factional activities and in the name of reporting on Burdwan decisions propagated their own anti-Party line in the units. When P. Sundarayya, General Secretary of the Party, and Basavapunnaiah, member of the Polit Bureau, went to Andhra to explain the Burdwan decisions,

Nagi Reddy and Pulla Reddy attempted to sabotage the meetings. And, lastly when they were asked to explain their conduct, their factional activities, their persistent effort to disrupt the Party, their slanderous campaign against P. Sundarayya, the Party's General Secretary, and Hanumantha Rao, its State Secretary, they rushed to the Press condemning the Party leadership.

It is under these circumstances that action had to be taken against this group. Not to take action, not to enforce discipline would have meant divesting the Party of all authority, permitting open sabotage of the Party line and allowing it to be disrupted completely.

Nagi Reddy, Pulla Reddy & Co. were bent upon disrupting the Party. This group was carrying on its factional activity for months. As early as February last, the General Secretary of the Party reported in writing to the Central Committee of the factional and disruptive activities of the group. The Party organ, on which some of their followers worked, was openly used to circulate anti-Party views, undermining the confidence of the people in socialism and its achievements. In the guise of fighting revisionism, their adherents working on the journal mocked at the Soviet system and its achievements in a manner worthy of counter-revolutionary bourgeois agents. When these mistakes were pointed out to Pulla Reddy, he feigned innocence and said that the comrades working on the paper were incorrigible. This was just a ruse because Pulla Reddy himself was inciting the comrades to write this anti-Communist stuff in the name of fighting revisionism.

These people took advantage of Party schools to propagate their anti-Party views. Pulla Reddy produced a syllabus entitled "On the lessons of the international Communist movement" for the schools. The pamphlet had to be withdrawn by the Polit Bureau because it was a gross distortion of Marxism-Leninism and was sheer propaganda for the anti-Party, anti-Leninist views of Pulla Reddy & Co. Disregarding all Party documents including the document on "Tasks on the Kisan Front", Venkateshwara Rao and Kolla Venkayya published a

syllabus on kisan movement and our tasks in which they advocated their own line as against the Party's line.

Along with this these people continued to attack our West Bengal and Kerala Ministers, echoing the bourgeois slanders against them. Pretending to fight parliamentarism, they ridiculed the mass struggle against the P. C. Ghosh Ministry and sneered at our Party in Bengal for the "revolutionary achievement of President's rule", and at our Party in Kerala for getting more rice from the Central Government. Undeterred by a sense of shame that they with their gaseous talk of revolution were not able to activize any sizeable section of the people of Andhra, they started attacking those Party units which were pushing the popular struggle ahead. They falsely charged the West Bengal and Kerala units of the Party with slowing down the mass movement, but did not explain why they themselves were unable to do anything in the direction of mass struggles.

They echoed the worst bourgeois slanders against our Party on the question of Naxalbari and supported the disruptive and deceptive line of the expelled Party members in West Bengal whose adherents today distinguish themselves by wholesale opposition to any mass struggle.

In Party meetings and gatherings they openly praised their adventurism and ridiculed the Ideological Draft of the Central Committee. Pulla Reddy got printed a pamphlet denouncing the Central and State leaderships as revisionists and got it sold through Party publication sales depot.

In the Andhra State Plenum several comrades revealed how Pulla Reddy was secretly circulating documents opposing the Party line; these people or their adherents supplied the details of the Andhra Plenum to anti-Party journals like *Deshabrati* in West Bengal.

When the Andhra Party journal started publishing articles from the central journal on ideological issues, these people asked their followers to sabotage the sale of the paper. These are some of their crimes for which they were bound to be expelled, unless they discontinued their anti-Party ways.

Enough has been written about Left-adventurist politics in our paper. Recently a whole series of articles were written debunking their stand on the ideological disputes in the international movement. There is little to distinguish between the Nagi Reddy group's stand and that of other Left-opportunists.

It will be sufficient if their political line is briefly summed up. As regards points of ideological dispute, these people on some questions make formulations which no Marxist-Leninist Party in the world has made. They oppose the Leninist concept of peaceful co-existence as an essential element in the foreign policy of a socialist state; they fail to understand the present epoch as one of proletarian revolution, of transition from capitalism to socialism and consider it to be an epoch of national liberation movements. They fail to understand the national liberation struggles as a component of the world socialist revolution and describe them as the decisive force.

They liquidate the socialist camp and in the name of fighting the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union, denounce the Soviet Union as an imperialist Power. Along with the revisionist leaders they virtually condemn the Soviet people as revisionists and imperialists. Under the pretext of fighting revisionism they screen American imperialism, consider the Soviet Union to be the main enemy. It is because of this outlook that they callously oppose any proposal for united action for the defence of Vietnam. They are opposed to any united action of the socialist camp against American imperialism. They, like the revisionists, act as the servitors of American imperialism and perpetuate the split in the socialist camp.

On internal questions they adopt an equally disruptive policy which has nothing to do with a Marxist-Leninist class analysis nor the stage of the consciousness of the people. They declare India to be a dependency of the USA; they advocate a line based on the assumption that the ruling classes are already completely isolated from the people; that no political and ideological struggle is necessary against it, they

argue as if the last stage of the struggle has already arrived; describing the ruling classes as comprador and puppet forces, they belittle each and every form of mass activity—strikes, mass struggles, election struggles—and only advocate one form of struggle. With the words perspective and revolution in their mouth, they advocate a line which leads to disbanding every form of mass activity. Thus all the auxiliary weapons of struggle are to be belittled. In particular, they oppose in principle any participation in elections thus completely abandoning Lenin's teachings on the subject.

And, finally, in the name of struggle in the peasant areas, they openly repudiate the leading role of the working class in the revolution and join the Dange revisionists. The cities and the working class to be abandoned for the cause of their revolution—this is their great contribution to the Indian revolution.

Can the Party accept this amateurish anti-Leninist line? Instead of patiently working for forging the Party's ties with the masses, for raising the revolutionary consciousness of the people and the class, so that the period of revolutionary assault is rapidly reached, these gentlemen indulge in verbal pyrotechnics and satisfy their penchant for glib talk by abusing the Party.

Just because the crisis is deepening, the conditions of the masses are becoming unbearable, it is necessary that the Party should be well-organized, should have a minimum stable base in its class and among the people, so that in the shortest possible time it can lead the people towards its revolutionary objective.

Anyone who undermines the unity of the Party or creates obstruction in the way of the Party's struggle for the masses aids the ruling classes. The Nagi Reddy group seeks to do both by its organizational and political line. It can have no place in the Party.

To have to write such sharp words about former colleagues is a distasteful task. To have to expel them is still more distressing. But then those who turn their backs on Marxism

Leninism have to be branded, not fondled. The fact that action had to be taken against some people in some States shows that the Left deviation is not confined to a few cursed individuals. As the Madurai resolution of the CC on Left Deviation states "It is an ideological disease of frustrated individuals and it also affects young militants whose militancy is not tempered by the fire of class struggle and disciplined by Marxist-Leninist outlook. Inside our Party there are many militant honest young members who are drawn towards the pseudo revolutionary line because it appears to be militant. Especially in the wake of our election reverses in many places many turn with revulsion from patient and sustained mass work..." In Andhra it should be noted that there were election reverses and hardly any big mass movement.

The resolution further said, "But the main cause of the attraction is due to the growing economic crisis and desperation, impatience and frustration are growing and the mass struggles as yet have not developed to that pitch where they could be seen as the effective means of fighting the present regime. Lack of Marxism Leninism, failure of the Party to transform this militancy into revolutionary fervour—all create a situation in which the appeal of Left doctrinairism remains." "Left deviation will thus be a constant source of danger in the coming period and it will have to be consistently fought. But just because of the situation and factors mentioned above it cannot be fought only by taking organizational measures. In fact, the main fight against it must be conducted ideologically by patient explanation and propaganda." This is the line which the C.C. and P.C. are pursuing in fighting Left-opportunism. Organizational action is taken only when members refuse to observe the minimum discipline and disrupt the Party.

Is there any other course left for the Party? To strengthen the unity of the Party and its discipline is the common task of all Party members and the P.B. is confident that all will rally to the banner of Party unity and rebuff the attempt of disruptors.