

responding to his government's call for Talks. He tried to pose as if his government was serious about Talks but he did not commit himself to a cease-fire. On May 8, the Secretary of the APSC held a press conference and declared that our Party would observe a month-long unilateral cease-fire from May 10th but would retaliate in self-defence if the police indulged in attacks during this period. It asked the government to reciprocate and show its commitment by declaring cease-fire immediately. The open debate between our Party and the state government in AP has thus been going on for over four months and it has drawn a wide section of the people into the debate.

We had maintained throughout the ongoing process of Talks that we are ready to sit for Talks without conditions provided the government declared a cease-fire and thereby created a conducive atmosphere. We made it clear that declaration of cease-fire by the government is not a pre-condition but the minimum basis for holding the Talks. Thus on the whole, we had taken timely initiative and continuously responded to the developments in AP in the past four months; exposed the hypocrisy of the government and its brutal acts of repression; succeeded in winning over some sections of people through our consistent stand and compelled Naidu's government to declare that it would ensure an atmosphere conducive for Talks i.e., cessation of attacks by the police during the period of Talks.

Why do Revolutionaries go for Negotiations?

When revolutionaries are fighting for the seizure of political power through an armed revolution, then what is the need to go for negotiations with the representatives of the very enemy whom it wants to overthrow? How could there be any material basis for holding negotiations with those who represent and protect the interests of feudalism, imperialism and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which are the principal targets of our revolution at the present stage? Does it not lead to a dilution of our politics and the goal of seizure of power by armed means? Does it not amount to compromise with the enemies? What advantage do we derive from the Talks when the enemy has a single aim of destroying us through fascist suppression? Does it not mean walking into the trap laid by the enemy? How can there be any peace in our life-and-death struggle with



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Theoretical Organ of the Central Committee

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [People's War]

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On Talks with the Government in AP

Dear Comrades,

The issue of Talks between the AP Govt., and our Party came into prominence once again in January this year. It began to gather momentum in the following weeks leading to the declaration by the Govt., on March 22 that it is ready for holding Talks with our Party in principle. However, the Govt. did not declare a cease-fire as demanded by our Party but continued to unleash its suppression campaign against our Party, PGA, our mass organizations and masses sympathetic to our cause.

While our Party has been demanding that the government should first declare a cease-fire and thereby create a conducive atmosphere for holding Talks, the government has been saying that it is willing to sit for Talks without any pre-condition and that all matters could be discussed in the course of the Talks.

In response to the appeal made by the Concerned Citizens' Committee, the various political parties and democratic forces for a cease-fire, the Secretary of the AP State Committee of our Party declared that our Party would observe a cease-fire for two months from mid-February and demanded the government to do the same. However, as the government continued its suppression campaign, we withdrew the cease-fire after the ghastly attack by the police on our guerrilla camp in the forest near Tupakulagudem in Eturnagaram area on March 11th. Eight of our comrades became martyrs in the incident after fighting heroically with the huge police force and killing a Sub-Inspector. The TDP government convened an All Party meeting and declared that it was willing to sit for Talks but remained vague on the question of cease-fire. It stated that Talks should be held based on mutual trust and that it would take steps to ensure a conducive atmosphere for Talks. Our Party representative exposed the dubious stand of Naidu's government and demanded that the latter should spell out the measures it would initiate in order to create an atmosphere conducive for Talks. On April 29, Chandrababu Naidu announced once again that Naxalites were not

other Maoist organizations in the country with the perspective of establishing a strong, unified ideological-political center for guiding the Indian revolution. We must build a united political agitation with the MCC and other revolutionary forces according to a unified plan to defeat the fascist offensive of the state and central governments led by the Joint Operational Command. We must coordinate all the movements with the perspective of achieving the unity of all genuine revolutionary forces in the country.

We must strive to achieve closer ideological-political unity with the revolutionary forces of South Asia which is now becoming the epi-centre of the world revolution. We must strengthen CCOMPOSA and play an active role in uniting the revolutionary and national liberation forces to build a mighty movement against Indian expansionism.

We should also strive to establish closer fraternal relations with the Maoist parties worldwide and unite with the world proletariat and oppressed masses to defeat the sinister designs of imperialism.

We must take up wide propaganda of Marxism Leninism Maoism and expose revisionism and the practice of the revisionist parties in India.

We must complete the Rectification-Education campaign and strengthen the ideological-political foundation of the Party.

We must complete the task of socio-economic investigation set by the Party Congress and the Central Committee and develop the tactics in a more objective way.

By firmly carrying out the above-mentioned tasks alone we will be able to build a strong Party, a strong People's Army and a powerful united front and advance the New Democratic Revolution to victory. Let us pledge ourselves to carry out the above tasks on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of our Party and win greater victories.

Long Live CPI(ML)[PEOPLE'S WAR] !

Long Live the New Democratic Revolution of India !

Long Live World Socialist Revolution !

Long Live Marxism Leninism Maoism !

Political Bureau

CPI(ML)[People's War]

April 22, 2002

Avenge the Death of the Heroic PGA Martyrs of Tupakulagudem! Strengthen the PGA and Inflict Heavy Blows Against the Enemy's Forces!!

March 11 will go down as the Day of Heroism in the history of the PGA. For on this day, eight young valiant fighters of the PGA fell in the

fierce battle with over a hundred troops of the Anti-Naxal Special Forces called the Grey Hounds, and courageously defended the Party leadership. Three of the eight were women comrades who proved that they were second to none in the battlefield.

These brave comrades-Prabhakar (Jawaharlal, Commander of Platoon 1), Devendar (Bangaru Bhaskar, Section Commander), Swarna (Rajeshwari, Section Commander), Anjanna (Mallanna, Section Deputy), Benjamin (Sambaiah), Gajendar and Indira-did not allow the enemy forces to advance into the camp where some central and state leaders of the Party along with the East Sub-command and the Khammam district committee were holding meetings. They fought till the last drop of their blood for they knew that if they allowed the enemy to advance, the Party would suffer a severe loss. It is the selflessness and heroism of these comrades that facilitated an



Com. Prabhakar



Com. Swarna



Com. Devendar

orderly retreat of over 60 other comrades including the Party leadership and other PGA fighters. These heroic warriors of the PGA thus foiled the well-hatched conspiracy of the enemy to wipe out the Party leadership and PGA's East Sub-command of NT.

The enemy had mobilized 700-800 troops of the Special Forces, some of them from neighbouring states of Chathisgarh and Maharashtra and the operation was conducted by the Joint Operational Command (JOC) that is

formed by seven states to suppress the people's war led by our Party. The entire surrounding area was cordoned off with the plan to wipe out the retreating guerrillas. But this heinous plan of the enemy was shattered to pieces by the heroic resistance of the PGA fighters.

The PGA martyrs of Tupakulagudem will go down in history as symbols of courage, heroism, selflessness and death-defying sacrifice. They will remain as exemplary models to be

emulated by all PGA fighters. The blood of these martyrs that had splashed across the forest of Eturnagaram will not go in vain. It will water the plains and forests of North Telangana yielding a rich crop of valiant fighters for the PGA.

The loss of these eight comrades is a great loss for the Party and the PGA. Yet, by defeating the sinister designs of the enemy, they had secured a great victory for the Party. All our comrades should emulate the selflessness, steadfastness, revolutionary vigilance, and the death-defying spirit of the martyrs of Tupakulagudem. With such valiant fighters in our midst, we are bound to achieve great victories in our people's war. ✱

(iii) We should study the weaknesses of the enemy, plan the Tactical Counter Offensives in a meticulous manner and carry out daring actions. Thus we will be able to overcome our weaknesses that became manifested during the earlier campaigns, win victories and break the initiative of the enemy.

(iv) Since people's war is the war waged by the people, we must mobilize the people politically, consolidate them organizationally and thus increase our mass base.

(v) We must expose the imperialist-sponsored reforms that are aimed at diverting the masses from the people's war through wide campaigns and mobilize the masses against these reforms.

(vi) We must confront the government in AP not only militarily, but also in the diplomatic sphere and strive to win over the masses to the side of people's war.

2. We must launch a mass agitation with all anti-imperialist forces against imperialist Globalization with the aim of building a broad-based united front consisting of all revolutionary, democratic, anti-imperialist organizations and individuals.

We must launch a broad-based political agitation by uniting all the revolutionary, democratic and secular forces against the Hindu fascist forces who had unleashed a genocide and ethnic-cleansing operation against the religious minorities, particularly the Muslim community as evidenced in Gujarat, and are striving to spread this carnage throughout the country.

We must mobilize the civil liberties organizations and activists, revolutionary and democratic forces and build a political movement against the fascist state repression on the revolutionary and democratic movements, nationalities movements and religious minorities; against the ban on the various organizations under POTA; and the suspension of fundamental rights and basic human rights in vast areas of the country.

We must give the utmost importance to the task of mobilizing the masses in the various states where our Party is working on the above-mentioned issues and politicize them through these political agitations. It is only by mobilizing the masses militantly into political movements and consolidating them in these movements that we will be able to enhance our mass base for the people's war and intensify it further.

3. We must develop closer fraternal relations with the MCC and

Today imperialism, particularly US imperialism, has embarked upon a well-hatched conspiracy of suppressing all revolutionary and democratic movements and national liberation struggles all over the world in the name of fighting terrorism. In order to divert the attention of the masses from the economic and political crisis and to justify its brutal acts of terror imperialism has forged a Global Coalition Against Terrorism and had launched a war of aggression on Afghanistan, bombed vast areas, killed thousands of people in the name of rooting out terrorists after the September 11 attack on the WTC and the Pentagon. It is planning to launch savage attacks on non-compliant countries like Iraq, North Korea, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, and so on. US imperialism is openly aiding and endorsing the brutal blood-baths by the Israeli Zionist forces on the Palestinians and the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. It is assisting the fascist Deuba government in Nepal to suppress the people's war led by the CPN(Maoist). It is pouring in thousands of crores of rupees of so-called aid through the World Bank and other agencies to the Chandrababu Naidu government in AP to suppress the people's war led by our Party. Thus it is clear that revolutions in every country will have to fight the US imperialists also in order to achieve the final victory.

In India, the imperialist stooges in the Central and state governments are determined to carry out the anti-people policies dictated by imperialism and to suppress any opposition through draconian Acts like the POTA. They are specifically concentrating on the suppression of the revolutionary and national liberation movements in India and South Asia. We have to take stock of the present domestic and international situation seriously and formulate appropriate tasks to counter the offensive of the imperialist and their compradors.

In such a situation, it is only by carrying out the following tasks with the utmost earnestness that we can defeat the sinister designs of the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, and their comprador government in our country, strengthen the three magic weapons of revolution, and advance the people's war to victory.

1. We must strengthen our PGA forces and intensify our war of self-defence to defeat the suppression campaigns unleashed by the state and central governments under the Joint Operational Command (JOC) in AP, NT, AOB, DK, and Bihar-Jharkhand.

(i) Recruitment into the PGA should be increased.

(ii) People's militia should be expanded, trained militarily, and armed.

Our Red Homage to Comrades Krishna, Prabhakar, Bhaskar and Madhu!

As the news of the untimely death of comrades Krishna, Prabhakar, Bhaskar and Madhu came out on the 29th, a shroud of gloom and sadness enveloped the Party cadres and the revolutionary masses not only in AP but all over the country. These deaths were not due to encounter with the police, as is usually the case, but due to a cause least expected—an unfortunate accident near Amaragiri while crossing the river Krishna. The putti (a round-shaped boat) in which they were traveling with three other comrades capsized and though Comrades Krishna and Bhaskar were good swimmers, they were drowned while trying to save comrade Bhaskar who did not know how to swim.



Com. Krishna

Comrade Krishna was a member of the Secretariat of the AP state committee at the time of his martyrdom; Com. Prabhakar was the secretary of the district committee of Mahboobnagar; Com. Bhaskar was the in charge of Jana Natya Mandali of south Telangana; and Madhu was serving as the guard of Com. Krishna.

Com. Krishna's (Lingamurthy) revolutionary career dates back to almost a quarter century. Born in the village of Ambala in Karimnagar district, he joined the AP Radical Students Union (RSU) in 1978 when he was doing his post graduation in Telugu literature in Kakatiya university in Warangal. He became a Joint Secretary of RSU in the third state conference in 1979 and was elected as the state vice president in 1981. Between 1979-82, he toured the towns of North Telangana, organizing students, addressing public meetings and participating actively in the village campaigns and became popular among the students of the region. As a student leader, he also integrated himself with youth, peasantry and the working class and

inspired them with the politics of people's war.

In 1983, responding spiritedly to the call of the Party, Com. Krishna shifted from Warangal to Kurnool to work as a district organizer and in a short time he developed the student-youth movement in Kurnool, organized the working class struggles, and developed contacts among the peasantry and adivasis in the forest area of Nallamala. It was due to the serious



Com. Bhaskar

efforts of Com. Krishna that the first squad came into existence in Nallamala forest in 1989. Thus he laid the foundation and developed the movement in the Nallamala region.

Com. Krishna was elected to the regional committee of Rayalaseema in the regional conference in 1985. When Nallamala division was formed in 1994 after the merger of the squads of Kurnool and Prakasham districts, he became the first secretary. He was elected to the AP state committee at the 14th

state conference in 1995. He was reelected to the state committee in the conference in 2000 and also became a member of the state secretariat.

Com. Krishna was a skillful organizer and he guided not only the movement in Nallamala region but also the student, women and literary movement in the state. He never hesitated for a moment in carrying out the responsibilities entrusted to him by the Party. He began to concentrate on south Telangana and took up the responsibility of directly leading the Party in Mahboobnagar in the past two years in order to rejuvenate the movement in that district.

Besides his political and organizational abilities, Com. Krishna's personal qualities are an ideal for every Party member. Every comrade who worked with him knows his modesty, selflessness, simplicity, hard work, sense of discipline, and his close integration with comrades. He

disenchantment of the masses with the government's pro-imperialist policies that are spelling disaster for the country from the path of revolution and struggle. We tried to mobilize other revolutionary and democratic forces against the Sangh Parivar's sinister plot to decimate the muslim community using the Godhra incident and its gory massacres of muslim people in Gujarat.

Fifthly, we succeeded in resolving the long-pending antagonism between our Party and the MCC in Bihar-Jharkhand, put an end to the physical clashes between the two Parties for good, and began joint activities on several political issues the most notable being the joint three-day economic blockade campaign against POTA. The cessation of clashes between our Party and the MCC and joint activities by the two Parties in the past few months has inspired the rank and file cadres of the various revolutionary Parties and revolutionary well-wishers. This marks a positive turn in the Indian revolution.

Sixthly, a new situation has developed in the South Asian region with the formation of the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) in June last year. This has generated a wave of enthusiasm among the revolutionary masses of the countries of the region who see the threat of Indian expansionism looming large over their respective countries. It marks the first step in forging the unity of the people of the region against the expansionist ruling classes of India. This will, no doubt, strengthen the revolutions in the countries of South Asia and help defeat the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie of India that is trampling underfoot the aspirations of the people and nations of South Asia with the blessings of imperialism. Our Party, as a Party of the proletariat waging people's war in India, should strive to play a greater role in uniting the revolutionary and national liberation movements of South Asia.

Overall, we could advance our movement to some extent during the past one year in the course of fulfilling the ideological-political-organizational-military tasks set by the 9th Congress. However, during this period, the movement in North Telangana suffered a partial setback owing to our severe shortcomings and weaknesses in the past, and our failure to adopt proper counter-tactics to defeat the multi-pronged offensive of the TDP government. Our political-organizational-military weaknesses became clearer in the course of our practice over the past one year.

Secondly, during this period we carried out the Rectification campaign as decided by the Congress. As part of this task, we conducted political education campaign throughout the Party on the Party's basic documents enriched by the Congress and unified the entire Party based on the understanding arrived at in the Congress. The Rectification Campaign is still going on in some states and there have been reports of positive results where ever the campaign has been completed.

In West Bengal, the Right Opportunist line advanced by the then Secretary of the state committee during the Rectification-Education Campaign in the state was defeated in the state plenum in December last, and we have taken up the programme of educating the entire Party on the wrong line.

Thirdly, we had initiated steps to implement the plan of establishing the guerrilla bases in the various guerrilla zones. Towards this end, we had achieved good results in the campaign of political consolidation campaign of the Party, militia, mass organizations which we had taken up keeping in view the concrete conditions in the states and special zones. Thus we made further progress in the direction of establishing people's political power in our guerrilla zones with the perspective of developing liberated areas.

Fourthly, we made serious attempts to propagate and implement our principal political Tactical Slogans of the Congress during this period. We held rallies and meetings in several parts of the country against imperialist Globalization and its disastrous impact on the lives of the people in India; we tried to build broad fronts on this issue at various levels. We strived to forge unity with other revolutionary and democratic forces to counter the global campaign against so-called terrorism spearheaded by the imperialists led by the US imperialists in the wake of the incidents of September 11 last year. We exposed the real intention of imperialism of suppressing the revolutionary movements and national liberation struggles in the name of fighting terrorism. We tried to build a broad-based movement against the cruel, anti-people POTO (which became an Act, POTA) which the Indian ruling classes had promulgated in order to suppress the revolutionary forces, the people's democratic movements, and the nationality struggles in the country.

We exposed the communal conspiracy of the BJP-led NDA government to divide the masses along communal lines and create communal riots in order to divert the growing frustration and

had deep attachment with the masses and is popular in almost every village in Nallamala region. He never allowed his problem of health-he had developed severe spondilitis and cramps in the legs-to come in the way of his work. His concern for other comrades at the cost of his own risk was revealed even at the time of his last breath when he tried desperately to save another comrade. Com. Padma, a popular organizer of the women's movement in AP, became his life-partner but was caught in 1994 along with Com. Suryam and was murdered by the police after brutal torture.

The martyrdom of Com. Krishna is a great loss to the movement in AP and the country at large.

Com. Prabhakar (Sambasivudu) hails from a poor, dalit landless labourer's family from a village in Kolhapur Mandal in Mahboobnagar district. He began his revolutionary activities as a student when he was doing the Bachelor's degree and decided to dedicate his life to the revolution in 1989. He soon became a central organizer and began to organize the rural poor. Hailing from a district that is perennially famine-prone, Com. Prabhakar also took up struggles of the peasantry against the government's callous attitude that is the cause for the immense suffering and large-scale migration of labour from the land of Krishna river to far-off places in search of livelihood. He was also instrumental in building the revolutionary movement of the students, women and other sections of people in the district. He was elected to the district committee of Mahboobnagar in 1994 and as its secretary in 1999.

Com. Prabhakar was an inspiration to the comrades in his district and in the region of south Telangana. He was highly popular among the masses especially the poor and landless peasantry with whom he had a deep attachment. He was known for his high ideals, which at times even assumed puritanic proportions, and his total dedication to the cause. He had left his wife and child at home when he plunged into the revolutionary movement some 15 years ago. He was a terror to the landlords, the police and other class enemies in Mahboobnagar and was known to be a militant and uncompromising fighter. Mahboobnagar had lost its beloved son and the Party in AP an important leader from the basic classes who

had great potentialities. Com. Prabhakar's revolutionary zeal, high ideals, deep commitment to the masses, courage and militancy are qualities every member of the Party should emulate.

Com. Bhaskar, hails from the village of Challagariga in Chityala mandal of Warangal district which was a hotbed of feudalism until the early 1990s. He came into contact with the Party when he was studying engineering in Hyderabad. He was arrested in 1991 and after his release he went to Nalgonda to work among the peasantry.

Com. Bhaskar was a great artist—a creative writer, actor, singer and director besides being a good organizer. As the commander of the JNM's cultural squad and in charge of JNM in south Telangana, he toured the region extensively, compiling folk songs and filling them with revolutionary content. His performances all over Nalgonda and later Medak and Mahboobnagar, remain an eternal inspiration to the people of south Telangana. His role in the play depicting Chandrababu Naidu's so-called reforms under the dictates of the World Bank, is unforgettable. His popularity was so much that whenever there was a JNM programme, people would come to the clandestine programme fearlessly evading the police patrols. Thousands would gather for these programmes in the midst of intense police combings.

Com. Bhaskar's modesty despite his immense popularity, his collective team spirit, his encouragement to the new comrades to give performances and to write songs had helped the JNM to grow into a collective body with smooth functioning. Com. Bhaskar's martyrdom is an irrecoverable loss to the cultural movement in AP and the country as a whole. Let us emulate the communist qualities displayed by Com. Bhaskar and create a new democratic and communist culture.

Com. Madhu was a member of the guerrilla squad and became a guard for Com. Krishna last year. As a guard he displayed exemplary courage and dedication, and carried out his responsibilities with utmost seriousness.

Let us hold high the red banner dripped with the blood of these martyrs more firmly and pledge to fulfill the ideals for which they had laid down their lives. ★

March Forward, The Future is Ours !! Revolutionary Greetings to our Glorious Party on its 33rd Anniversary !!

*— A message from the Political Bureau of
CPI(ML)[People's War]*

Dear Comrades!

The Political Bureau (PB) of the Central Committee of our Party sends its red revolutionary greetings to all the Party members, the heroic warriors of the People's Guerrilla Army, and to the revolutionary masses on the occasion of the thirty third anniversary of the CPI(ML)[People's War].

In the last one year after the conclusion of the historic 9th Congress of our Party, while carrying out the tasks chalked out by the Congress, several comrades including the Party leaders of various level committees, ordinary Party members, valiant commanders and soldiers of the PGA, the fighters of people's militia, and the activists of the revolutionary mass organizations had laid down their precious lives fighting the state's armed forces. Some comrades died in accidents in the course of carrying out their revolutionary responsibilities. The PB pays its humble red homage to all these martyrs and vows to march forward with redoubled vigour to complete the new democratic revolution in India and to continue the class struggle until the establishment of Communism through out the world.

The PB pays its revolutionary homage also to the heroic fighters who fell while fighting the reactionaries and the state's armed forces in the course of the people's wars in Nepal, Peru, the Philippines, Turkey and other parts of the world in the past year.

What are the achievements of our Party in the past one year?

Firstly, the Tactical Counter Offensive Campaigns that were taken up to fulfill the tasks set by the Congress to strengthen the PGA politically and militarily and to defeat the state offensive had a good impact on the revolutionary camp and the masses. We could stall the initiative of the enemy to some extent through these campaigns.

during the process of Talks. Through this we should strive to enhance the democratic consciousness of the masses and rally them into a broad-based democratic movement against state repression and people's basic demands. Our political demands should be taken among the masses in a big way. We should impress upon the people that it is due to lack of any legal opportunities to build democratic movement and the brutal attacks, encounters and undescrivable atrocities by the police and its hired assassins that we are forced to take up revolutionary violence. Thus we must gain legitimacy to the revolutionary violence in the eyes of the people and draw more and more people to support our people's war.

The TDP will try to use the situation to consolidate itself and increase its social base among the masses. It will try to enter our strong-hold villages (hitherto very much restricted due to fear of attacks from us). Till now, it has been the police officials who had been conducting meetings in our villages, even taking up reforms and threatening the people that they should not attend the meetings called by us and should not allow us to enter the village. By not giving any relaxation to our Party and mass organizations and restricting our movements, both the TDP and the police officials will try to consolidate their hold in the villages by stepping up their anti-Naxalite propaganda campaign and reform programmes. Hence if Talks drag on and there is a cessation of armed hostilities from the enemy even for a brief period, we should try to utilize the situation to go into the masses more widely and deepen our mass base. We must work out concrete plans for consolidation of the Party and the mass organizations at the grass-roots level, foil the campaigns by the police and the ruling class parties. If the state's armed forces do not launch attacks against us we too should show restraint and desist from armed actions against the police and politicians, and avoid destruction of government property. Informers should be checked by placing their case before the people. We should issue warnings and limit ourselves to minor punishments, that too with the involvement of the people, and avoid killing them during this period. We should remember that the government wants to extricate itself from the present situation and step up its offensive at the earliest. It has no desire to stop its attacks even for a brief period but is forced to do so due to the cease-fire declared by us. Hence we should not by ourselves provide such an opportunity to the enemy.

a cruel enemy? These and other related questions and doubts have been perplexing the minds of some of our Party cadres, sympathizers, well-wishers and some sections of the masses.

Even among those comrades who accept the need for using Talks as tactics by revolutionaries at times, there are some who think that we should go for Talks only from a position of strength i.e., when we are in a position to dictate terms to the enemy. And, since we are in a weak position today, they think that Talks cannot be utilized to our advantage in any manner whatsoever; that no peace can be achieved, even temporarily; that revolutionaries will never declare unilateral cease-fire or go for Talks unconditionally, and so on. Let us go into these one by one.

Firstly, we should have a proper Marxist Leninist Maoist understanding on the real meaning of Peace Talks in the course of war. Philosophically speaking, war and peace are the unity of opposites forming a single entity. There cannot be real peace in a class-divided society. Violence goes on daily, hourly in the society in the form of class exploitation and oppression.

In India, violence is perpetrated openly against the oppressed nationalities, religious minorities, women, dalits, adivasis, poor and landless peasantry, and unorganized labour. It goes on as if it is a natural thing with occasional voices of protest rising against these atrocities. And violence is carried out subtly against the vast majority of the people through economic exploitation. Violence is thus the very basis for the survival of the ruling classes. Talk of peace is only relative in the sense that it does not put an end to this daily violence and exploitation of the people. Only smashing the exploitative system and establishing a classless society can achieve real peace.

Peace is also relative in the course of the people's war and war is the principal aspect. Peace is continuation of war by other means. Peace period means preparation for a bigger war. Both sides vie with one another and each makes plans to wipe out the other at the slightest opportunity. Thus Talks are a form of war on the diplomatic front and are an integral part of people's war.

People's war is an all-out war on all fronts-political, military, cultural, and diplomatic. At times, revolutionaries talk with guns with the enemy; at times they talk over the table keeping their guns loaded and ready to use at a moment's notice; at other times, they talk over the table accompanied by talking with guns in the field. Nothing is taboo for the revolutionaries if it serves the revolution. Thus talking without the use of the gun, talking only with the gun, and talking while using the gun—all these form part of people's war. Talks are generally used to consolidate what has already been gained in the battle-field, and to prepare for greater advances.

Peace Talks: International Experiences

The aim of the revolutionary war is to overthrow the main enemies that are a hurdle to our country's progress-feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucrat capital-and establish in its place a new democratic society through revolutionary seizure of power. Needless to say, there cannot be any negotiations with the enemy classes on this strategic aim. This strategic aim can be achieved only through a people's war that will be protracted in nature given the concrete conditions in India. The protracted people's war will have several ups and downs, and twists and turns and the revolutionary party has to adopt proper tactics at every twist and turn i.e., changes in the political situation. All these tactics should serve the strategic aim of seizing political power through revolutionary war. It is only when the tactics conflict with the strategic objective that the interests of revolution are harmed. Talks too should be seen from the above perspective.

Talks between the revolutionaries and the enemy classes always have specific aims depending on the specific conditions in a given time. Talks may be held for achieving some very short-term demands such as release of political prisoners in exchange for abducted VIPs of the ruling classes; exchange of POWs; fulfillment of some immediate demands of the masses during mass movements and strikes, and so on. But when we talk of 'peace talks' we are talking of something more substantial, something that has a greater bearing on the immediate tactics of both the revolutionaries and the enemy. They are meant to ensure relative peace in a situation when people become war weary or overcome by war fatigue

expand to newer areas if any democratic space is allowed. Yet, we should find ways and means to skillfully utilize the situation to our advantage.

It should be kept in mind that the government too will try to utilize the Talks to its advantage just as we plan to do. In every war, while it is the victories in the actual battle-field that decide the ultimate outcome in the war, the victories themselves are unthinkable without the active support of the masses and without gaining the legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Hence both sides appeal to the masses and try to draw them to endorse their actions. Before elaborating on our objectives let us first see what the government's objectives are so as to defeat them effectively.

As pointed out above, the government wants to isolate us by saying that we are anti-people, anti-development and that we are indulging in senseless violence, and so on. Hence, it is our first and foremost duty to expose and isolate the ruling party from the masses by showing how it is anti-people and is using fascist methods to suppress all democratic struggles, how its brutal violence is responsible for the counter-violence of the revolutionaries, that it had banned our Party and the mass organizations and suspended even the fundamental rights guaranteed by its own Constitution in our areas fearing mass arousal and mass mobilization under our Party's leadership that would isolate the TDP and erode whatever social base it has, and so on. We must throw a challenge to the TDP government asking it to stop its police onslaught on the Party and the people and allow us the right to mobilize the masses into struggle without any obstruction. We should demand that the government should lift the ban on our Party, stop encounters, attacks and harassment of the activists and sympathizers of the Party, and ensure democracy for the people. We must recount the tales of horror and atrocities perpetrated by the police in the villages, tortures, arrests, fake encounters enacted by the police, the brutal murders by the vigilante squads maintained by the police, the destruction of property belonging to the people running to several crores of rupees-in short, the virtual police raj in AP, especially since the TDP came to power in 1994. We must create wide propaganda through all possible means that the atmosphere of violence in AP is the creation of the TDP. Thus propagating the slogan of democracy for the people, and an end to state violence should be one of our major objectives

on the one hand while calling us to Talks without any conditions. Ramulu, the newly-appointed DGP who had replaced the notorious Dora, was even more arrogant and warned that any supporter of the CPI(ML)[People's War] or anyone assisting it in any manner, would be booked under POTA. Several parties and individuals condemned the high-handed remarks of the DGP and charged that it would give complete licence to the police who had already become a grave threat to the lives and security of the people. The TDP government thus took a die-hard stand of not declaring a cease-fire and stopping its suppression campaign. Yet, the tremendous public pressure, along with other factors, compelled it ultimately to declare that it would create an atmosphere conducive for Talks. Our declaration of unilateral cease-fire had pushed the government into a tight corner. It had no other alternative but to declare that it would ensure a situation that is conducive for holding Talks and that it would provide security and 'safe passage' to the Party leaders who went for the Talks. It was forced to order its police force not to indulge in arrests and encounters even if for a brief period.

We could thus defeat the government's designs to isolate us by branding us as terrorist, as not having any political aim, as indulging in senseless violence, and so on. We could draw the attention of the people to our demands and gain more legitimacy to our movement.

Our Objectives in the present Talks :

What are our objectives in going for the Talks? Are we going to Talks because we have become relatively weakened in NT and some parts of AP and desperately require a respite? Are we anticipating that we may get some respite through Talks for recouping our forces? To think so would be overassessing the situation and the difficulties of the Naidu government. We should not have any illusion that we may get some respite in the present situation. (How to utilize the situation when Talks drag on for a while and there is restraint on the part of the government, even if it is only for a brief period, is a different thing). Even if there are no attacks for a while, there is no scope that the government would allow us any open activity. It has a mortal fear that any relaxation would lead to a resurgence of mass movement in a short time. It is also aware that we will be able to consolidate ourselves and

and aspire for peace; when the two sides in the people's war need a respite for their own respective reasons; or when both sides use it as a diplomatic measure to win over the masses to their respective political aims and to propagate their respective points of view to gain legitimacy to their aims and actions.

Historical experiences of various revolutions show how revolutionaries had used 'peace talks' as an effective instrument to advance the aims of revolutionary war.

The most famous of these is the Brest-Litovsk Treaty that was concluded by Russia with Germany-one of its sworn enemies-under the guidance of Comrade Lenin in 1918, one year after the Bolsheviks had seized power in Russia. A part of the Russian territory was given away to the German imperialists to 'buy peace' in order to consolidate the revolution in Russia. If this was not done, there was the danger of the Bolshevik Party losing power to the class enemies in Russia due to war with Germany. **'The History of the CPSU'** gives the following reasons for the peace negotiations:

"The negotiations took place at a time when the country was in a state of economic disruption, when war-weariness was universal, when our troops were abandoning trenches and the front was collapsing. It became clear in the course of the negotiations that the German imperialists were out to seize huge portions of the territory of the former tsarist empire, and to turn Poland, the Ukraine and the Baltic countries into dependencies of Germany.

"To continue the war under such conditions would have meant staking the very existence of the new-born Soviet Republic. The working class and the peasantry were confronted with the necessity of accepting onerous terms of peace, of retreating before the most dangerous marauder of the time - German imperialism - in order to secure a respite in which to strengthen the Soviet power and to create a new army, the Red Army, which would be able to defend the country from enemy attack.

"All the counter-revolutionaries, from the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries to the most arrant Whiteguards,

conducted a frenzied campaign against the conclusion of peace. Their policy was clear : they wanted to wreck the peace negotiations, provoke a German offensive and thus imperil the still weak Soviet power and endanger the gains of the workers and peasants.” (pages 213-14)

Thus it was on account of the specific weaknesses of Russia and the strength of the enemies at that juncture that a ‘humiliating treaty’ had to be concluded by the Bolshevik Party in the larger interests of consolidating socialism. Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov had to wage a stubborn fight in the CC against Trotsky, Bukharin and other Trotskyites before they secured a decision in favour of the conclusion of peace.

Summing up the agreement at Brest-Litovsk, the ‘**The History of the CPSU**’ says:

“The peace of Brest-Litovsk gave the Party a respite in which to consolidate the Soviet power and to organize the economic life of the country.

“The peace made it possible to take advantage of the conflicts within the imperialist camp (the war of Austria and Germany with the Entente, which was still in progress) to disintegrate the forces of the enemy, to organize a Soviet economic system and to create a Red Army.

“The peace made it possible for the proletariat to retain the support of the peasantry and to accumulate strength for the defeat of the Whiteguard generals in the Civil War.

In the period of the October Revolution Lenin taught the Bolshevik Party how to advance fearlessly and resolutely when conditions favoured in advance. In the period of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Lenin taught the Party how to retreat in good order when the forces of the enemy are obviously superior to our own, in order to prepare with the utmost energy for a new offensive.” (page 219)

This is one example of how the proletariat may have to give some concessions to the enemy in order to serve its major objectives.

Mao’s Chungking Talks with the sworn enemy of the CPC and the

is not in such a desperate situation to accede to our demand to observe cease-fire. It has the complete support and gets huge material assistance from the BJP-led NDA coalition in the Centre which the TDP supports. Moreover, US imperialism’s global campaign against so-called terrorism has come as a favourable factor to the Indian ruling classes to suppress all revolutionary and democratic movements in the name of suppressing terrorism. The promulgation of POTA and the banning of our Party along with the MCC throughout the country have clearly shown how seriously the ruling classes are preparing to suppress our movement at the earliest. The political compulsions for the TDP government in AP as mentioned above, are still not so acute as to force it to grant respite that is of much significance to us for conducting our activities openly or to loosen its repression.

At the same time we should also keep in mind that it is for the first time that the government has been forced to step down from its earlier adamant stand of calling on the Party to lay down arms and join the so-called mainstream as a pre-condition for Talks. The TDP government had all along been averse to hold negotiations with our Party. It had been trying to use all sorts of logic to avoid Talks on an equal basis. It tried to rally all the opposition Parties to gain legitimacy for its brutal suppression campaign. It tried to paint us as anti-people and against all so-called development activity undertaken by the government. It churned out statistics of those killed by our guerrilla squads to show that we are anti-Dalit and anti-poor. It tried all it could to prove that the Naxalite problem was a Law and Order problem and hence should be dealt through police operations. It tried to scuttle the negotiation process by resorting to brutal attacks on our squads, mass organization activists, sympathizers and the revolutionary masses in our areas of struggle. When we announced a unilateral cease-fire from February 15 and called upon the government to do the same, the latter did not heed to our call and continued to step up its fascist onslaught and killed eight of our comrades in Tupakulagudem. This brought wide condemnation and the government stood exposed before the people. Our withdrawal of cease-fire and resumption of counter-attacks was justified in the eyes of the people.

The Naidu government continued with its arrests and encounters

upon the Centre to form the Joint Operational Command (JOC) with the police bosses of the five states (now seven) in April 2000 and the anti-Naxal special force-the Grey Hounds-have been giving training to the police forces from other states in counter-insurgency operations. The Centre had given huge amounts to the TDP government in its suppression campaign. Yet, it could not achieve its long-cherished dream of stamping out the Naxalite movement. Although there have been some losses to the Party in recent years, particularly in NT, we are still a force to reckon with and our people's war had spread to several new states. Our Tactical Counter Offensive Campaign and the PGA anniversary campaign last year too created an impact in the state. The ruling classes are now compelled to reconcile to the fact that the problem of Naxalism cannot be resolved in a short period and that they have to live with it for a long time to come. Hence, they realize the need to adopt diverse tactics and not just the military suppression (though it is the main) to deal with the problem. Talks with the Naxalites too have become inevitable for the ruling classes as part of their LIC strategy.

To sum up, the main reasons for the change in the stance of the TDP government are: the increasing pressure from the various sections of the people, democratic forums and the opposition Parties to resolve the issues through Talks with our Party; severe economic crisis in the state; growing mass movements by various sections of people against the anti-people, pro-imperialist policies of Naidu government; increasing political isolation of the TDP especially in the Telangana region with the growing demand for a separate Telangana; its fear of being further isolated since all the opposition parties have been demanding that Talks should be held with our Party and the demand becoming more and more popular among certain sections of the masses; the impact of our Tactical Counter Offensive Campaign and the PGA anniversary campaign; the realization that the Naxalite movement, owing to its wide mass support, cannot be suppressed easily as imagined earlier by the ruling classes; and so on.

However, while assessing the overall situation in AP it should be kept in mind that the government has an upper-hand at present in its all-out offensive against us and that we are pushed into a defensive position due to our failure to take effective counter-tactics. Hence the government

Chinese people-Chiang Kai-shek-is an example of how communists should take part in the Talks to ensure peace when the masses aspire for it even when the Party is strong and achieving victories. At that time, when the Japanese imperialists had already surrendered, the CPC was a strong Party, had a powerful army, and Liberated Areas with over one million troops, two million people's militia, and 100 million population. The CPC was in a position of strength but agreed for Peace Talks since years of war with the Japanese imperialists had devastated the economy, created untold misery and suffering for the masses, and there was a desire for peace everywhere among the masses. Mao correctly assessed the situation and announced that the CPC was willing to hold negotiations with the KMT to end the civil war and establish peace. The CPC thus foiled the civil war plot of the KMT and succeeded in winning over the masses to its side. The inner-Party circular of the CPC prepared two days before Mao left for Chungking for peace negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek stated in its introduction:

“ The Communist Party of China decided to send Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and Wang Jo-fei to Chungking for peace negotiations with the Kuomintang in order to make every possible effort for peace and also, in the process of struggling for peace, to show US imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek in their true colours and so help unite and educate the masses of the people.”

Mao and the leaders of the CPC held negotiations with the KMT for 43 days and though there was no substantial agreement, **“they were nevertheless successful in that politically they enabled the Communist Party of China to gain the initiative to a great extent and put the KMT in a passive position.”**

*(‘Negotiations with the KMT-Circular of the CC of the CPC ‘
August 26, 1945)*

The CPC placed three great slogans of Peace, Democracy and Unity during the Negotiations with the KMT and could rally the Chinese people around these slogans and isolated the KMT politically. In the Report made by Mao after his return from Chungking he stated:

“We did well to go this time, for we exploded the rumour spread

by the Kuomintang that the Communist Party did not want peace and unity. They sent three successive telegrams to us and we went. But they were totally unprepared, and we had to make all the proposals. As a result of the negotiations, the Kuomintang has accepted the general policy of peace and unity. That's fine. If the Kuomintang launches civil war again, it will put itself in the wrong in the eyes of the whole nation and the whole world, and we shall have all the more reason to smash its attacks by a war of self-defence."

(‘On the Chungking Negotiations’ October 17, 1945)

In order to achieve the objective of smashing the civil war plot of KMT and ensuring peace, the CPC had even agreed to concede eight Liberated Areas in the south to the KMT, and to reduce the armed strength of the Red Army to 48 and further to 43 divisions, about one-seventh of the total forces of KMT. This was in accordance with the general interests of the people. As Mao has stated:

“Without such concessions, we cannot explode the Kuomintang’s civil war plot, cannot gain the political initiative, cannot win the sympathy of world public opinion and the middle-of-the-roaders within the country and cannot obtain in exchange legal status for our Party and a state of peace. But there are limits to such concessions; the principle is that they must not damage the fundamental interests of the people.”

(‘On Peace Negotiations with the KMT-Circular of the CC of the CPC’)

The above two examples from the experiences of the Russian and Chinese revolutions provide important guidelines to any Communist. In the example of Russian revolution cited above, we find that the CPSU had gone for peace negotiations with German imperialism and agreed to give concessions to gain time, to secure a respite in order to strengthen the Soviet power. The concession of some territory by the Soviet government was thus a minor loss to the proletariat when compared to the longer goal of retaining and strengthening the Soviet power.

The example of China shows that the CPC led by Com. Mao had

against Liberalisation, Privatisation, scrapping of subsidies, retrenchment of workers, price-rise etc., though for their own electoral needs, and for gaining some credibility among the masses. The movement for a separate Telangana state has been gaining ground. In the elections to the local bodies last year, the newly-formed Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) made significant gains over the TDP making the latter jittery. The pressures within the TDP too are increasing for treating the Naxalite problem as a socio-economic problem instead of mere Law and Order problem and most of the top and medium-rung leaders of the TDP are scared to visit the villages in our areas in spite of protection from their gunmen and at times police escort. Thus Naidu’s government too is in need of some stability in order to implement any of his World Bank-sponsored schemes and gain some credibility in the state and its masters abroad. While suppressing our Party and the movement by brute force is still the first option of the TDP fascist regime, a temporary truce to carry out the ‘reforms’ and consolidate its position is also being thought of.

A major factor that none can possibly ignore is the anti-police sentiment in the vast rural areas of Telngana, North Andhra, and South Coastal-Rayalaseema region where our armed struggle is going on since a long time. Any political Party opposing the police repression in these areas is bound to get popular support and the opposition parties are skillfully using this. TDP knows how fast its popularity is waning on account of the terrible repression unleashed by the state especially since 1996 and wants to appease the masses and the petty bourgeois intelligentsia by trying to appear as if it is democratic and is craving for peace. Moreover, there has been a clamour for Talks from the entire opposition parties in the state and from various democratic forces which has been widely publicized by the media. The pressure from the various sections of the people is a major factor forcing the TDP to change its earlier stubborn stance that it would not go for Talks unless the Naxalites “laid down their arms and joined the mainstream”.

The continuous resistance of the masses and the guerrilla forces led by our Party over the years has also contributed to a rethinking on the part of the government since all its plans to suppress the so-called Left-wing Extremism, have come to nought. Chandrababu Naidu had impressed

10, the KMT government issued an order to cease fire. But Chiang Kai-shek used this agreement as a smoke-screen behind which he made his arrangements for a major war. By June 26 he tore up the truce agreement and launched an all out offensive against the liberated areas. These developments after the Chungking Peace Negotiations were summed up by Com. Mao in his inner party directive in title : “*Smash Chiang Kai-shek’s offensive by a war of self-defence*” issued on July 20, 1946.

Keeping the above-mentioned international experiences in mind, let us now analyse the concrete situation in AP that had led to the present atmosphere of ‘Peace Talks’ and our objectives in going for the Talks.

Concrete Political Situation in AP and the Basis for Peace Talks :

The state’s economy has been deteriorating at a faster pace in recent times due to the treacherous policies of the TDP government ever since it assumed power in 1994 especially after Naidu took the reins through his ‘palace coup’ against NTR in 1996 with the advice of the World Bank and the imperialist forces. Never before had the economic crisis in AP become so acute as today. It is virtually on the verge of collapse due to the policy of total sell-out of the state’s resources to the imperialists. Indebtedness of the government has reached unprecedented levels and the government finds it extremely difficult to repay even the interest on the loans incurred. Hence PSUs are sold off to the imperialists and the CBB for a song. Subsidies to the poor are slashed and everything-including drinking water—is being privatized. Consequently, several industries have become bankrupt; investments have begun to fall and the media-hype so far cultivated by Naidu has begun to evaporate. Unemployment, and price-rise have reached new peaks.

The economic crisis has led to acute social and political instability. Struggles by various sections of the people have increased and assumed militant forms. The crisis within the ruling classes has led to dog-fights between the ruling TDP and its ally BJP on the one hand, and the Congress(I) and other opposition parties on the other. The revisionist Parties and some ML organizations have been trying to build a mass movement against the World Bank-dictated policies of TDP particularly

gone for the peace negotiations in order to isolate the war-monger Chiang Kai-shek and win over the communists. The CPC had acted in conformity with the aspirations of the masses who were craving for peace and democracy after eight years of war against Japanese imperialism besides intermittent war with the KMT’s troops. Thus though though the context and the situation may be different, the underlying principle must be grasped i.e., safeguarding the fundamental interests of the people.

In recent times, we also have the examples of the Philippines and Nepal where the Communist Parties forced their respective governments to observe cease-fire at times and went for Negotiations gaining a political advantage in the process. In neighbouring Nepal, the CPN(M) effectively utilized the contradictions within the ruling classes and the desire of the masses for a Democratic Republic in Nepal by advancing the slogans of an Interim Government, drafting of a new Constitution and institutionalization of the Republic. When the government of the US stooge, Sher Bahadur Deuba, called on the Maoists for Talks, it expressed its willingness to negotiate with the government on these democratic demands and to observe truce during the negotiations though fully knowing that the government was trying to buy time for a big offensive. Accordingly, negotiations were held for four months between August and November 2001 but Talks broke off when the government stubbornly refused to accede to the demands and began its military offensive. The Maoists too recommenced their armed attacks in a big way from November 23. Even though the Negotiations failed, the demands became popular among the masses of Nepal and moulded the public opinion in favour of the people’s war not only in Nepal but in other parts of the world as well.

Summing up the ‘Peace Talks’ with the reactionary Deuba government, the CPN(Maoist) wrote in its organ :

“In such a situation the proposal for ‘negotiation’ would mean only one thing, i.e. buying time for preparations for the final offensive. Fully aware of this evil design of the reactionaries, our Party responded positively to the negotiation offer as a ‘tit for tat’ policy. Throughout the four-month long negotiation period from August to November, our Party pursued a two-pronged strategy.

Firstly, to endeavour sincerely for a political solution to the problem; and secondly, to prepare militarily and politically to counter the offensive of the reactionaries. Accordingly, we proposed the formation of an interim government, drafting of a new constitution and institutionalisation of the republic as the immediate minimum political solution to the problems of the country. The proposal was further toned down to the question of an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly, when the question of direct proclamation of the republic endangered to short-circuit, the talks prematurely. Even though these proposals were confined to the demands of a bourgeois republic and were much below the goals of our New Democratic Revolution (NDR) we found them appropriate for the immediate purpose given the intricate power balance of the political forces (i.e. revolutionary, parliamentary and monarchical forces) and the low level of political consciousness of the middle strata in the country. However, when the reactionaries slammed the door for any political solution after three rounds of talks and foolishly went ahead for a military showdown, our Party accepted the challenge and gave them an appropriate blow with biggest-ever military action on November 23.”

(The Worker No. 7, December 2001, page 2)

All the above examples show that communists should not hesitate to seize every such opportunity for negotiations with the enemy classes in order to win over the vast masses to our side and gain political advantage. The only principle is that our agreements should be in accordance with the objective of safeguarding the fundamental interests of the people.

We should also take lessons from the negative examples of negotiations in the International Communist Movement the latest one being the Right Opportunist Line (ROL) advanced by the majority of the imprisoned CC members of the Peru Communist Party (PCP)-excluding Comrade Gonzalo, Feliciano, and a few other leaders-that advocated abandoning the armed struggle, disbanding the revolutionary bases and the people's army. It is a capitulationist line that stands against the fundamental interests of the people, sacrifices the very strategic goal of

seizure of power by armed means and negates people's war.

At the same time, we should be clear that there cannot be lasting agreements with the reactionaries. There can only be temporary truces, and at times even these may remain merely on paper. But they do play a role in isolating the enemy and rallying the broad masses of people against the ruling classes to implement the agreements and people's demands. Let us keep in mind what Mao said in regard to this:

“On the one hand, the policy of peace and the agreements on democracy published in the ‘Summary of Conversations’ are words on paper and not yet reality; on the other hand, they have been determined by a variety of forces. The forces of the people in the Liberated Areas, the forces of the people in the Great Rear Areas, the international situation-the general trend has forced the Kuomintang to accept these things.” (*‘On the Chungking Negotiations’*)

Since the aim of the Communist Party is to overthrow the ruling classes and establish a new society that is eventually free from all class exploitation, there cannot be negotiations on the long-term strategic demands and there can only be temporary truces that may break up any moment. In fact, quite often, the ruling classes adopt the policy of making agreements on paper but violating them in practice since their aim is to wipe out the revolutionaries at the opportune moment. Hence the Party should be prepared at all times to hit back the enemy's offensive whether during the process of negotiations or after certain agreements are reached through negotiations. That is why the above-mentioned circular of the CPC warned the whole Party that **“...it (the Party) must absolutely not relax its vigilance or its struggle against Chiang Kai-shek because negotiations were to take place.”**

This assessment of Com. Mao was proved cent per cent correct in practice as Chiang Kai-shek launched his attacks on the liberated areas soon after the agreements were signed. He tore up the ‘October 10th Agreement’ in the winter of 1945. In January 1946 under the pressure of the demand of the entire people for peace and democracy, the KMT government had to convene the Political Consultative Conference with the participation of the CPC and other democratic parties. On January

must abide by the decisions and directives of the Party organs. If they do not agree, they have the right to reserve their views or report directly to higher level committees. If we do not uphold the practice of democratic centralism but every one goes his own way and does as he/she pleases, the Party will fall into a state of disorganisation, it will become impossible to implement the Party's basic line, and the unity of the whole Party becomes an impossible task.

Democracy is a means to strengthen centralism and unity within the Party. It is not an end by itself. Without being unified and centralised it is impossible for the Party to defeat the powerful class enemies.

But Com. Manik showed the least concern for this basic organisational principle. His personal interests had become more important for him than the interests of the Party and the vast masses. Hence he had gone against the spirit of democratic centralism and tried to weaken the Party. If Manik displayed any seriousness, he would have shown interest in conducting ideological and political debate on his differences with the Party line by following the proper organisational methods. He would have followed the clauses in the Party Constitution. Instead, he chose to do propaganda on his own, among the Party cadres, bypassing all organisational procedures and undermining the principle of democratic centralism. Without giving scope for the Party leadership to give an answer to the political points he had raised, he began to circulate his opinions in a one-sided manner thus obstructing the democratic centralist method of conducting the political debates. This is nothing but a reflection of his petty-bourgeois individualism and his ultra-democratic, anarchist outlook. It is a disruptionist, liquidationist line that runs counter to all organisational principles of a Communist Party. And once he had gone out of the Party in the most irresponsible manner, he even published his papers in Bengali attacking the Party line openly. He had thus caused more damage to the Party (though not by weaning away PMs which he tried desperately but failed, but by creating an atmosphere that the PW Party was undergoing a split and spreading wrong ideas about PW's line and practice among the non-Party revolutionary masses and sympathisers) than the enemy was able to do. Knowing fully well that it will take some time for the CC to answer his political points, he began his offensive in order to confuse and gain sympathy for himself before his right opportunist politics and practice, and his lack of preparedness to lead the class struggle, are

In the guise of Talks the government will also prepare for still greater offensive against our forces. It will try to use the atmosphere created by Talks to lull our Party cadres, to relax our vigilance, build its informer network and launch big attacks. We should not forget for a moment that the aim of the enemy is to wipe us out and that he is prepared to launch big attacks like the one at Tupakulagudem. In fact, it is only due to some immediate compulsions that it had agreed to sit for Talks but it is still not in such a desperate position as to agree to our demands like lifting the ban on our Party or giving us respite that is of much significance. It may, of course, be pushed to such a situation if the conditions that had led the government to the negotiating table become more acute.

We must utilize the limited space available during the Talks and take up massive propaganda and mass work on the above lines. We must explain that the three big mountains weighing down the backs of the Indian people cannot be overthrown without people's war and strive to make the people realize the objective logic behind this. At the same time, we must propagate that we are placing the following minimum demands to ensure peace in the state and call upon the people to build a democratic movement to force the government to implement these minimum democratic demands. As the government will not accede to any major demand, we should explain how people's war is the solution for achieving even these demands. Thus we should try to derive the maximum political advantage by utilizing the opportunity to take our politics to the masses effectively.

We should place the following demands during Talks with the government. We should propagate these demands even if the Talks do not materialize.

1. Lift the ban on CPI(ML)[People's War] and other revolutionary mass organizations; create a democratic atmosphere for these organizations to work freely among the people. Ensure the right of the people to agitate for their demands by creating a democratic atmosphere.

2. Disband the SSF forces that were formed exclusively to suppress the revolutionary movement. Send back CRPF and all other para-military forces. Conduct judicial enquiry into all fake encounters (especially those of Comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali) and murder of civil liberties

leaders like Purushotham and Azam Ali. Punish those found guilty in these crimes.

3. (i) Establish a Land Commission in AP with democratic individuals in order to implement land reforms. The land confiscated by the people from the landlords, the government land and the forest land cultivated by the peasantry should be legalized

(ii) Withdraw the imperialist and World Bank- sponsored schemes and projects that are aimed at plundering the resources of AP.

(iii) Stop privatization of the public sector industries. Stop retrenchment of workers.

(iv) Scrap corporate agriculture.

4. Withdraw all police camps from the villages. The police should not obstruct the people from forming their own organizations and managing their affairs

5. (i) Should recognize the right of the people to agitate for separate Telangana.

(ii) Should declare autonomy for Adivasis. Implement 1/70 Act and prevent the migration of landlords, capitalists and non-adivasis into Adivasi areas.

6. Provide reservation for Dalits, Adivasis, BCs and women in jobs in private sector also.

7. Implement prohibition in the state that was earlier won by the women through their struggle.

Propagation of the above demands will enhance the democratic consciousness of the masses and will expose the hollowness of the government's claim that we have no clear-cut aims and that we are only interested in provoking violence. This will lend more legitimacy to the people's war waged by our Party and will draw more people in to it. We should keep in mind that by advancing the above minimum democratic demands we are not sacrificing our goal of a New Democratic Revolution, but actually helping its further advancement. We must guard ourselves against any Left or Right deviations in our understanding of the Talks and in our practice during this period.

He wrote in his resignation letter that he "*found some serious deviations in the political line and practice of our Party and hoped to enrich the Party line by rectifying them*", that he also "*thought to correct any wrong in (his) thinking through discussions*". We do not know and we are not told what had been his attempts to enrich the Party line by rectifying the serious deviations. And also what were his attempts to correct any wrong in his own thinking as he had so loftily declared. But this modesty, it appears, was meant only for public consumption to show that he was open-minded and open to correction. But from his hasty resignation and the conclusions he had drawn regarding the Party, anyone can understand that he sees nothing wrong in his own thinking and thinks that what he is advocating is the only correct revolutionary line. That is why without explaining anything regarding his attempt in this direction, he came to the conclusion: "*in this situation I am not finding any possibility of developing class struggle as well as myself remaining in the Party. I am today deeply apprehensive whether this Party is at all a working class Party as I feel that it do not contain the theory of class struggle. It has no confidence on the leadership of working class.*"

Manik's contempt for democratic centralism

In any Communist Party, if a Party member has political differences with the Party line, then he/she has the right to debate it in the appropriate forums by following the method democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is the organisational principle of a proletarian Party developed by our Marxist teachers and without this principle the Party cannot function as a revolutionary Party; it cannot lead the revolution to victory. Democratic centralism in the Party means centralisation based on democracy and democracy practised under centralised leadership. Centralisation based on democracy means that the leading organs of the Party at all levels must be elected after democratic discussion in the Party; that decisions of the Party must be taken based on the centralisation of the opinions by the leading organs; that the leading bodies, which are elected in forums representing the Party membership, can exercise the power of centralised leadership and settle all Party affairs; that the whole Party should come under a unified discipline - the individual being subordinate to the organisation, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level, and the entire Party to the CC. The Party members

that he tried to fabricate a reason as the following lines show: *“I thought there was some serious distortions of Marxism in our Party line, but those can be rectified as the basic orientation of the Party is correct upto plenum, that was my understanding.”* Then he goes on to say that after the plenum he realised that the Party’s orientation is wrong. Let us see what he says: *“But as you show total rigidity in rectifying the trends of economism and terrorism in our practice despite so much debate in the state plenum, I felt it necessary after plenum to review the whole history of my debate and came to the conclusion that the basic orientation of the Party is wrong. It is based on petty-bourgeois ideology and petty-bourgeois leadership.”*(from Manik’s letter of 6th February 2002) Thus we find that within a month Manik had attained his Nirvana by suddenly realising that our Party’s orientation is wrong and is based on petty-bourgeois ideology. And during this month, we are told, he had not involved himself in any work in the state. The only significant development during this period is the decision of the Central government to ban our Party and the MCC throughout the country.

Hence, in the absence of any convincing reason from Manik, we cannot but come to the conclusion, just as the WB SC, that **his decision to quit was not due to the political differences but due to his lack of preparedness to be part of a Party that is now banned all over the country; in West Bengal, it is facing serious repression in the areas of armed struggle—Midnapore-Bankura-Purulia and Nadia-Murshirabad-Malda; and the State government had declared that it will wipe out the PW in Midnapore. Manik knows that as Secretary of the State Committee, he would be a prime target for the enemy.**

If this was not the reason and if we were to take Manik’s words for granted, that is, that there is no *“possibility of developing class struggle in this Party”* or his deep apprehension *“whether this Party is at all a working class Party”* since *“it does not contain the theory of class struggle”*, then the question that confronts us is: When had he realised this truth? Why had he retracted from his positions every time there had been a discussion in the SC and even in the State Plenum? Why did he not fight it out at the Congress? Why did he pretend throughout (including in the State Plenum as late as December 2001) that he had no difference with the basic political line of the Party and was in basic agreement with the central POR?

Even if the Talks do not make much progress (as is bound to happen given the class nature of the ruling TDP), we should mobilize all the revolutionary and democratic forces into a broad-based democratic movement against the repressive, undemocratic, and fascist rule of the anti-people government of the imperialist lapdog Chandrababu Naidu. All violations of democratic rights of the people guaranteed by the Constitution should be fought tooth and nail. The masses should be rallied under the slogans: *“Throw out the traitorous, authoritarian and anti-people stooge government of Chandrababu Naidu!” “Stop the fascist onslaught on the people. Enforce the rule of law!” “Stop fake encounters, arrests and harassment of revolutionary activists and sympathizers! Stop all attacks against the people!” “Lift the Ban on CPI(ML)[People’s War]!” “Conduct Judicial enquiry into encounter killings! Punish the guilty police officers!”*, *“Implement land reforms!”*, *“Withdraw the World Bank-sponsored schemes!”*, *“Stop privatization!”*, and so on.

Finally, it is extremely necessary to preserve the Party forces in the face of a well-planned conspiracy by the ruling classes and their imperialist masters to wipe out our Party, the PGA, and our mass activists. Plans should be drawn up for stepping up the armed counteroffensive campaigns against the state and deliver a fitting rebuff to the state’s brutal offensive as soon as Talks break off and the police commence their attacks.

While summing up the whole process of Talks, we can conclude that our Party had correctly taken the initiative by responding immediately to the proposals made by the various intellectual fora and the various opposition parties. We had effectively utilized it by throwing a challenge to the government to show its sincerity by creating an atmosphere that is conducive for Talks. We demonstrated our sincerity and commitment to people’s interests by declaring that we would suspend our armed actions for a specified period to facilitate the process of Talks if the government too did the same. We succeeded in exposing the government’s hypocrisy and double-talk and pushed the later into political defensive. A new political situation has thus come to the fore with the people being actively drawn into the political debate.

We should try to gain further support for the ongoing people’s war among the vast majority of the masses and those sections of intellectuals

who had been appealing to us to resort to peaceful means. We should show that revolutionary violence is an inevitable consequence of the counter-revolutionary violence unleashed by the ruling classes by shutting off all democratic channels of protest. We should appeal to the Committee of the Concerned Citizens and other democratic forces to condemn state violence and warn them that they will be playing into the hands of the state if they equate revolutionary counter-violence aimed at establishing a just and democratic society with the reactionary state violence that is aimed at crushing all democratic aspirations. We should make the issue of Talks a tactical success for our Party in political terms. By participating actively in the process of Talks, we have been able to bring into public focus those democratic issues for which we have been waging the war since long. We must aim at further enhancing the consciousness of the masses by the time Talks break off.

**Political Bureau,
18-5-2002
CPI (ML)[PEOPLE'S WAR]**

“The Chandrababu Government by staging an encounter near Eturunagaram, has rendered futile (apahasyam) the peace efforts being undertaken by the people and the democrats. It has damaged the atmosphere (prakriya) for talks. We are withdrawing our ceasefire (Kalpula viramana) being implemented from the second week of February. Based on the request of Committee of Concerned Citizens and in response to the terms set by them, we announced our ceasefire from the second week of February through the Press. From that time, the cadres of our party and People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) platoons, have been observing restraint without doing armed actions. But the Government has been acting in a contrary manner.

“For Chandrababu, who is determined to implement the policy dictated by the World Bank, the efforts for talks are not palatable. The issues that will come up in the talks like land problem and democratic rights are those that cannot be resolved by Chandrababu, who is tied to the World Bank conditions. In Chandrababu's agenda, there are only

Congress, that Com. Manik chose not only to abdicate his responsibility as the SCS of West Bengal but also to resign from the primary membership of the Party.

Neither the SC nor the CC had any inkling of such a move by Manik. The Political Bureau received the report in November last that Manik had been raising some questions that were concluded by the Congress. The PB noted that such a method was unhealthy as it is the duty of every PM to implement the Party line adopted by the Congress. It had asked the concerned CCM guiding the movement in West Bengal to inform the same to Manik. However, it felt that it was necessary to debate with Manik in the SC and to try to convince him on the Central POR and the understanding arrived at by the Congress. But within a month after that he prepared a document entitled “*Spontaneity is the main obstacle to develop class struggle in West Bengal*” and without even giving any scope for the CC or PB to go through it, placed it in the State Plenum. He finally withdrew it saying that he was in basic agreement with the Central POR.

Then what had transpired in the one month after the Plenum that had prompted him to resign even from the primary membership of the Party? From the report of the SC it is clear that there had been no development of any significance after the Plenum that could have compelled him to take such drastic decision. In fact, the SC reposed confidence in him that he would carry out his responsibilities as Secretary even though he had serious political differences with the Party line. It came to such an assessment after seeing his positive attitude at the end of the State plenum. The understanding of the SC has been that he could be relieved of his responsibilities as SCS if he strongly expressed his inability to lead or reluctance to shoulder the responsibilities of SCS. The utmost one expected was that he would step down as SCS and carry on as a member of the SC. He could continue to hold his different view points and fight in proper organisational form on his political beliefs.

His Resignation letter to the SC, a copy of which has also been sent to the CC does not give any convincing reasons for his resignation from the Party. It does not throw any new light on the developments following the State Plenum that had led him to resign from the Party.

It was in his letter written to two CCMs 10 days after his resignation

It is the Ideological-Political line That Determines The Character Of A Communist Party !!

– A Reply to Manik’s Paper on Working Class Leadership

[On January 25, 2002 Manik had resigned not only from the Secretaryship of West Bengal State Committee of our Party but also from the primary party membership. He had submitted two papers entitled : at the time of the 9th Congress to the then CC(P) but did not press for a debate on those papers. We are publishing below the answer to his first paper by the Political Bureau of our Party. The answer to the second paper will be published in the next issue of People’s War. – Editorial Board]

The news of the resignation of the Bengal State Committee Secretary of our Party from even the primary Party membership in the last week of January this year came as a surprise to the Party cadres. It was hardly a few months since we had successfully held the historic Congress of our Party and the entire Party and the revolutionary masses were quite enthused by the calls given by the Congress. The Congress had further enriched the Party’s political line, deepened our understanding of Guerilla Zones, Guerilla Bases and Base Areas; of the relationship between people’s army and the establishment of organs of political power; between mass struggle and armed struggle, and such other important matters. After evaluating the shortcomings and weaknesses in the Party and the movement, the Congress had also given the call to take up a rectification campaign throughout the Party. The entire Party was thus gearing up to implement the immediate task laid out by the Congress to develop Guerilla Zones in new regions, Guerilla Bases in the Guerilla Zones of DK, NT and AOB and advance towards the establishment of Base Areas.

It is at this juncture when the Party is all set to undertake new tasks with better clarity and understanding, is preparing itself to write a new chapter in the ongoing people’s war in the country, and when all the units are preparing to remould themselves to undertake the tasks set by the

issues like the corporatisation of agriculture, creating opportunities for capital investment by imperialists through making provision for profits and guarantees and in the process increasing armed forces which will suppress the voices of people agitating on democratic issues. In one word, mortgaging the state to imperialists, he is prepared for suppressing any struggle or forces that resist this. We say that Chandrababu government is adopting a fascist approach to implement policies favourable to imperialism. We declare that in Chandrababu rule, there is a danger of there being no space even for lawful, open democratic movements. This became clear by the firing in Hyderabad on the people who were protesting peacefully against the power tariff hike. It is due to these strong reasons that Chandrababu is rejecting the talks. Though they were pretending until now that they were responding to the proposal for talks, the fact that the Chandrababu Government is wolf in sheep’s clothing came out clearly with the Eturunagaram encounter. We state that, by such dubious strategies, the Chandrababu government has cheated the people, democrats and opposition parties who were making sincere efforts for peace. Even at the time when there was no mention of the talks in the Governor’s Address at the commencement of the Assembly session, some opposition parties, and some newspapers observed that Chandrababu has no inclination for talks. This incident has proved that what they surmised was indeed correct.

“Our counter violence is for the people’s right to life, for minimum democratic rights, for true peoples power. The State is extinguishing (kalaraya) the existing right to life by not enforcing the laws like Minimum Wages Act; the socially oppressed who are living like dead even as inferior to animals; the rural agricultural labour and poor agricultural ryots, the living dead who are struggling openly and legally seeking their right to life and for implementation of the constitutional entitlements. This is the path which State is adopting from the time of Jagitil struggle until now. Therefore, there is no alternative to people taking to arms for simple democratic rights and for the right to live like human beings. Our party is providing leadership to this just armed struggle of the people.”

(From the statement of AP State Committee Secretary, Ramakrishna, given on March 14, 2002)

“Since the last nine months the TDP government has been playing

the game of 'talks', in order to fool the people. Simultaneously, in AP, especially in North Telangana, a reign of white terror has been unleashed in arrests, fake encounters, ambushes, etc. This is the real fascist character of the government, for which we appeal to all democratic section to understand, condemn and resist.

"In the last nine months there have been 50 martyrs in AP, of which 28 are in NT alone. Of these in NT, two District Committee members - Coms. Suryam and Ilanna - were arrested while going for medical treatment (Sept. 2001 and Jan 2002), tortured and brutally killed in fake encounters.

"Under the pretext that the DTF (Democratic Teachers' Federation) and the TJS (Telangana Jana Sabha) are linked to the PW hundreds have been arrested and brutally tortured; some have even been killed. Amongst those killed was TKS (cultural front of TJS) leader Ilanna and DTF leader, Chandramallu, in a fake encounter in Warangal town.

"In the villages special batches are extensively combing the forests, while mass organisation leaders and even ordinary villagers are being arrested and tortured. RSS (Rytu Seva Samiti), DTF and TJS activists are being harassed and being made to resign under pressure and threats. Numerous students in Eturunagaram, who were attending around their demands were arrested and many are regularly tortured. There is continuous police vigil on hostels, and students have to take the warden's permission if they are to go anywhere.

"The government is spending crores on informers, black hundreds and coverts. These are involved in pin-pointing sympathisers/activists, trailing and killing them. An example was in Nizamabad, where two squad members, who were going to hospital, were killed by the black-hundreds. In Nalgonda district three relatives of Belli Lalita were killed by the Nayeem gang. These gangs are also looting money from the people and sympathisers, with threats to kill them. In this manner of the police have turned Telangana into a war zone.

"The TDP is running a police raj attacking all sections of society. The police themselves are conducting medical camps, setting up youth and sports clubs and dealing with contradictions between the people. They are nothing but wolves in sheep clothing. Through 'counselling' they forcefully take statements of parents asking their children to

the people the ultimate decision-makers on the question of monarchy or a republic. But the government not only rejected this foremost democratic method of resolving the problem but intensified the preparations of military offensive by procuring arms and ultra-modern military helicopters from the USA. In this situation of closing down of all political avenues we had no alternative but to continue with the people's armed resistance.

Que : Why did you not try for another round of talks?

Ans : How can somebody continue to clap with one hand? When the talks were reduced to meaningless drama with no political outlet and the condition of forcible acceptance of the discredited feudal monarchy were sought to be imposed on the people, which amounted to virtual surrender and renegacy by the revolutionary forces, the government had, in essence, closed the door for the Fourth round of talks.

What will be the next course of action? Are you still open to dialogue?

Ans : The rapid growth of the six-year old people's war and the prevailing public opinion across the country have amply demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the people in Nepal are in favour of our Party and the republican form of the state. In this context, if the right to determine their own political future is granted to the people we are once again prepared to suspend our armed activities and sit down for the talks. On the contrary, if the lunatic course of action of imposing military dictatorship under the leadership of the perpetrators of recent palace massacre is to be continued, we will fight till this so-called monarchy is completely abolished.

How do you justify the use of violence?

Ans : It is not us but the feudal palace and the corrupt Nepali Congress government that have initiated political violence in Nepal. When we were present in the parliament as the third largest Party after the first general election in 1991, the then Girija Koirala government unleashed widespread state terrorism of the most barbaric nature against our Party leaders and cadres for their revolutionary political views. Hence we were forced to raise arms for the defense of the people. Even now, only after the Deuba government mobilised the royal army against the struggling masses and in favour of the feudal palace intriguers, that we were forced to resort to armed resistance. ❖

armed forces. Kuomintang propaganda has been saying that the Communist Party is just scrambling for guns. But we have said we are ready to make concessions.” (*Ibid*)

“In the negotiations between the Kuomintang and our Party, why is there agreement on some questions and not on others? Why does the “Summary of Conversations” speak of peace and unity, while fighting is actually going on? Some comrades just can’t understand such contradictions. What I have said is meant to answer these questions. Some comrades can’t understand why we should be willing to negotiate with Chiang Kai-shek, who has always been anti-Communist and against the people. Was our Party right or wrong in deciding at its Seventh Congress that we were willing to negotiate with the Kuomintang, provided they changed their policy? It was absolutely right. The Chinese revolution is a long one and victory can only be won step by step. China’s future depends on our exertions. The situation will remain in flux for six months or so. We must redouble our efforts to make it develop in a direction favourable to the people of the whole country.” (*Ibid*)

We are publishing below part of an interview of the Chairman of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), Comrade Prachanda, given to ‘The Times of India’ on 3 December 2001. We hope this will help the readers understand the nature of the Peace Negotiations between the CPN(M) and the Deuba government and the standpoint of the Maoists.

Que : Why have the Maoists broken the cease-fire?

Ans : Anyone with a democratic mindset and a capacity to delve into the essence of the problem will realise that it is not the CPN (Maoist) but the feudal palace murderers and the corrupt and fascist Giriya clique that have broken the cease-fire. We had emphasized on the political solution of the problem from the very outset of the negotiation with the government. For that purpose our major proposals were: an interim government, a new constitution and institutionalisation of the republic. However, instead of grasping the political essence of the problem with due seriousness and creating a conducive atmosphere of dialogue accordingly, the Deuba government, under the pressure of the feudal royalists and the corrupt Giriya clique, not only made nationwide preparations for military offensive but even banned the peaceful mass rallies. Even then we exercised maximum patience and flexibility and proposed the convening of a constituent assembly, which was proclaimed even by King Tribhuvan after the Delhi Agreement of 1951 but never implemented, so as to make

surrender. All this is a part of their Low Intensity Conflict strategy to crush the revolution. In addition, through the POTO Act, the state and Centre have banned both the PW and the MCC.

“The CCC (Concerned Citizens’ Committee) said that as violence between the PW and State were increasing, they suggested talks and discussions between the two. We laid out 3 conditions before discussion - that arrests, encounters and patrolling/combining be stopped. But, on the contrary, these have all been increasing. To stop these attacks the CCC does not put pressure on the government; but utilising the incident of the killing of Ragia Nayak (MLA) it equates the violence of the PW with the State. Also they said nothing after the killing of 4 sympathisers in the wake of the Hanumakonda police action. Also, they are quiet on the Bongiri incident where three relatives of Belli Lalita were killed.

“After the all party meeting on February 11, some 20 to 25 comrades have been killed in NT alone.

“After the Tupakulagudem incident, the CPM state Secretary, Raghavulu, criticised both the state and the PW equally. And the CCC is suggesting to the PW not to break the proposal of talks, because of this incident. This is a most strange logic, which only assists the ruling classes and has nothing to do with the oppressed masses. We request that they give up this attitude and join the democratic forces to condemn the government.

“The opposition parties and CCC demand democracy and peace only in words. Instead of putting pressure on the government they propagate against PW.

“In the name of consultation with other parties and the people the government is consciously adopting delaying tactics, while continuing with its massacres, as at Tupakulagudem.

“The Tupakulagudem massacre was a planned action of the government and police. Immediately after the massacre, Home Minister, Devendra Goud said, that this action will not result in a hurdle for the proposed talks. While DGP Ramulu stated that the question of talks is a government affair, and in no way connected with police action, which will continue. These contradictory statements exposes the hollowness of the government’s intentions. While consciously adopting delaying tactics, they made detailed plans for the big attack under the directions

of the JOC and DGP Ramulu.

“While adopting the duplicity of talks it is conducting an all-sided attack. We must prepare to resist this.”

(From a Press Statement given by NTSZC secretary Com. Jampanna, AOB SZC secretary Com. Balakrishna, APSC secretary Com. Ramakrishna. on April 1, 2002)

Some Notes on Peace Talks

[We are publishing some excerpts from the article of Comrade Mao entitled: ‘On the Chungking Negotiations’ to understand more deeply about the question of Negotiations between the Communists and the Government.]

“The subjective desire of Chiang Kai-shek is to maintain his dictatorship and destroy the Communist Party, but many objective difficulties stand in his way. Therefore, he has to be a little realistic. He is being realistic, and we are realistic too. He was realistic in inviting us and we were realistic in going to negotiate with him. We arrived in Chungking on August 28. On the evening of the 28th, I told the Kuomintang representatives that the country had needed peace and unity ever since the September 18th Incident in 1931. We had asked for peace and unity, but they had not materialized. Peace and unity materialized only after the Sian Incident of 1936 before the outbreak of the War of Resistance on July 7, 1937. During the eight years of that war we fought together against Japan. But civil war never stopped; there were continuous frictions, big and small. To say that there was no civil war is deception and does not square with facts. In the past eight years we repeatedly expressed our willingness to negotiate. At the Seventh Congress of our Party we declared that “we are willing to resume negotiations with the Kuomintang authorities as soon as they are willing to renounce their present erroneous policies and agree to democratic reforms”. In the negotiations we declared that, first, China needs peace and, second, China needs democracy. Chiang Kai-shek could find no reason to object and had to agree. On the one hand, the policy of peace and the agreements on democracy published in the “Summary of Conversations” are words on paper and not yet reality; on the other hand, they have been determined by a variety of forces. The forces of the people in the Liberated Areas, the forces of the people in

the Great Rear Area, the international situation — the general trend has forced the Kuomintang to accept these things.” (*On the Chungking Negotiations, October 17, 1945*)

“How to give “tit for tat” depends on the situation. Sometimes, not going to negotiations is tit-for-tat; and sometimes, going to negotiations is also tit-for-tat. We were right not to go before, and also right to go this time; in both cases we have given tit for tat. We did well to go this time, for we exploded the rumour spread by the Kuomintang that the Communist Party did not want peace and unity.” (Ibid)

“Some comrades have asked why we should concede eight Liberated Areas. It is a great pity to concede these eight areas, but it is better to do so. Why is it a pity? Because these Liberated Areas have been created and arduously built up by the people, with sweat and blood. Therefore, we must explain matters clearly to the people and make appropriate arrangements in the areas we are going to concede. Why should we concede those areas? Because otherwise the Kuomintang will not feel easy. They are going back to Nanking, but some Liberated Areas in the south are right by their beds or in their corridor. So long as we are there, they will not be able to sleep easily and will therefore fight for those places at all costs. Our concession on this point will help frustrate the Kuomintang’s plot for civil war and win us the sympathy of the numerous middle elements at home and abroad. All the means of propaganda in China, except the Hsinhua News Agency, are now controlled by the Kuomintang. They are all rumour factories. Concerning the current negotiations, they have spread the rumour that the Communist Party just wants territory and will make no concessions. Our policy is to protect the fundamental interests of the people. Subject to the principle of not damaging the fundamental interests of the people, it is permissible to make certain concessions in exchange for peace and democracy, which the people of the whole country need. In our past dealings with Chiang Kai-shek we also made concessions, and even larger ones. In 1937, to bring about the nation-wide War of Resistance, we voluntarily dropped the name, “Workers’ and Peasants’ Revolutionary Government”, changed the name of our Red Army to “National Revolutionary Army” and altered our policy of confiscating the land of the landlords to one of reducing rent and interest. This time, by conceding certain areas in the south, we have completely exploded the Kuomintang’s rumours before the people of all China and the whole world. It is the same with the problem of

reductionist method- a vulgarisation of Marxism. It sees the appearance and misses the essence. i.e., whether or not the Party's interests are identical with the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people.

If Manik's arguments are to be taken as they are, it means working class Parties have not made their appearance anywhere in the world until now. The CPC had very few workers in its leading bodies and the overwhelming majority in the CC hailed from non-proletarian classes. Even in the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin, workers never comprised the majority in the CC. Since it is the CC that formulates the tactics and policies from time to time, these Parties, according to Manik's logic, have no right to call themselves proletarian Parties.

It is due to a lack of above understanding regarding the relation between the Party, the class and the masses; regarding the role of the ideology and the ideological and political line pursued by the Party that Manik's paper attempts to counterpose the class to the Party and criticizes that our Party has a conception that "working class leadership means actually the leadership of the communist Party" and that "proletarian leadership means the leadership of its ideology, not the physical leadership of working class." He also tries to say things that our Party has never said or believed, such as "we can advance our revolution without the direct leadership of the working class", and so on.

It will be enlightening to remind ourselves of the debates which Coms. Lenin and Stalin had to wage against opportunists who accused the Bolsheviks of substituting the dictatorship of the Party in place of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

First let us see what Com.Lenin says on the distinction between the Party and the proletariat: *".....In the era of capitalism, when the masses of the workers are continuously subjected to exploitation and cannot develop their human potentialities, the most characteristic feature of working-class political parties is that they can embrace only a minority of their class. A political party can comprise only a minority of the class, in the same way as the really class-conscious workers in every capitalist society constitute only a minority of all the workers. That is why we must admit that only this class-conscious minority can guide the broad masses of the workers and lead them."* (LCW, Vol. XXV quoted in Problems of Leninism,p.184)

exposed before the revolutionary masses. Such is the despicable and cunning bourgeois methods adopted by this champion of a 'genuinely proletarian Party!'

Baseless Accusations against the Central Leadership

Before taking up the points raised in his three papers, we think it necessary to deal with some of the points mentioned in his resignation letter. In fact, he had hurled several accusations against the Party that are utterly baseless such as: that there is no democracy inside the organisation; that the leadership resorts to personal attacks when a member raises political points for debate; that Marxist principles are used only as ornaments in the Party; that the Party leadership does not consider the level of people's consciousness; that it fears ideological debates; that it is trying to develop the movement along the same pattern throughout the country; that it was a tactical move on the part of the leadership at the Congress which said that it had no difference with his two papers; that Karnataka and Tamilnadu delegates were isolated at the Congress by the central leadership; that not taking the papers presented by these two state delegates at the Congress to the cadres below while taking the CC's reply was undemocratic, so on and so forth. Since most of the above-mentioned points have already been answered by the SC of West Bengal, we shall deal with only a few of the important ones with the risk of some repetition.

Let us first see the facts concerning the various papers presented at the Congress by Manik and the Karnataka-Tamilnadu delegates and CC's response to them.

Until the eve of the Congress no one in the CC (including the CCM in charge of West Bengal) was aware that Manik had serious differences with the Party's political line and that he was submitting a paper to the Congress. The same was the case with the papers presented by the KK-TN delegates. In fact, there were also a few other papers brought by some delegates on specific points. Some of the delegates informed the CC that their papers were only for the attention of the CC and not for distribution.

The problems with the papers presented at the eleventh hour are

quite obvious. It will be difficult for the delegates from the various states as well as the CC to take up a thorough discussion on the points raised in the papers due to shortage of time for preparation. Besides, there will be terrible pressure on the planned agenda of the Congress since time slots are pre-fixed for the topics for discussion and the amendments of the various state conferences and other Party units. The method envisaged in the Party Constitution is that any PM having a specific amendment or wishes to present an alternative draft document at the Congress should first discuss it in his/her unit. It will then be taken to the state conference according to procedure and will be presented at the Congress if approved by the concerned Conference. Or, alternatively, any PM may send his/her opinions and draft documents to the CC beforehand so as the latter can discuss them and, if it is felt necessary, circulate them to the Party ranks beforehand thereby giving them sufficient time for preparation.

But unfortunately, neither of these methods was followed by Manik and the KK-TN delegates. Even the CC had no time to discuss all the papers presented at the eleventh hour. Hence the matter was placed before an Extended Meeting of the CC (that included all the Secretaries of the SCs) two days prior to the scheduled commencement of the Congress. Manik too attended the Extended Meeting but as he did not insist that his papers be discussed at the Congress, it was decided that only the papers of KK-TN delegates would be taken up for discussion. Accordingly, the CC prepared a reply and all the documents were translated and distributed to the Congress delegates. If Manik wanted his papers to be taken up for discussion, then the CC would have prepared a reply and distributed to the delegates (it came to our notice later that Manik had, in fact, distributed his papers not only to the delegates but also to some non-delegates too while on his way to the Congress venue- highly unbecoming of a secretary of a state committee).

It is a lie to say that the CC had agreed to the views expressed in Manik's papers. It only told him that it was prepared to include only one point regarding Party's work in the working class and the amendment was passed at the Congress. The CC had asked him to place specific amendments based on his papers so as these may be debated at the Congress. But he said that his only major point was concerning work in the working class and that he was not prepared to place amendments on his other points. When such are the facts, to say that it was a tactical

our Party can maintain its character as vanguard of the proletariat, that it can steer around all the rocks and exercise its centralized leadership. Generally speaking it is the correctness of the Party's ideological and political line which determines its character and role, which determines the success or failure of its cause.

According to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, to determine whether a Party is really a proletarian political Party, whether it is the vanguard of the proletariat, one must not merely examine the social origin of its members, but instead one must look at its guiding thought, its programme, and its line. As Lenin has pointed out: ***“whether or not a Party is really a political Party of the workers does not depend solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only this latter determines whether we really have before us a political Party of the proletariat.”*** (V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol.XXXI. “The Second Congress of the Communist International: Speech on Affiliation to the British Labour Party”, pp. 257-258).

And it is very important to remember what Com.Mao said in this regard: ***“The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place.”*** (Quoted in Peking Review, no.2, Jan.7, 1972,p.10)

The Communist Party is a concentrated expression of the basic interests and class will of the proletariat; it serves the interests of the vast majority of the masses of the country and of the world. The character of the Party will remain proletarian so long as it represents the interests of the proletariat and other working people. There can be no other interests for the proletarian Party other than people's interests.

What is the historic mission of the proletariat? It is to completely overthrow the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, to eliminate all systems of exploitation, to struggle for the total emancipation of the proletariat and of all of humanity, that is, to establish communism worldwide. And hence, the Party which undertakes the task of fulfilling this historic mission of the working class in all earnestness and has close ties with the class and the broad masses of the toiling people can be none other than a proletarian Party irrespective of the composition of its members and the leading bodies. To say that a Party cannot be proletarian if it does not have a majority of workers in its ranks is a simplistic,

mean? How can the entire working class lead the revolution? And is the working class a homogeneous mass that can acquire the class consciousness at the same time? These questions were answered by the Marxist teachers in very clear terms.

More than a century ago Marx & Engels, summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, pointed out : ***“against this collective power of the propertied classes the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political Party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes.”***(*The General Council of the First International 1870-1871, Minutes, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 445*)

Mao stressed again and again: ***“If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary Party. Without a revolutionary Party, without a Party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs.”*** (Mao Tsetung, *Selected Works, Vol.IV, “Revolutionary forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression”, p. 284.*).

Then what decides the character of a Communist Party? Do we say it is a working class Party only if working class is physically playing the leadership role in the leading bodies of the Party? Does a Communist Party having predominantly petty-bourgeois-peasant composition in its leading bodies cease to be a Party of the proletariat? How should one come to a correct assessment about the class character of a Communist Party?

The centralized leadership of the Party is essentially the leadership of a correct ideological and political line. As Mao has pointed out: ***“The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.”***(Mao Tsetung quoted in the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (Documents), p.17). For a proletarian Party to be able to undertake the task of leading the revolution, what is essential is that, it uphold a correct Marxist-Leninist line. If it does not, it will not be able to remain in the forefront of history, or fully assume its role as the leading core of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. This is the case because it is only by following a correct Marxist-Leninist line that

move on the part of the CC not to oppose his viewpoints is itself a tactical ploy by Manik to justify his anarchist activities. It is to justify his anarchist method of raising points that were settled by the Congress that he says in his letter thus: ***“The central leadership had not opposed my views in the Congress. So, on the basis of those views, I prepared a separate note for conducting rectification campaign inside the state party.”***

And, instead of adopting a self-critical approach about his own inconsistency and vacillations in placing his views in his concerned Committee or before the higher Committee, and regarding his wrong non-organisational methods in circulating his papers, Manik is alleging that there is no democracy in the Party. In his resignation letter he says: ***“ Marxist principles are not followed here. There is no democracy inside the organisation. The opinion of the leadership is final here. Committee meetings are formal to a great extent.....When I tried to raise these problems, I was repeatedly attacked and planfully isolated. I realised this thing immediately after going to the Congress. CC agreed to distribute my papers to the delegates unwillingly and with great objection.....I understood that CC could not accept my own initiative to raise political debate in good spirit.”*** (Page5, *Resignation Letter*)

It is indeed amusing to see Manik’s acrobatics to prove his concocted lie. On the one hand, he says that the CC had not opposed his views at the Congress while on the other he alleges that he was repeatedly attacked and planfully isolated. Poor Manik! He is yet to master the art of weaving lies in a convincing way. When the Congress had not taken up his papers for discussion, could there be any meaning in saying that the central leadership had not opposed his views in the Congress? When several of the points raised in his earlier papers go against the spirit of the Congress understanding, how could he make them the basis for another paper for the rectification campaign in West Bengal? Anyone can understand that his logic is only meant for circulating his individual views in the Party even though they go against the understanding of the Central POR, S&T, and other documents approved by the Congress.

Now let us see the other allegation of Manik regarding KK and TN papers. Manik knows very well how the discussions had taken place in the Congress. The entire House was involved in the discussion. Sufficient time was provided to the delegates of both the states and they had

presented their viewpoints in a detailed manner. Their papers were translated along with the reply from the CC and distributed to all the delegates before the commencement of the Congress (the Congress schedule was postponed by a day to give more time to the delegates). The discussions on the papers took almost four days and were held in a democratic and comradely atmosphere. The CC did not try to influence the delegates in any manner. Whatever the CC had to say, it presented it directly in the Congress (that the delegates of KK and TN had been discussing with and trying to influence other delegates on their way to the Congress does not bother our anarchist Manik). He knows all these facts. Yet he accuses us of trying to isolate the delegates of KK and TN by saying: *“Political development of cadres is not desirable here. This became amply clear when the KK-TN comrades were isolated by labeling them unfairly. When they raised some debates on Party line the CC unnecessarily lengthened the debate but accused them for spoiling the time of the Congress with unnecessary debates. The atmosphere of conducting political debates was vitiated planfully by the CC.”* (Page5, Resignation Letter)

As explained earlier, the above charge is devoid of all substance and is only advanced to denigrate the Party leadership. It is a desperate attempt to prove that the Party leadership will isolate anyone who expresses a difference with the Party line. In a word, it is an attempt to justify his own irresponsible and cowardly behavior in deserting the movement.

And regarding the decision of the CC not to circulate the papers of KK and TN delegates after the conclusion of the debate at the Congress Manik says: *“The document of the CC negating the two papers of KK and TN presented in the Congress is being distributed to all levels, but their papers are not distributed. This is the practice of democracy in this Party.”* (Page5, Resignation Letter)

It is the general norm in any Communist Party to distribute only the documents and resolutions passed by the Congress and not those rejected by it. It is not correct to permit endless discussions on the matters settled by the Congress. Circulating all the rejected documents in the Party after the Congress would tantamount to reopening the discussion and engaging the Party in futile discussions. Hence there is nothing wrong in circulating the CC Reply which was approved by the Congress. By arguing that it is

was officially pursuing the line of insurrection; the base areas were called Soviets. This line which was based mainly on organizing urban masses particularly working class, saw virtually the entire working class coming under Party's fold directly or indirectly. Thus we find the participation of workers in the leading committees on a considerable scale though, given the semi-feudal semi-colonial nature of the Chinese society where peasantry predominated, it was the peasants who constituted the vast majority of the membership in the Party and the Army. Another factor that contributed to the workers' increasing participation in the revolution in China from the very beginning was the near-total absence of economism and reformism in the working class movement. As pointed out by Mao:

“since there is no economic basis for social reformism in colonial and semi-colonial China as there is in Europe, the whole proletariat with the exception of a few scabs, is most revolutionary” (p.324, MSW III)

Due to the absence of revisionist or any other Marxist-Leninist parties in China, the CPC, as the only revolutionary Party in China, could channelise the working class struggles into the correct revolutionary direction.

Without seeing this difference between the conditions in China and India, Manik's paper goes on to give quotations and statistics (which themselves are quite inflated) to prove the leading role of the workers in the Party and revolution. For instance, it says: *“in China the proletariat had directly participated and led the revolution in many ways. By 1927, the whole Chinese working class was organized under the leadership of the vanguard, i.e., CPC - 28 lakh workers were then organized in Trade Unions led by the CPC.”*

To conclude that since we were not able to involve the workers in the revolution as in China, our line itself is wrong or that our Party is not a working class Party, only shows Manik's dogmatic understanding of Marxism and his idealistic conception of the Communist Party.

It is the ideological-political line that determines the character of a Communist Party

When we say that any revolution in the era of imperialism cannot become victorious if it is not led by the working class, what does it

masses thereby integrating themselves with workers and peasants. And these intellectuals played an important role in formation of the CPC in 1921 and in spreading Marxism-Leninism among the mass of the Chinese workers who were active in anti-imperialist movements at that time. Assessing the role played by the youth on the 20th anniversary of the May 4th movement, Mao says thus:

“What role have China’s young people played since the May 4th Movement? In a way they have played a vanguard role—a fact recognized by everybody except the die-hards. What is a vanguard role? It means taking the lead and marching in the forefront of the revolutionary ranks. In the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ranks of the Chinese people, there is a contingent composed of the country’s young intellectuals and students. It is a contingent of considerable size and, even if the many who have given their lives are not included, it now numbers several million. It is an army on one of the fronts against imperialism and feudalism, and an important army too. But this army is not enough; we cannot defeat the enemy by relying on it alone, for when all is said and done it is not the main force. What then is the main force? The workers and peasants. Our young intellectuals and students must go among the workers and peasants, who make up 90 per cent of the population, and mobilize and organize them. Without this main force of workers and peasants, we cannot win the fight against imperialism and feudalism; we cannot win it by relying only on the contingent of young intellectuals and students. Therefore, the young intellectuals and students throughout the country must unite with the broad masses of workers and peasants and become one with them, and only then can a mighty force be created” (p. 245, MSW Vol. II, Orientation of the Youth Movement)

And he gives a guideline on how to assess the role of youth from their practice:

“How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary.” (p.246, Ibid)

For almost 15 years up to the Tsunyi Conference in 1935, the Party

undemocratic to circulate the CC Reply without the minority documents after the Congress, that is, equating the document that had been approved by the Congress with those rejected by it, Manik had revealed his anarchic thinking and his desire to transform the Party into a Debating Club.

It is precisely due to such an understanding that Manik had begun discussions on his papers immediately after the completion of the Congress. Some of the questions that were settled in the Congress in the course of discussions on the Central POR such as economism, relationship between the forest and plains, and between the various zones of struggle; tactical counteroffensive campaign, etc., were again raised giving his own interpretation. Some of the accepted points in the basic documents of the Party were again brought for debate inside the Party. While the Congress had identified subjectivism as the first and foremost among the various major alien class trends in the Party which served as the ideological source for most of the wrong trends, Manik concludes that spontaneity is the major obstacle for developing the class struggle in West Bengal.

Thus even after the Congress Manik does not want to implement its decisions and understanding. Instead, he wants to propagate his own views and demands a fresh discussion on his political differences—in short, he wants to convert the Party into a debating society. He had neither participated actively in the democratic process prior to the Congress nor is willing to follow centralism after the Congress. If Manik’s anarchist views are implemented, it will render the Party into an ineffective body, weaken its unity of will and action, destroy its fighting capacity, and ultimately lead to the liquidation of the Party.

Now let us see what are the ideological-political points he had raised in his three papers – the two papers distributed at the Congress entitled, “Can we advance the Indian revolution without the leadership of the working class?” and “Political struggle and political-theoretical work is key to our success” as well as the one presented at plenum entitled, “Spontaneity is the main obstacle to develop class struggle in West Bengal”. Along with these three papers we will also touch upon some points he had mentioned in his resignation letter as it is the latest summing up of his political understanding and assessment of our Party’s line and practice. There is a repetition of some points in all the papers and his letter. However, all these papers have a common underlying thread or a line of thinking namely, that the Party does not have confidence on the

leadership of the working class, that the entire practice of our Party is based on economist understanding, that it does not have an understanding of class struggle, that Marxism is seen as a dogma and not a science, and so on.

Let us look at the major points in each of his papers separately.

First, let us see the arguments in his paper “Can we advance Indian revolution without the leadership of the working class?”

Manik’s arguments in his paper on working class leadership

We have no dispute with the paper so far as it stresses on one important aspect, i.e., the need for increasing the working class weightage in the composition of the Party, which is presently predominantly petty-bourgeois, and peasant. Nor can any Marxist dispute the historical role of the working class as the only vanguard class or the characteristic qualities of the working class, or the role of the working class in Russian and Chinese revolutions, or regarding the guidance given by the Marxist teachers in this regard. It is an established fact that even the leadership for the bourgeois democratic revolutions in the era of imperialism can be provided only by the working class if these revolutions are to become victorious. While all these are indisputable, the actual problem with Manik’s paper lies in treating the question in a reactionary, deterministic, simplistic, abstract and academic manner.

1. Working class movement is made into a precondition for developing agrarian struggle and it is even theorised that we should not commence work in the rural areas without the working class being organised in the major cities of India. The revolutionary role of the peasantry and the importance of agrarian struggle are underplayed without taking into account the concrete conditions in semi-feudal, semi-colonial India.

2. The question of physical leadership of the working class is counterpoised to the ideological leadership of MLM in the Party. It gives one-sided or exclusive stress to physical leadership of the working class even in the initial stages of the New Democratic Revolution.

3. It fails to see the differences in the situation between pre-revolutionary China in the initial stage of revolution and present-day India

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Lack of clarity on the above Leninist understanding regarding forms of struggle and forms of organisation naturally took a heavy toll in terms of losses of able organizers in the urban areas. We lost a total of about 150 cadres, including some of the most talented working class agitators, propagandists and organizers starting from P&T leader com. Benjamin in 1982 to popular leaders of the RTC workers such as comrades Rasool and Ganganna in the last two to three years. In Singareni Coal Belt, we had lost some of the ablest working class organizers over the past 15 years.

Heavy losses of cadres is not something unnatural in periods of “white terror” in the urban centers as the experiences of the world revolution, particularly of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, show. But our own shortcomings in understanding on building the working class movement and Party organization in the working class, in strictly implementing the proper tactics, proletarian work style and tech precautions, had contributed much to the losses. Thus we suffered a setback in most of the urban centers after waging many a heroic struggle.

Experience of China

China’s history presents a totally different picture and the most important distinguishing feature of the Chinese revolution in the early years is that it pursued the Russian model of insurrection in cities. But even in China it should be remembered it was intellectuals who were the first to be awakened in the democratic revolutionary movement.

As comrade Mao said: “*In the Chinese democratic revolutionary movement, it was the intellectuals who were the first to awaken. This was clearly demonstrated both in the Revolution of 1911 and in the May 4th Movement, and in the days of the May 4th Movement the intellectuals were more numerous and more politically conscious than in the days of the Revolution of 1911. But the intellectuals will accomplish nothing if they fail to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants.*” (P.238, MSW vol. II, ‘The May 4th movement’)

These intellectuals became aware of the importance of studying and disseminating Marxism-Leninism as well as of the historic mission of the proletariat. They began to propagate Marxism among the broad

working class in a big way on account of the weakness of our subjective forces and the specific objective condition of the working class in our country where the politics of revisionism and bourgeois reformism are deeply entrenched in the working class movement. In fact, from the later half of the 1980s, our concentration had increased on the working class in AP- whether it is in Singareni coal belt, Warangal city, Hyderabad or several other towns in AP. A wave of working class struggles broke out well until the mid-1990s in these urban centres. In the region of North Telangana alone, we were working in about 35 towns until 1997, and formed squads in sub-urban centres specifically with the purpose of organising the workers clandestinely. But due to our inconsistency in the follow-up, the weakness of our Party organisers in the task of Party building, and the relatively greater difficulties involved in the work in the working class, recruitment from the working class was not much when compared to that from the peasantry, students, youth and women. To deny these serious efforts to build a working class movement and looking only at the negative aspects is to deny or deliberately distort our history.

We must, of course, admit that there were some serious shortcomings in our work in the urban areas, particularly in the working class. We failed in building the working class movement with a long-term perspective of not exposing our active members and working in a strictly clandestine manner and building a broad democratic workers' movement. That is, we failed in combining the illegal with the legal, based on Leninist guidelines on combining the various forms of struggles and the relations between legal and clandestine work:

“ the forms of organization should change, the ‘cells’ should adopt flexible forms in such a manner that their expansion will not occur at the expense of the cells themselves but rather of their legal ‘periphery’, etc.”

“ The legal organizations are the points of support which allow taking to the masses the ideas of clandestine cells. That is to say that we modify the form of influence to the objective of which the prior influences continue in the sense of clandestine orientation.”

“By the form of the organizations the clandestine ‘accommodates itself’ to the legal. By the content of our Party’s work, legal work will ‘accommodate itself’ to the clandestine ideas.” (Lenin, Vol. 18, p.

and comes to misleading conclusions based on the China experience. It is also silent about the experiences of Peru, Philippines, Turkey and Nepal, and particularly the latter where PW is advancing by leaps and bounds though there is no physical leadership of the working class.

4. It links rectification campaign to only one aspect— developing the proletarian base for our Party and movement and says that our Party cannot become a strong proletarian Party even if we conduct rectification campaign a thousand times.

5. It tries to counter pose working class leadership to Party leadership. This is brought out even more clearly in Manik’s resignation letter.

6. The concept of work in urban areas seems to stress on open political propaganda somewhat akin to that practised by the Legal Marxists in Russia. There is no consideration of the limitations imposed by white terror on the political mobilisation of the masses.

7. Class struggle is almost exclusively equated with political struggle and none of the struggles on economic demands is treated as part of class struggle.

Finally, the essence of the paper can be summed up as: Prepare the working class by concentrating our forces in the cities. Build the Party, the Army and the United Front based on this working class movement in the cities. The armed struggle of the peasantry can follow later after building up the class struggle of the proletariat on a considerable scale and recruiting a good number of cadres from the working class. In short, what it means is shifting of our forces to cities; it goes against the line of protracted people’s war.

Now let us see the above in some more detail.

The title of the paper itself is misleading and provocative as it poses a question that is long back settled in history and that no revolutionary will ever deny. All our Party’s documents speak of how the Indian proletariat should play the leadership role of the Indian revolution.

The paper quotes from two of the basic documents of the Party - Strategy and Tactics and Central POR. Saying that there is no separate chapter for review of our work among the working class, it concludes: *“It seems it is a serious lack of theoretical understanding on the actual*

role that Indian working class can play in our revolution and on the indispensability of the leadership of the working class in the NDR. Not an underestimation but almost a negation of the importance of working class leadership in our concept has developed from our actual practice over decades.”(P.1)

The paper also states that “*a conception has developed among our Party and the broad ML camp that we can advance our revolution without the direct leadership of the working class. That working class leadership means actually the leadership of the Communist Party. That proletarian leadership can be exercised only through the Party carrying or nourishing the proletarian ideology. That proletarian leadership means the leadership of its ideology, not the physical leadership of working class.*”

A Brief Review of our work in the Working Class

It is true that even after 30 years of formation of our Party, “*the Indian working class is itself completely defenceless while bearing the brunt of the ruling class attacks in the name of globalisation*” and that “*they are still almost totally confined, in the revisionist and reactionary trade unions of various hues.*” The vast majority of the workers are still confined to economism and legalism, i.e., in bourgeois trade unionism, which prevents them ideologically, and politically to play their vanguard role in the Indian revolution. All this is true. And this is a feature, which we do not find in pre-Revolutionary China. We shall deal with this later. But it is a deliberate distortion to say that there is a serious lack of theoretical understanding in our Party on the actual role that Indian working class can play in our revolution and on the indispensability of the leadership role of working class in the NDR. There is no negation of the role of the working class in leading the Indian revolution conceptually as is being alleged.

Our Party had always taken the guidelines given by the great Marxist teachers regarding the leading role of the working class. In fact, when the CPI was formed in 1920s, it began to work mainly among the workers. It built a vast trade union network with membership running to several lakhs of workers. The Party led several working class struggles – both economic and political, and became a force to reckon with. It was, however, due to the right opportunist line pursued by the Party leadership which did not draw up a line of protracted people’s war and wage armed

struggle in the country side, and its lopsided stress on the work in the urban areas based mainly on right opportunist understanding that it failed to advance the Indian revolution. After it turned into an essentially revisionist Party and split into the CPI and the CPI (M), a sizeable section of the organised working class continued to be largely under their influence and was confined to purely economic struggles. Thus, in the absence of a revolutionary Party, the working class could not play the historic role assigned to it by the objective laws of social development and, instead of leading the revolution, it got bogged down in the mire of reformism and economism.

Such has been the situation when the Naxalbari upsurge broke out and rapidly spread to several parts of the country. During the period of setback after 1972, after our party in AP had summed up the past and corrected the left sectarian understanding, there was a wave of working class struggles but we could not play a significant role due to our weak subjective force. Our Party then had a wrong understanding about building the mass organisations and mass movements when it made a qualitative rupture with the revisionist CPI (M) and formed a separate Central Committee in 1969. It rejected the formation of mass organisations not only in the working class but also among other sections. Its exclusive stress was on armed struggle and rejected all other forms of struggle. This Left Adventurist tactics during the late 1960s and early 70s led to a shrinking of our mass base not only in the working class but among other sections of the people as well.

Our Party in AP recommenced the work of building mass organisations among various sections of the people. It concentrated on working openly among the students, youth and intellectuals in the beginning and secretly among peasantry and the workers. Our Party was quite weak at that time in terms of cadre strength but even with the then existing strength, we tried to intervene to the extent possible in the wave of strikes that rocked the country during that period and organised solidarity programmes by mobilizing other sections of people. As there was wide spread sympathy for Naxalbari politics among students and intellectuals, the concentration of the Party was more on those sections in urban areas. But the Party’s objective has always been to enter the working class along with building a movement among student-youth and launching armed struggle in the countryside. But we could not enter the

increased.

But due to the existence of the trends of subjectivism and spontaneity in the Party, we failed to concentrate on taking these struggles to a higher stage and to develop corresponding forms of organization; to strengthen the mass organizations, build people's militia, isolating the enemy and uniting the people to the broadest extent possible, and to develop the united front. And due to the sectarian trend in the mass organizations, wrong methods were adopted in solving the issues of the people and resolving the disputes of occupied lands; unnecessary punishments were given which resulted in loss of confidence of the middle and rich peasantry and in some cases, even the poor, on the Party to some extent. Legalism in the Party and mass organizations was also one reason that led to the weakening of the mass organizations and their leadership during repression. Since we did not undertake a deep study of the social, political and economic changes that took place in NT since 1970, and a concrete class analysis, we could not understand the attitudes and issues of the various classes in a comprehensive manner and hence could not formulate appropriate tactics. Although we took up the economic and political issues that had emanated from the changes in the social conditions from time to time in a spontaneous way, we lagged behind in understanding the responses of the various classes due to the lack of objective understanding. Consequently, even the forms of struggle that we had taken up in Warangal based on some degree of objectivity could not be applied in other districts.

During this entire period, although we mobilized the masses on the economic and political issues and built a mass movement, we failed to make the people understand the character of the state and its policies; and how feudalism, imperialism and the CBB are the real obstacles for resolving the basic problems of the people and the targets of the Indian revolution. We did not make sufficient effort to make the people grasp concretely in the course of the struggles that NDR is the solution to their basic problems. As a result, economist trends developed to some extent among the people. This affected the people's active role and involvement in the revolution. This became an obstacle to some extent in advancing the struggles of the people by defying the state's growing repression.

After 1990, our movement began to further strengthen in AP. It

He further says:

"The mere presentation of the question, dictatorship of the Party or dictatorship of the class, dictatorship(Party) of the leaders or dictatorship (Party) of the masses? testifies to the most incredible and hopeless confusion of thought.....Everyone knows that the masses are divided into classes.....; that usually, and in the majority of the cases, at least in modern civilized countries, classes are led by political parties; that political parties, as a general rule, are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members, who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders.... To go so far...as to counterpose, in general, dictatorship of the masses to dictatorship of the leaders is ridiculously absurd and stupid." (Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder, quoted in Problems of Leninism, P194)

The leadership role of the Party can be ensured only through correct mutual relations between itself and the broad masses of the people. The confidence of the masses on the Party cannot be acquired at one stroke but through prolonged and painstaking work based on a correct policy and on its ability to convince the masses through their own experience of the correctness of the Party's policies.

To sum up the debate on the leadership of the Party, we quote here Com.Stalin's words regarding the distinction between the Party and the broad masses of the people:

" The distinction between the advanced detachment and the rest of the working class, between Party members and non-Party people, cannot disappear until classes disappear; it will exist as long as the ranks of the proletariat continue to be replenished with former members of other classes, as long as the working class as a whole is not in a position to rise to the level of the advanced detachment. But the Party would cease to be a party if this distinction developed into a gap, if the Party turned in on itself and became divorced from the non-Party masses. The Party cannot lead the class if it is not connected with the non-Party masses, if there is no bond between the Party and the non-Party masses, if these masses do not accept its leadership, if the Party enjoys no moral and political credit among the masses." (Problems of Leninism, p. 100)

It is, no doubt, a serious weakness of our Party that we could not recruit members from the working class, that our attempts to build a

working class movement have not achieved a significant breakthrough, that we do have some shortcomings in understanding regarding the work in working class and in urban areas in general. But to theorise it and conclude that conceptually we think that we can advance our revolution without the direct leadership of the working class is a gross distortion of facts. Our conception is that leadership is primarily ideological but it is the working class that can own this ideology with full conviction and more firmly carry out the tasks of revolution than any other class in our society. The greater the number of Party members from the working class the more effectively the Party can implement its line and more steadfastly it can advance the revolution. On this there need not be any doubt. With the growth of our work in urban areas particularly in the working class in a planned manner, the recruitment is bound to grow and improve the quality of the Party.

The 9th Congress of our Party has reviewed this aspect and decided to undertake a thoroughgoing study of the conditions of various sections in the urban areas with special emphasis on the working class, on the tactics to be adopted, the areas and sectors to be selected for special concentration, and so on. A detailed perspective paper and guide lines for work in urban areas were also planned to be brought out based on a thorough evaluation of our urban work till date. This aspect will no doubt bring about a major breakthrough in our work in the urban areas and increase the recruitment from the working class in our Party and their involvement in the revolution. Manik knows this very well but chose to leave the Party with the charge that it is not a working class Party. Even if we leave out the hidden reasons for his sudden departure and go by his word, it only shows his lack of seriousness, his obsession with his own thesis, and his petty bourgeois impetuosity to get things done overnight.

We repeat that in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country such as India, the direct leadership of the working class should be understood in a relative sense. The participation of the working class in the leading bodies should increase with the further advance of the people's war and the growing ferment in the cities; but its leadership over the vast masses of the people will be mainly ideological. This point should not be overlooked by the Marxist Leninist Party. This can be easily understood if we keep in mind the experiences of neighbouring Nepal where 90% of the population is rural-based and the working class itself is extremely weak in numbers-around 2% of the country's population. The CPN(M) is a

Bai and Sammu. There were big protest movements against fake encounter killings of Dr. narayana, in Warangal, Ravi and Seenu in Singareni and Narasimloo in Indalvaiin Nizamabad.

The long-pending demand of the people of Telangana for a separate state of Telangana came to the fore once again in 1997. Our Party drew up a policy on this issue and intervened actively. The demand for separate democratic Telangana as part of the NDR had mobilized vast sections of the masses into the movement for a separate Telangana.

Sectional movements centred mainly on the issues of self-respect for Dalits, special issues of adivasis related to the 6th Schedule and implementation of 1/70 Act, broke out during this period. There were also struggles on the issues of Banjaras and several economic issues of the various sections of people. Though we intervened quite late in these movements, we had declared our stand and expressed our support to the people's aspirations in these movements. We tried to orient these movements towards the NDR to the extent possible. Gram Rajya Committees (Revolutionary People's Committees) were formed as organs of people's political power after the 1995 conference and they provided legitimacy to people's political power. They gave some experience to the Party and the people. Under the leadership of these committees the people of the entire village collectively exercised political power in the village and also took up development programmes. These new forms of struggle and organization helped enhance the people's consciousness. In the villages where the GRCs were formed, the people had generally boycotted elections since 1994 and undermined the Panchayati system and the presence of the bourgeois parties to some extent.

During this period our Party built a massive movement around the people's economic and political demands and rallied them round the organs of people's power while countering the severe state repression. It broadened the mass organizations during this upswing in the mass movement. Various struggles continued under the leadership of the mass organizations. Hundreds of mass organization units were formed in every district and functioned actively. Along with the development of the mass organizations the Party organization also developed significantly. Recruitment in the squads increased by 50% and the number of squads

from 1990 and concentrated on these issues in 1995-96. In 1990 itself, we organized rallies and bands against the low voltage issue. There are torch light processions and demonstrations against the signing of the GATT on April 18, 1993 and against the demolition of the Babri Masjid by the Hindu fascist forces. The struggle for water for irrigation and remunerative prices, and against low voltage issue, adulterated fertilizers, pesticides, seeds and exorbitant interest rates charged by the finance companies, was further broadened in 1995-96. Thousands of peasants were mobilized into these struggles. Agitations were organized in all districts in NT, particularly in Warangal, on lifting the ban on our Party along with these issues. People were mobilized in at least 120 mandals simultaneously during this period. There was considerable effort in Warangal district in consolidating and advancing the movement by mobilizing the masses on peasant issues until 1999. By taking up these issues faced by the poor, middle and rich peasantry, our Party's base in the masses had increased. On some occasions, the struggles on these issues had turned militant and took the form of attacks on electricity board offices, market-yards and traders. The peasantry achieved several victories in these struggles.

In the post-1995 period, working class struggles broke out on a big scale. Singareni workers waged struggles for Wage Board, against privatization of mines and encounters; the RTC workers against the privatization of the RTC; and the workers of Azam Zahi Mill in Warangal took up joint actions for several months against the closure of the Mill. The working class struggles were waged jointly by uniting all the workers of the various TUs to the extent possible. That is why the struggles of Singareni and RTC workers scored significant victories as the government had to bow to their demands. The struggle of the workers of Azam Zahi mill continued for a long time.

In the women's front, though there was no big struggles during this period, there was wide propaganda and meetings were held on the issues faced by women. We concentrated on these issues in the villages. Struggles were taken up on student issues throughout NT especially in Nizamabad. Thus struggles of the various sections of the people were organized under the Party leadership. There was widespread agitation against the atrocities by the police on Krishnaveni, Gangamani, Bharati

proletarian Party despite the fact that there are hardly any workers in their leading bodies since it represents the interests of the vast masses of the people of Nepal. The rapid advances made by the CPN(M) is due to its correct application of MLM to the concrete conditions in Nepal. The proletarian leadership is mainly ideological. The same would be true of several other countries, where the proletariat is undeveloped or in the nascent stage of development.

By raising the point about physical leadership of the working class, what Manik actually is aiming at is: to divert the Party's work from the rural to the urban areas in the main; to concentrate on the work in the working class front first and, after recruiting sufficient cadre from the working class, to develop the movement in the countryside (how long will this preparation last he does not answer) - in essence, to change the political line of the Party itself. This becomes clearer still in his other papers and his resignation letter. This we shall analyse in the following pages in more detail.

The paper's Metaphysical and Deterministic views on rectification

The IXth Congress of our Party had identified the major weaknesses in our Party's understanding and practice, the alien class trends that are at the root of these weaknesses and failures, and gave a call to the entire Party to come out of these trends and weaknesses by conducting a thorough going rectification campaign. The deep self-critical evaluation made by the central leadership and by the Congress regarding the failures and weaknesses of the Party, testifies to its proletarian outlook and the identity of its interests with those of the vast masses of the Indian people. It had followed the under mentioned guidelines given by Lenin for evaluating its weaknesses:

“The attitude of a political Party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the Party is and how it in practice fulfils its obligations towards its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it - that is the earmark for a serious Party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it

should educate and train the class and then the masses.”{Lenin, Collected Works, Russ. Ed., Vol. XXV, p. 200).

How this frank and fearless admission of the failures and weaknesses by the Party was utilized by Manik in an opportunistic way for his narrow petty-bourgeois interests is another matter which we shall deal further on.

The point here is, Manik tries to pooh-pooh the attempts of the Party to rectify itself of the alien-class tends by asserting that “our Party cannot become a strong proletarian Party even if we conduct rectification campaigns a thousand times without developing the proletarian base for our Party and the movement.”

Further in his paper, he says: “Working class struggle is the real testing ground for developing communist cadres, communist ideals and communist principles. It is mere idealism to think of building up good communists and a strong proletarian Party divorced from the proletarian class struggle.”

In his letter written to two CCMs a few days after his resignation from Party membership of the Party, Manik wrote: “About rectification campaign my position is clear. It is not possible to rectify the non-proletarian trends without changing the petty-bourgeois class basis of the Party. If it is possible, then working class Party and working class leadership should be regarded as useless for revolution not an indispensable condition for it. Here also my outlook is diametrically opposite to the Party.” (Letter of 6/2/02).

The above-quoted passages from Manik’s document and letter, arrive at two important conclusions: one, that it is to impossible to achieve rectification of the wrong trends in the Party, even if we try a thousand times, without changing the petty bourgeois class basis of the Party; and two, it is only through working class struggle that communist cadres, ideals and principles can be developed and a strong proletarian Party can be built. Since these conclusions have an important bearing on Party building and the direction of the Indian revolution, let us deal with these in some depth.

Firstly, can any Marxist say that the class origins of a Party member decide his/her character all the life? Is declassification a myth and mere

The Present Situation in NT – Our Immediate Tasks

At a time when the offensive of the state and central governments, which began in 1991, was being repulsed and the movement was being consolidated in AP, North Telangana region was bifurcated from AP in 1995 and was constituted into a special zone. The first conference was held in October 1995 and a state-level Special Zonal Committee was formed.

After the conference, the movement made good progress in the political, organizational, military and mass fronts. It gave new experiences to the revolutionary movement in India by mobilizing the masses of various classes and sections in NT.

Poor and landless peasants occupied the lands and plantations of the landlords. Adivasis began to cultivate the land in the reserve forest. Middle and rich peasants waged struggles for remunerative prices and against the sale of spurious and sub-standard fertilizers, pesticides, seeds and against the exorbitant interest rates charged by the finance companies that led to the suicides of the peasants. The working class fought heroically against illegal lock-outs, work overload, for Wage Board and other economic demands. Women rose up against the police atrocities on women. Separate Telangana movement brought the problems faced by the people of the region in a comprehensive manner. We participated actively in this movement.

By 1994, overcoming the state repression, we began to till the land occupied from the landlords in 1990, and by 1996 about 40% of the lands were cultivated. In 1996-97, several landlords bowed to the people’s demands and agreed to hand over their lands to the people. Under the guidance of the Party, the poor and landless peasantry distributed these lands among themselves. The poor and landless peasantry under the leadership of the Sangam tilled some lands. Some landlords sold their lands at cheaper prices to the rich and middle peasantry which led to fights among the peasants over the occupied lands in some places. During this period, adivasis occupied the forest land once again in a big way. Our Party began to take up the issues of the middle and rich peasantry

and Parimal Dasgupta. Com. CM waged an uncompromising struggle against these wrong formulations. For instance, in his speech introducing the POR at the 8th Party Congress in 1970, Com. CM said: **“So the Centrists raised the questions of trade unions and ‘working class-based Party’ when armed struggle is to be developed by relying on the peasantry. We fought Asit Sen and company on these issues and threw them out of the Party.”** (Page 23, The Historic Turning Point, A Liberation Anthology, Vol. III)

And here is what he says about the viewpoints advocated by the State Electricity Board Employees Union leader Parimal Dasgupta:

“Parimal Dasgupta and others have formed a rival Co-ordination Committee on the state level and have also published a document. In the document they have stated that certain allegedly erroneous trends, conceptions and deviations have appeared among the communist revolutionaries, and have also described what these errors were.....They have stated that work in the cities is being neglected and that there is a trend which refuses to participate in trade union activities.....”

“the All India Co-ordination Committee (AICCCR) has laid the utmost stress on building underground party organisations. Parimal Dasgupta and his fellow-travellers chose not to criticise this stand of the AICCCR openly and preferred to lay stress on the work of mass organisations instead, that is, on open work.” (On Some Current Political And Organisational Problems, Com. Charu Majumdar, Page 223-24, Ibid.)

We appeal to you, dear Manik, to once again reread the pages from our glorious history. You are treading the same path of the neo-revisionists and armed revisionists and are getting bogged down ever deeper into the mire of the “phase theory”. In the name of preparing the working class to lead the revolution, you are actually giving up the politics of armed struggle and Agrarian Revolution. Where your journey will end up is anybody’s guess. Open your eyes before you reach the bottom of the dark abyss!

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rhetoric? Do the petty bourgeoisie elements who join the Party remain petty bourgeois for ever? Are rectification campaigns futile exercises that bring no basic change in the outlook of the non-proletarian classes? Such are the serious philosophic questions that come to one’s mind after reading Manik’s conclusions. These conclusions arise from a dogmatic understanding of the science of M-L-M. We fully agree with Manik’s words when he says in his letter of Feb. 6th : “My understanding of Marxism is basically different to that of the Party and vice versa. So it will be an useless exercise to rectify each other.”

And charging that the Party is “led by petty bourgeois leadership and petty bourgeois ideology” he says in his resignation letter: “here Marxism is seen as a dogma not as a science to be developed continuously.....” and so on.

Indeed, dear Manik, your understanding of Marxism is basically different to that of the Party. And it is a good thing that you had realized at last how useless an exercise it is to rectify us since we are prisoners of our class origins. We are doomed to remain petty bourgeois all our lives; the ideology of MLM, however much we may study and use it to remould ourselves, will be a helpless weapon to change our class outlooks and values; the class struggles in which we participate and lead, and the armed agrarian revolution cannot help us in steeling ourselves and getting rid of our weaknesses (for in your eyes these are not class struggles at all). If such is the way you want to develop Marxism as a science continuously, we prefer to remain as dogmatic Marxists.

The truth, dear Manik, is that our understanding of Marxism flows from its living connection with concrete realities and not from a few formulas learnt by rote. You would have realized this if you had read CC’s rectification circulars with an open mind and grasped the essence of the Central POR which the IXth congress had adopted.

It was based on the scientific understanding of MLM and its concrete application to the specific conditions our country and of our movement, that the circulars issued by the CC in May 2001 had analysed the basis for the emergence of alien class trends in our Party and the methods to overcome them. We are quoting at length from the first circular on rectification campaign as this would enable all Party members to understand the problem objectively and to contrast the negative, subjective

and non-communist approach of Manik with that of the Party.

“There are three main reasons for the emergence and persistence of alien class trends in a proletarian Party and this is true in the case of our Party too.

“i) Alien Class Composition of the Party

“The overwhelming majority of our Party membership, including the leadership, hails from non-proletarian classes, particularly the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie. Those from the working class form a very low percentage of our Party membership. This is a principal weakness of our Party’s composition and recruitment.

“This aspect, of course, is rooted in the social background of our country - semi-feudal, semi-colonial nature of our society with peasantry constituting the vast majority of the population..... the elements hailing from the peasantry, in general, carry within them the distinct traits of their class individualism, a lack of organisational sense, sectarian tendencies, narrowness of vision and influence of feudal ideology, culture, customs, habits and values such as patriarchy

“The other major component of the party’s class composition is the petty bourgeoisie which has its own distinct class traits such as: selfishness, liberalism, individualism egoism – swaying to extremes, lack of organisational discipline, idealism and one-sided approach to things. It is easily influenced by bourgeois ideology and imperialist culture and values

“We should increase the recruitment into the Party from the working class. No doubt, peasantry will remain the principal source for our recruitment for a long time to come. Yet we can and must increase the recruitment from the working class through conscious effort. We have to undertake a deeper review of our failure in this respect and strive to overcome it at the earliest.”

“(ii) Influence of the ruling class ideologies

“Feudal and bourgeois ideologies are quite deeply rooted in the minds of the people in our semi-feudal, semi-colonial society. Feudal backwardness provides the fertile ground for the prevalence and growth of such tendencies like bureaucracy, sectarianism, patriarchal values, and so on.....

For the present let us see how he envisions the future of Indian revolution :

“Can we imagine a rise of our working class throughout the country in class struggle. That is, in struggle against the whole ruling class and its protector government, against the whole system? Can we imagine what impact it could have on our revolution on the other strata of the people, even on the task of organizing the peasantry? Can we imagine how much strength our revolution will gain when thousands of class conscious workers will come forward and join revolution to fulfill their historic task? Can we imagine an army of the working class itself? No. at least our Central POR and other draft documents could not envisage such a glorious role of Indian working class.”

Inspiring words indeed! But what they mean in actual practice is that we should first of all concentrate all our forces on the working class and think of organising the peasantry only later on. How else can we imagine a rise of our working class “throughout the country in class struggle?”(emphasis ours) How could thousands of class conscious workers come forward and join revolution without painstaking work with a long term plan and deployment of adequate forces for work in the working class? We are confident that such a thing is bound to happen in the course of advancement of our people’s war but it would be utopian to think that such a thing could happen spontaneously without the planned deployment of a large number of good cadres in the cities with a conscious plan to break the vice-like grip of the revisionist and bourgeois leadership in the Trade Unions. Manik does not spell out how we can go about in building the working class movement in the cities. We also do not think this should be a pre condition for developing the armed struggle or organising the peasantry in the country side. It is also difficult for us to imagine an army of the working class before our people’s war reaches a qualitative stage. Manik’s fascination for the line of insurrection (though he does not openly say so) makes it possible for him to imagine such an army in place of the peasant army in our semi-feudal India.

These arguments are nothing new in the history of the Indian Communist Movement. The entire orientation of the undivided CPI and later the CPI(M) had been precisely this. Even at the time of the formation of the CPI(ML), such arguments were raised by leaders like Asit Sen

themselves by adopting the proletarian world outlook? Are you scared that your whole logic would collapse like a house of cards?

Bidding farewell to agrarian revolution—the essence of Manik’s paper

To sum up, by confining the question of developing “communist cadres, ideals, and principles” to the working class struggles alone, Manik has tried to relegate the agrarian struggle to a secondary position and underplay the importance of the struggle of the peasantry. In the concluding part of his paper on the working class, Manik comes out more clearly on how and where to concentrate our forces: “the New Democratic Revolution in our country can only advance under the leadership of the proletariat. This leadership role Indian proletariat can play only when it is organized in class struggle throughout the country, at least in the major industrial centers of India. Our Party can only be a strong proletarian Party by developing the class struggle of working class in various parts of the country and drawing the advanced elements from it in huge numbers.”

No doubt, we have to organize the working class into class struggles throughout the country or at least in major industrial cities. But is it possible to undertake this task today with our weak subjective force? And if we do take it up today, where do we actually land up? From guerilla zones and prospective base areas to the urban centers !! That is what Manik wants the Party to do. Like a typical petty-bourgeois elite, Manik underplays the role of the peasantry and the armed agrarian revolutionary war. He forgets that we are making revolution in semi-feudal, semi-colonial India and not in some European country.

And Manik’s petty-bourgeois romanticism becomes glaringly evident in his vision of the future where he sees an uprising of working class and laments that the Party leadership is incapable of visualizing this (due to its supposed narrow and distorted conception of workers’ class struggle). In our answer to his second paper entitled “political struggle and political-theoretical work is the key to our success”, we shall deal with the question of workers’ class struggle and Manik’s accusation against the Party that it sees “class struggle as essentially economic struggle, which seems to be mainly responsible for the rise of economism in our struggle.”

“As the Party cadres interact continuously with the various classes and sections in the society, they are likely to be under the ideological influence of these classes and the values prevalent in the society. This is true even if the Party cadres hail from the working class, let alone the other motive forces of revolution. It requires a long period of getting tempered in the class struggle and ideology in order to change the outlook and ways of thinking of the Party cadres. We have to pay enough attention to educate the cadres in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and to guide them concretely in their day-to-day work based on the concrete application of that ideology, otherwise, the alien class trends are bound to reappear time and again and become even stronger.

“(iii) Failure in the Ideological Remoulding of the Cadres

“Remoulding the outlook of the cadres through ideological-political education, regarding organisational methods and basic principles, and through direct participation in class struggle, is the most important factor which serves to check the rise of alien class trends in the Party.....

“Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in all over revolutionary work. But there is no use of ideology if it is not linked to the class struggle.

“The emergence of alien class trends in our Party is mainly due to the shortcomings in our ideological-political work i.e., poor grasp of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, lack of proper concepts regarding party’s organisational principles, Party’s lines and policies, and due to inexperience in class struggle. Hence conscious effort should be made by the leadership to rectify the weaknesses and shortcomings arising from alien class backgrounds through constant remoulding of the outlook of the Party cadres. Otherwise wrong ideas will collect like dust in the Party which obscure our goal and direction of our struggle. Hence rectification must be carried out regularly through the method of criticism, self-criticism and by remoulding the ideological outlook of the cadres.”

We, of course, doubt if you could ever be convinced by our above mentioned analysis. How could you when you had closed your mind and eyes to concrete realities and, ostrich-like, placed your head in the sands of dogmatic Marxism (if at all it could be still called as Marxism), and proclaimed openly that it is a useless exercise on our part to rectify you? (We know of course, that in the heart of your hearts, you think that there

is nothing to be rectified in you.) And according to your perverted logic, if the petty bourgeois elements succeed in rectifying themselves, then it would imply that the working class Party and working class leadership are useless for revolution!! From which “Marxist” literature have you dished out this logic?

And now let us see the second major point that Manik had raised with regard to rectification in his document on the working class. He asserts that the real testing ground for developing communist cadres, communist ideals and communist principles is working class struggles. He does not have any faith that one can develop into a good communist by participating and leading the class struggles of the peasantry, and by advancing the armed struggle in the countryside. He does not say it in so many words but his absolute silence about the armed struggle in the countryside, and his exclusive stress on working class struggle, making it the sole criterion for developing communist cadres and a proletarian Party, lays bare his thinking and his political line.

While the above could be true for an advanced capitalist country its manifestation is different in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country like India. Here the Party’s construction and its proletarianisation is linked to the united front and armed struggle. This was clearly pointed out by Com. Mao in the context of the Chinese revolution: “The course of the Party’s construction and its Bolshevikization has thus been tightly linked to its political line, to its correct or erroneous resolution of the united front and armed struggle questions.” And our Party had, from the beginning, laid stress on this aspect of Bolshevism itself in the course of the intensification of the armed struggle.

Manik says in his resignation letter that “the forest based guerilla struggle will continue. The Party will be more and more isolated from the advanced people (emphasis ours) and have to depend on forest for its survival. This will not help to develop Indian revolution.”

Here Manik laments that we will get isolated if we engage in guerilla war by basing ourselves on backward areas with favourable terrain (i.e., forests). **What actually he implies here is that the Party should not develop the armed struggle basing on backward peasantry and adivasis but rather concentrate on the advanced people in the urban areas. Read between the lines and you will find that he is opposed to the very basic line of protracted people’s war and area wise seizure**

of power! That is where he actually differs with the Party line though, like any opportunist, he does not dare to say so openly. On the other hand, he claims he supports Naxalbari and com.CM’s great contribution to Indian revolution !!. But what else is left of Naxalbari and Com. CM if the line of Protracted People’s War is set aside?

The irony of the Indian communist movement until Naxalbari has been that the Party had not gone into those regions and embraced those sections who need it most. It had always been with the advanced people, confined its activities mainly to cities and advanced areas of the countryside (barring the case of Telangana). Naxalbari brought about a sea-change in the orientation of the Communist Party. Perhaps for the first time, it entered the most backward, neglected regions in the country inhabited by the most oppressed sections of Indian society. Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Debra-Gopi-vallabhpur, Birbhum, Mushahari and so on and worked among the adivasis and backward landless and poor peasantry—a glorious tradition that is continued by CPI(ML)(PW). We are proud to continue this legacy. We have no doubt that the “advanced people” will be with us and support us even more firmly. If Manik really believes that the working class has to lead the armed agrarian revolution of the peasantry, then will it not be easy for the Party to draw the workers to its side by making more planned, conscious effort since it has been leading the peasantry in the agrarian revolution?

Manik is also worried whether the Party can ever have working class leaders like Bebel or Stalin. In his resignation letter he says: “It is beyond our imagination that comrades from working class or other toiling class background will become leader of this Party like Bebel or Stalin.” Yes, it is beyond your imagination, Com. Manik, you cannot understand the dialectics of class struggle, as to how it throws up class conscious able leaders from the toiling class continuously. If you did not show fickle mindedness and inconsistency in carrying on revolutionary work, if you chose to stay in the Party and not run away, it would not have been much difficult for you to understand how new leadership from the basic classes is continuously being generated in the course of advancing the people’s war in our country.

And here is a word of advice for your introspection, dear Manik! Why do you only talk of a Bebel and Stalin; why not a Lenin and Mao, or a host of other leaders from non-proletarian classes who had remoulded

in the concerned districts and states. The lower-level cadres should be educated and trained to respond promptly to the calls given by the higher committees.

Our Slogans on the Hindu fascist offensive:

- *Build a strong broad-based united front against the Hindu fascist forces!*
- *Condemn and Resist by all means the bloody pogroms and brutal attacks by the neo-Nazi gangs of BJP-RSS-VHP-Bajrang Dal on innocent Muslim masses and Christian minorities!*
- *Throw out butcher Narendra Modi from power! Build up a strong protest movement until the culprits who led the massacres in Gujarat are punished!*
- *Hindutva forces are the greatest threat to all cherished human values! Save humanity by defeating the Hindu fascist forces!*
- *Fight State Terrorism unleashed by the BJP-led governments and communal terrorism of the Sangh Parivar!*
- *Build a mighty movement to rebuild Babari Masjid at the same site! Prevent the entry of the Hindu chauvinists into the so-called disputed site in Ayodhya!*
- *Isolate and attack the fascist gangs who perpetrate atrocities against the religious minorities!*
- *People's War is the real answer to the Hindu fascist offensive! People's War is the only solution to people's problems! The genuine liberation of the masses is possible only by overthrowing the three big mountains-feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism!*

Besides the above-mentioned slogans, relevant slogans should be coined creatively by the Party units at various levels.

Political Bureau

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countered the second suppression campaign in 1991-94 and made further advancement. The ruling classes began to make intense preparations to suppress the movement even more severely. The TDP government unleashed its attack from the end of 1996 by banning our Party and the mass organizations. This offensive is still continuing and had extended to all spheres. This offensive, with the blessings of the World Bank and the imperialist countries, coordinates the military onslaught with reforms and propaganda.

Soon after the 'palace coup' of Chandrababu Naidu against his father-in-law NTR in August 1995, he made a big plan to consolidate his power and to crush the revolutionary movement. As a part of this plan he introduced programmes with attractive labels like 'parajala vaddaku palana', 'shramadaanam', etc., and made big publicity out of it. Launching massive propaganda soon after coming to power that the state's economy had gone bankrupt, and that it was imperative for the government to lift Prohibition and increase the prices of subsidized rice, Naidu government lifted Prohibition and increased the prices of subsidized rice with the advice of the World Bank. It conducted a wide publicity campaign about 'transparency' in the government and reforms in administration, and that the development of the state was possible only with the development of information technology. It prepared the so-called Vision 2020 document and tried to attract the middle class in the name of transforming AP into 'Swarnandhra pradesh' (golden Andhra Pradesh). It launched the Janmabhoomi programme once every six months. The media made a big propaganda about these reforms during 1996-98. Naidu used these reform programmes skillfully to consolidate his position and for launching a massive onslaught on the revolutionary movement. To attract the peasants, Water Users' Associations were formed; women were attracted through schemes such as DW CRA and 'deepam' (cooking gas scheme); backward caste artisans were sought to be won over through schemes like 'aadarana', 'mundadugu', etc.; unemployed youth were attracted through CMEY programme; police were given a morale boost through 'roshni'; various sections of the people were thus sought to be won over by creating illusions through such gimmicks and propaganda. Naidu tried to enhance his Party's base and his vote bank in the villages through these programmes, while at the same time trying to build an extensive

network of police informers. He also tried to make the people believe that Naxalites were creating hurdles for the development of the state and that investments to the state were being affected due to the problem of 'left-wing extremism'. While carrying out his reforms and malicious propaganda against us, Naidu's government intensified the ongoing police offensive against our Party and guerilla squads after the parliamentary elections in 1996. Ban was reimposed on the Party and the mass organizations. Police arrested several activists of our mass organizations and the revolutionary masses, filed false cases against them, imposed conditions on them to attend police stations regularly, and inflicted severe torture on them. The PRs working among in the mass organizations were arrested and killed in so-called encounters.

In the past three years the enemy concentrated mainly on eliminating the activists of mass organizations in villages and towns and killed at least 200 of them. The list of those killed in encounters in the state increased to 285 in 1998. Through out this period he concentrated on suppressing our mass organizations in the villages and our guerrilla squads. He paid special attention to eliminate the guerrilla squads in the plains and inflicted severe losses to our forces. The police were given special training in counter-insurgency warfare and were equipped with wireless sets and automatic weapons, grenades and grenade launchers, mortars, and such other sophisticated arms. Our guerrilla forces and Party were studied and training in counter-insurgency operations was stepped up continuously. A 'nodal cell' was first established in 1991 by the state and central governments to suppress the revolutionary movement. This was strengthened further by forming the Joint Coordination Committee (JCC) in June 1998 with the states of AP, MP, Maharashtra and Orissa (later joined by Bihar) with the aim of gathering and transferring information, coordination, attack, and such other matters. This was developed into Joint Operational Command (JOC) in April 2000. The AP police officials began to receive training in counter-insurgency from the Scotland Yard police in Britain and Mossad in Israel.

Repression was stepped up further after 1998. By 2000, this became more severe. Covert operations were increased after 1997. NTSZC member Com. Ramesh was killed by a covert agent in May 1997. In Nalgonda, a DCM, a commander and three squad members were

support of the state and central governments.

2. All the Party cells in the villages must actively mobilize the masses and hold rallies, torchlight processions, and rasta/rail rokos, even if they are symbolic, to protest the callousness of the state government in Gujarat and the BJP-led alliance at the Centre. Slogans should be coined to expose not only the Hindu fascist forces but also all the partners in the ruling alliance who are silent spectators to the heinous crimes of the BJP and the Sangh Parivar.
3. The Party units at various levels should concentrate on rallying all democratic forces and the religious minorities and strive to build broad-based joint forums against the Hindu fascist forces. The various State Committees should draw up concrete plans to build such forums.
4. Our lower level units should pay special attention to enter the Muslim bastis and instill confidence among the Muslim masses. We must stand by them whenever attacks by the Hindu fascist gangs take place, help them in organising self defence teams, and to protect their masjids and property. The SCs should allot cadres specifically to organize the Muslim masses.
5. All the Party units and mass organisation units should respond immediately whenever a call is given by the CC and the All India ECs of various mass organisations. They should also take initiative whenever atrocities against the minorities take place even if they do not receive the calls from the higher committees in time. The tactical slogans formulated by our Congress should serve as the guide in taking up such activity.
6. The leading committees of the Party should continuously strive to enhance the political consciousness of the Party members and the masses by issuing circulars, conducting classes and taking up political struggles against the imperialist onslaught, Hindu fascist offensive, State repression, and so on. The SCs and DCs should issue circulars or at least make resolutions on important political developments to serve as guidelines to the local units under their jurisdiction. Concrete programmes should be given in these circulars basing on our strength and concrete conditions

murdered by a covert agent. And as a continuation of this cowardly war by the police, comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali were caught and killed by the police through a covert agent in December 1999. Thus the government tried by all means at their disposal to suppress our movement. It also formed vigilante squads like the Green Tigers, Kranti Sena, CPI(ML)(praja rakshana), etc., with those renegades who had deserted our movement and used them as agents to inflict losses to our Party. The vigilante squads tried to create terror among the mass organization activists and sympathizers who worked openly by killing civil liberties leaders like Purushotham and Azam Ali, and cultural activist Belli Lalitha. The TDP launched an all-out offensive on our Party not only through intense combings, encounter killings and indiscriminate arrests, but also through strengthening informer network, counseling the parents of the underground activists of the Party and fulltime members of the PGA to get their sons and daughters surrender before the police, Kalajatha cultural programmes of the police and other forms of propaganda against the Party. Later the police began to adopt villages, organize medical camps, distributing the occupied lands by paying compensation to the landlords, etc., with the avowed aim of coming closer to the people. Surrenders were encouraged, rehabilitation schemes were launched in a big way, cases were relaxed on those who complied with the police, and thus tried to create demoralization among our forces and the masses.

In 2000, the attacks were concentrated on the mass organizations and those suspected to be working under cover. Hundreds of activists of the mass organizations were arrested. Several of them were forced to resign from their organizations through torture, intimidation and other forms of harassment alleging that they had connections with the Party and had helped in the raids on the police stations, and so on. Combing operations, ambushes, surprise attacks on tip-offs were conducted in a big way through coordination between the police stations and basing on a extensive informer network. In 2001, the reform programmes and gimmicks of the police had further intensified through such new schemes like 'mee kosam', 'maa ooriki randi', 'kalisi naduddam', 'parivartana', writing off the names of the surrendered revolutionaries from police records through 'vimukti patham', distribution of lands through the Huzurabad declaration, and so on all of which were aimed at isolating us

and weaning away the masses from the path of revolution. The district SPs and Collectors are specially concentrating on these programmes. The government reforms, which had been stalled in the last two years, are sought to be implemented this year. Thus it is trying to implement its 'carrot and stick' policy of unleashing massive police offensive along with attractive reforms. We could not deeply understand the link between the World Bank-sponsored schemes, the reforms undertaken as part of the LIC strategy, the massive propaganda campaign and the military offensive. We could not assess that the TDP is preparing a strong section in the villages through its reforms and that it is creating illusions and blunting the consciousness of the masses through its reforms. Unable to understand the multi-pronged attack of the state on the revolutionary movement we failed to expose and defeat the government's reforms in time. The enemy quickly stepped up his attack by coordinating his various activities. Due to this subjectivism in the leadership, and due to spontaneity and liberalism, we could not effectively expose the reforms and counter the malicious propaganda campaign; and could not take up counter offensive. Consequently, we began to gradually lose the initiative in all fronts. We had thus failed to identify and resolve the problems confronting the revolutionary movement in a comprehensive manner due to our spontaneity and liberalism and became confined to the problems in a particular front. The leadership fell behind in formulating new forms of struggle and organization in the course of the development of the NT movement and increasing enemy repression.

In the 1995 conference itself we should have taken the decision to build PGA and to strengthen the military formations in that direction. However, due to subjectivism, spontaneity and mechanical understanding we could not take up this task. We should have allocated some forces from the mass organizations to build the people's militia and concentrated on building the militia, increasing the number of Special Guerrilla Squads and Platoons, and thus countered the state offensive. In 1996, by taking the military initiative we had succeeded in carrying out some raids, inflicted some losses on the enemy, broke his morale and confiscated arms. But we could not continue the military offensive later on in the same manner. Due to the shortcomings in bringing new military forms, in understanding the enemy, and due to our legalist methods of work, resistance began to

struggle in the countryside and emerge as an effective alternative in the country's political scenario. We appeal to all the Party units and individual Party members to give serious thought to this aspect and concentrate on the political mobilization of the masses along with advancing the armed struggle.

We are sending this circular to all the Party ranks since there is a serious shortcoming in mobilizing the various secular and democratic forces against the Hindu fascist offensive which is growing at a rapid pace. We have to react quickly to any attacks on the religious minorities. We should try to rally the Muslims and all other anti-Hindutva forces to build a powerful democratic movement against the pogroms by the neo-Nazi gangs in Gujarat.

We must try to allocate forces to mobilize various democratic organizations and individuals into an anti—Hindu fascist front at the All India level. Through the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) we must firmly stand by the Muslim and Christian minorities in the countries of South Asia and strive to achieve the coordination of the people's movements against the Hindu fascist forces throughout South Asia. All our Party units should respond immediately to the programmes drawn up by the CC and CCOMPOSA.

We are giving some guidelines for immediate implementation by all the Party units:

1. All the Party units must take up a wide propaganda campaign against the Hindutva forces. Their fascist, bloodthirsty, anti-minority, anti-women, anti-dalit, in short, anti-people character must be thoroughly exposed through leaflets, posters, press statements, seminars, street meetings, public meetings, and so on. Propaganda should be in lucid and popular style so that even illiterate masses can understand the danger of these communal forces. Special emphasis should be given to cultural performances. Booklets should be brought out by all state units and All India mass organisations. These should concentrate on exposing the reactionary, chauvinist policies of the Sangh Parivar and on their diabolic designs of decimating the Muslims and other minorities through ethnic cleansing in Gujarat with the open

lag behind from 1998. We began to suffer losses in the enemy attacks. Due to our failure to form the PGA in time we could not extend support to the mass movements and to the embryonic form of people's power. The dialectical relationship between the mass movements, people's political power and the PGA was not grasped properly. We could not develop the people's resistance against the enemy offensive according to a plan by building and activating the people's militia. We could not enhance the role of the people in the resistance. However, the people were mobilized to obstruct and resist the police in the villages or organize dharnas in front of the police stations in order to secure the release of the arrested comrades, and organized protest and bandhs against fake encounters. On some occasions, counter attacks were carried out against the police and weapons too were seized. Although this resistance was carried out under the leadership of the mass organizations, we could not develop this according to plan.

We could not educate the mass organizations on the government's tactics and the counter tactics to be taken up by us. We failed to check the legalist trends in the mass organizations, educate them politically, and consolidate them. There were shortcomings in implementing proper methods to run the cover organizations with a long perspective. Hence, the leadership of the cover organizations was exposed and their structures collapsed in the face of enemy attacks. We failed to politically educate the leadership of the cover organizations and mass organizations and to mould them to work under enemy repression by sacrificing their all. Due to the lapses in educating them in time and taking proper initiative, we could not continue the mass movement even in the midst of repression by giving leadership to the people against state repression.

The movement began to stagnate in some districts of NT in 1999 and in all districts of the region by the beginning of 2000. This was identified in the state conference in December 2000. This situation deteriorated after the state conference and became manifested in diverse forms such as low level of mass struggles, weakening of organizations, poor recruitment, weak resistance at the time of severe enemy repression, increase in surrenders due to loss of confidence, and so on. Due to the failure of the leadership to understand the weakening of the movement, its failure to grasp the internal reasons for this, and not taking appropriate

measures to rectify the situation, it lost the initiative and consequently the movement began to recede. The attacks by the enemy began to gradually increase.

In the year 2001 alone, over 25 attacks took place on the platoons. The platoons and the guerrilla squads fought heroically and tried to sustain the movement. The fierce resistance by our platoons in Gandigopalpur, Bagullagutta, Manala and Tupakulagudem shook the enemy forces. Our stern action against the covert agents in Nizamabad after identifying and isolating them forced the enemy to suspend his covert operations temporarily. The series of attacks by our action squads last year on the leaders of TDP and BJP, police informers, special police force and the vigilante squads created scare in the enemy's ranks. Our resistance last year brought some partial successes. All these dealt a blow to the enemy's confidence that he can suppress the movement in NT in a short time.

In a situation where we had lost our subjective forces and the movement is in the ebb, we can gradually advance the movement only by carrying out proper tactics with courage, steadfastness and initiative. Today, in spite of the severe losses faced by our movement in NT, we must keep in mind that the objective conditions are quite favourable to advance the movement. There is serious dissatisfaction among the masses due to the present political situation. With its long history of being in the forefront of the revolution for the past two decades and its countless sacrifices, our Party still has great prestige among the masses. The experience of its victories in struggles achieved through invaluable sacrifices is still fresh in the people's memory. The conditions are still quite favourable for advancing the people's war in NT with the peasantry willing to participate and assist the people's war. Though we had lost considerable subjective forces, we still have the leadership needed for advancing the movement. There are favourable conditions for recruitment if we concentrate on organizing. Although the cruel suppression by the police and the para-military forces is creating an atmosphere of terror among the masses, the latter have acute hatred and fury against them. Mass struggles are arising in various forms. When we keep the above situation in mind, we can understand easily that it will not take a long time for us to come out of the present weak subjective position if we overcome our shortcomings and take up correct tactics with

The restlessness of the masses has increased due to the terrible consequences of these policies. The working class has been coming out actively into the forefront and a strike wave has swept the country in the last two years. The peasantry and other sections of the Indian masses have been coming into struggles more militantly. Under such circumstances it has become imperative for the ruling classes to divide the people besides enacting fascist measures to crush the growing struggles. Hence they have promulgated POTO (and now pushed through a joint session of the Parliament to become an Act) and banned several organisations in the name of countering terrorism. By targetting the Muslim organisations like SIMI and depriving the Muslim masses of organised resistance, the Centre cleared the way for the Hindutva forces to have a field day. Communal frenzy is being whipped up to create a permanent division along communal lines. All this is meant to divert the masses from their burning problems and prevent them from realising the real causes for their problems.

Dear comrades,

In these circumstances it is our bounden duty as the Party of the proletariat to expose and fight back these conspiracies of the ruling classes, take initiative to instill confidence among the Muslim masses, rally all the secular and democratic forces as well as the religious minorities, particularly the Muslim masses, to defeat the Hindu fascist offensive.

Our 9th Congress had taken the task of building the broadest possible front against the Hindu fascist forces. "Oppose and Defeat Hindu fascist forces" has been one of the five tactical slogans formulated by our Congress. But we have not done much in this regard. Our Party units in some states had taken some local programmes against the Sangh Parivar, issued leaflets and press statements, and held some rallies and seminars. But this is highly inadequate considering the importance of the issue. The programmes are not even in conformity to our subjective strength. Some of our units have not taken the developments seriously. In accordance with the call given by our Central POR adopted by our Congress we have to give utmost attention to take up political struggles and try to mobilize the masses on political demands in a big way. It is through such political mobilization that we can coordinate with the on-going armed

After coming to power at the Centre, the Sangh Parivar had to go slow as the BJP does not have a majority on its own. But it tried to whip up communal tensions and riots whenever and wherever it could. This is most evident in those states ruled by the BJP directly. The passivity and mere verbal opposition of the partners in the NDA alliance at the Centre had emboldened the BJP and the Hindutva forces to step up their communal campaign.

None of the partners in the ruling alliance or the so-called opposition is really interested in containing the communal riots. The Congress party which controls the city corporation in riot-torn Ahmedabad, has done precious little in providing security and relief to the Muslims who are undergoing an unprecedented trauma. One cannot expect more from a party that is itself guilty of several crimes against the religious minorities. In fact, it was the Congress government under Rajiv Gandhi that had opened up the gates of Babari Masjid in 1986. It was the PVN's government at the Centre that played the role of a silent accomplice when the Hindu chauvinist gangs were demolishing Babari Masjid in 1992. The Congress party is also notorious for the massacre of over 3000 Sikhs in Delhi in the wake of the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984. It was also active in the attacks on Muslims in the aftermath of the demolition of Babari Masjid.

All these parties which do not hesitate for a moment in condemning the activities of Muslim organizations and clamour for imposing a ban on them in the name of having links with the ISI, have been content with issuing formal statements against the Hindu fascist organisations. It is only with an eye on the Muslim vote bank that formal statements are being issued. None of the bourgeois parties are really interested in punishing the perpetrators of these crimes and ensuring the security of the Muslim masses.

This is because the ruling classes of India are in dire need of bringing about a division of the masses along communal lines in order to divert their attention from the growing crisis in all the spheres resulting from the anti-people policies of successive governments. The policies of globalisation, privatisation and liberalisation, which are being vigorously pursued since 1991, have created an explosive situation in the country.

determination. We should work with the following orientation in the present situation of ebb in the movement in order to defeat the enemy offensive and advance the movement.

1. We must strive to achieve small victories by continuously relying on the masses. We must concentrate on people's issues and on dealing blows against the enemy forces. These victories will enhance the confidence of the masses on their own united strength, on the Party and the PGA.

2. We must strive to develop the Party, the PGA and its wing-the people's militia-and the united front to the extent possible in a planned manner. We must strive to mobilize the vast masses and try to build the four-class united front. We must use the contradictions among the enemies to the extent possible.

3. We must complete the rectification campaign from the state committee level to the entire Party to get rid of the alien class trends in the Party and the leading committees like subjectivism, spontaneity, liberalism, economism, sectarianism, bureaucracy and patriarchy.

4. We must complete the class analysis based on the concrete study of the economic, social and political changes in the region.

5. We must mobilize the people into various cover organizations and the general democratic movement under the conditions of white terror today. We must rectify the legalist methods of work which is a hurdle to this painstaking work. We have to consolidate the movement by resolving the problems related to the coordination of legal and secret work, between guerilla war and mass work, between rural and urban movements, between the forest and plains movements, and between the various committees.

[Note : The above article is prepared by the EB of People's War based on the recent circulars of NTSZC and CRB resolutions. It is an attempt to present to the readers a brief picture of the relative setback we are facing in NT, the enemy's factors and our condition. All aspects related to the movement in NT are not dealt in this article.]



Rally the People Against the Bloody Pogroms by the Hindu Fascist Forces on Innocent Muslims!

Build the Broadest Possible Front to Isolate and Target the BJP-led Hindutva Forces that are the Greatest Threat to Secularism and Democracy!

Dear comrades,

Today Gujarat has become the testing ground for the communal fascist policies of RSS, VHP, Bajarang Dal and other members of BJP's Sangh Parivar. It has been the age-old dream of these neo-Nazis to make India into a Hindu theocratic state and to force the people of the religious minorities to convert into Hindus. They had declared many a time right from the time of their fascist guru Golwalkar several decades ago that the people of the religious minorities in India should either accept the superiority of the Hindu religion and live as second rate citizens in our country, or else leave the country. Decimation of the Muslims and Christians through organised pogroms has always been a pet theme of the Sangh Parivar. Now with the BJP in power in both the state and the Centre, this fascist Hitlerite agenda has been nakedly put into practice in Gujarat today.

The gory events in Gujarat-the bloody massacres of Muslims not sparing even children, uprooting of entire localities where Muslims reside, the selective destruction of the property of the Muslims, rape of Muslim women and such indescribable horrors are the result of a well laid-out pre-hatched conspiracy of the RSS-VHP-BJP Hindutva combine to decimate the Muslim population systematically. It is in no way different from the ethnic cleansing of the Jews by the Nazi forces of Hitler. Godhra

incident of February 27 is only an excuse to justify this ethnic cleansing by the Hindutva goons.

Facts show that lists of the Muslims were prepared by the Sangh Parivar long before the Godhra incident for undertaking their pogroms. The state government led by Narendra Modi-a leader of the RSS, and the BJP-led government at the Centre with known RSS stalwarts in power, are fully involved in this conspiracy. The police force in Gujarat is itself highly communalised and staunch Hindutva supporters were placed in important posts. The police was instructed not to control the Hindu chauvinist mobs while the latter conducted their brutalities against the Muslim masses. Moreover, they were asked to control the Muslims if they dared to retaliate. Many Muslims were killed in police firings while Hindu mobs were allowed to perpetrate untold atrocities right in front of the eyes of the police. The Army was called in only after the Hindu fascist forces achieved their objective in Gujarat.

Prime Minister Vajpayee and Home Minister Advani-both staunch advocates of the RSS ideology and who would have led the Hindu chauvinist mobs in Gujarat had they not been in responsible positions—tried to act as if they were concerned with the communal violence that followed the Godhra incident. Vajpayee shed crocodile tears during his visit to Gujarat on April 3rd. But Vajpayee, by giving a clean chit to the mass murderer Narendra Modi and even praising him for having contained the communal conflagration, revealed how happy he is with the massacres of Muslims. That is why, even as Modi's complicity in the genocide in Gujarat became as clear as day-light to the people all over the country and was highlighted by the media, Vajpayee saw nothing wrong in Modi's governance. Thus the main culprit and the No 1 criminal in Gujarat, who should have been arrested and tried for the massacres of Muslim masses, continues to rule the state posing a grave threat to the security of the Muslims and making the state unsafe for the majority of the ordinary Hindu masses too.

As we all know, the communal conspiracy had begun right from the time of Advani's rath yatra way back in 1991 and the demolition of the Babari Masjid in December 1992 under the direct supervision of the criminal who is now supposed to maintain law and order in the country.