

## ***Class Struggle continues as long as Exploiting Classes Exists and Banner of October Revolution Flies High!***

***Viswam***

The 1917 October revolution of Russia stood as a hope to all of humanity and as a great inspiration to world proletarian revolutionaries. It stood as a pointer to the earth shaking changes to occur in human history. It is a war cry of the new on the old, for the complete transformation. It is a revolution that shook the feudalism of kulaks and aristocratic and capitalist systems.

It is a great revolution that put an end to the system of exploitation of man by man that established the power of the proletariat and the rule of the toiling people. It is a qualitative change brought out as a legacy of many a bitter struggles mankind has fought. This qualitative change is a big milestone in the history of mankind. Its impact on the process of development of humanity and society is so great and extraordinary.

Those who have eyes but blind, who have ears but deaf, who has brain but selfish, may not accept this historical fact; may reject it; may cry foul that it is dictatorship, it is anarchy of the underdogs. They may even curse that 'Communists should be doomed,' 'Lenin to die and Stalin be reduced to ashes.' Who are these people who have eyes but are blind, who have ears but are deaf, who has brain but selfish? These are the kulak Bourgeoisie, Capitalists, Imperialists, their lackeys, and the intellectuals under their spell.

The efforts made by Lenin and Stalin to organize and lead the democratic revolution to victory and to implement socialism are tremendous and multifaceted. They defeated all types of opportunist trends ideologically, politically and practically. They waged resolute and dedicated struggles within and outside the party.

### ***Continuous Ideological Struggles:***

**One:** They brought various Marxist groups and circles that were existing from the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century in Russia on to a single platform. In 1902 the Russian Communists waged an uncompromising struggle to establish an All Russian Communist Party. The Russian revolutionaries waged unrelenting struggles against all ideologies which sprang up with questions like 'what is to be done' and 'where to begin'. Lenin resolutely fought against Economism, spontaneity and trends like those which negated, class politics, organization, ideology and advocated tailism. He united many unorganized and scattered revolutionary forces, lead them into a single organization and led them unitedly. He organized the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

**Two:** The 1905 first revolution of Russia faced a defeat. Lenin and Stalin fought uncompromisingly against the left opportunism of the Otzovists which rose on the heels of this defeat. On the other side, Lenin and Stalin waged an uncompromising struggle against economism and individual terrorism that raised their heads in the working class movement. Lenin called the 1905 revolution as a rehearsal to the glorious October Revolution of 1917.

The Tsarist government introduced some reforms after the defeat of the 1905-1907 revolution. (In the same way the Indian ruling classes also introduced some reforms after the glorious Telangana peasant armed struggle and the Srikakulam armed struggle of the tribals and peasantry). Explaining the attitude to be adopted by the communists towards the reforms introduced by the tsarist govt., Lenin said, "If a communist revolutionary doesn't want to be carried away by the government policies he has to be a revolutionary and not a reformist".

**Three:** During the 1914-17 First World War the parties of the Second International took the line of defending the 'father land' and supported the Imperialists of their respective countries and their war preparations. Thus they became National Chauvinists. Lenin and Stalin strongly opposed their stand. After the victory of the Glorious Russian Revolution in 1917 they waged a firm struggle against the Trotskyist theory of Permanent Revolution. They reduced to dust the argument of Trotskyist bloc that "Socialism won't withstand up unless world revolution occurs" and proved that it is possible to establish and cherish socialism in Russia.

**Four:** The Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) doesn't become crestfallen with the untimely death of Lenin in 1924. They meticulously implemented the principle of dictatorship of the proletariat and developed Russia into a state free from exploitation and oppression.

The conspiracies to destroy this Socialist revolution were hatched within the party and the reactionary forces from outside. But the poor and the middle class peasants had resisted the counter revolutionary activities of the kulaks and profit-mongers who were opposed to movement for collective farms. They

busted their conspiracies and firmly took the collective farm movement forward and achieved abundance in food grain production.

In the same way the capitalist forces conspired to execute destructive programs in some factories and coal mines. The foreign capitalists, Russian capitalists and foreign military spies together conspired and engaged themselves in reactionary activities with the objective of breaking the Russian socialist industries and reestablishing the capitalist system. The Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) under the leadership of Stalin detected these conspiracies and cautioned the working class. After going through process of enquiries and trail these counter reactionaries were given appropriate punishments. Stalin suggested to draw and train the youth from the working class in technical education and use them in building socialism instead of depending on the capitalist experts.

Stalin took many steps to protect the country and its socialist system against the domestic capitalists who turned into counter reactionaries, the foreign capitalists and foreign agents.

The party has concentrated its struggle against the Trotskyites and Zinovite's bloc within the party even before the peasants and proletariat took their offensive against the kulaks and capitalists outside the party. Bukharin and Rykov faction hidden under neutrality. But when workers and peasants started their offensive against kulaks and capitalists this bloc threw off its mask and came out against the party openly. They openly supported the kulaks; expressed blind opposition against the growth of collective farming; said class struggle is not required anymore; argued against attacks and preached that kulaks (landlords) and capitalists would transform peacefully; They came to the fore in support of the worn out Bourgeois ideology. They rode roughshod over the well-known Lenin's thesis that the sharpness of class struggle may be lessened only after the socialist development wins series of victories cutting the ground from under the feet of the exploiting classes, but the class struggle must continue, sharply, till then. They supported and danced to the tunes of the reactionaries. The Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Stalin waged the sharpest and unrelenting struggles against all these factions inside the party and advanced the socialist revolution.

After the death of Lenin in 1924, the counter reactionary forces and traitors in the party intensified their attacks in all the above four stages. Stalin was attacked and is still being vilified by some because either they failed to understand the principle of dictatorship of the proletariat or because of their opposition to it. It is true that Stalin was partisan to the working class and led the dictatorship of the proletariat. He was harsh towards the oppressors, kulaks and the capitalists. But, he took the Russian socialist revolution forward. He extended all out help to the victory of revolutions in East European and Asian countries. He inflicted a death blow to Hitler's Fascism in the Second World War and helped the establishment of proletarian rule in many countries.

Stalin's efforts as the leader of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) and as the torch bearer of socialist revolution not only helped in the spread of Marxism-Leninism but also to its enrichment.

**Five:** After the death of Stalin, the capitalist bloc and the followers of Trotskyist, Zinoviev and Bukharin like Khrushchev, who were disparately waiting, started attacking Stalin and thereby attacking Marxism. Even after 40 years of the proletarian state, after assuming that socialism has won, the capitalist roaders started attacking the communist ideals. That means class struggle has not yet come to an end. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the struggle within the party and the communist movement reflects the struggle in the society, outside the party, between various ideas, ideologies and politics. As long as Lenin and Stalin led the party there was a firm struggle against alien ideologies. When the forces which can carry on such a struggle got weakened and the weak-nesses like vacillations in practice have manifested in the Soviet Communist Party weakened, the jackals like Khrushchev started gaining an upper hand.

Stalin is too is not above mistakes. For that matter even Marx, Engels and Lenin are not. But they either identified their mistakes and corrected themselves or followed the method of identifying mistakes through discussions in the party committees, with party ranks and in the course of people's movements and corrected them. It is too treacherous to make Stalin responsible for the mistakes and attack or underplay all the victories under his leadership. Only a Capitalist roader like Khrushchev, his masters and his present disciples can indulge in such heinous acts and betray the cause of World Proletarian Revolution.

Under Gorbachev, the heir of capitalist adherents like Khrushchev and Brezhnev, the Russian system had sunk into all round crisis. They restored the ideology of private property and implemented the dictatorship of the exploitative capitalist class. This dictatorship is serving the interests of a small number of exploiters at the cost of working class and the middle class. This dictatorship belongs to the exploiting class and is a Bourgeoisie dictatorship.

So those who abuse Stalin as autocratic and dictatorial are the opponents of dictatorship of the proletariat. Once this most important principle of Marxism Leninism is abandoned, there is no point in thinking about

the emancipation of the exploited class. By attacking Marxism-Leninism they are attacking socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are equating the dictatorship of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie dictatorship. Those who reject the significance of proletarian dictatorship for building socialism can't fight the bourgeoisie and the capitalist roaders. So, Lenin explained that it is not enough to overthrow the capitalist class, we need to wage bitter and protracted struggles against these forces.

*“This is only a beginning, but it is a beginning of exceptionally great importance. It is the beginning of a revolution that is more difficult, more tangible, more radical and more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for it is a victory over our own conservatism, indiscipline, petty-bourgeois egoism, a victory over the habits left as a heritage to the worker and peasant by accursed capitalism. Only when this victory is consolidated will the new social discipline, socialist discipline, be created; then and only then will a reversion to capitalism become impossible, will communism become really invincible.”* [The Great Beginning]

## **2. Chinese Revolution**

Class struggle is a continuous process, it continues till communism is achieved. During the process of socialist progress, its intensity may reduce some times, but it won't end. It continues as long as the class enemies –imperialist, autocratic classes are in existence.

The new democratic revolution of China that trembled the semi-colonial, semi feudal system may be different to the Russian revolution in form, but their essence and aim are one and the same; replacing the society based on exploitation of man by man with a society based on equality; over-throwing the exploiting class and their state and establishing the state of the working class; and ultimately establishing a class less communist society.

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This Chinese revolution started as a struggle against the age old feudal system, by the exploited and oppressed people. Ultimately it overthrew the power of feudal lords and imperialists hegemony. It is a revolution that showed the way to the oppressed peoples in various semi colonial and semi feudal countries. It is a protracted people's war with the strength of a united front of all the revolutionary classes (peasantry, proletariat, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie) with the people's armed forces led by the working class and with the peasantry as the main force. It is a revolution led by working class under the communist party leadership that established the people's democratic dictatorship.

With the establishment of this people's democratic dictatorship Chinese people got freedom and liberty and were emancipated from the clutches of semi colonial semi feudal system. This struggle for emancipation gave stimulus to all the oppressed people of the world. In the process of human society Russian revolution brought a qualitative change while the Chinese revolution stood as a symbol to root out semi colonial and semi feudal systems. It proved the principle of dialectical materialism that human society is progressing towards a more developed stage. It ignited revolutionary flames in all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It moved shoulder to shoulder with the democratic revolutions led by the working class in East European countries; strengthened the forces fighting for freedom, liberty and peace; helped the struggles to take a stronger and more organized form and helped the ongoing struggles to withstand and march forward.

This is not an ordinary victory. The struggle led by Chinese Communist Party under Mao to achieve this victory is not ordinary. It led the vast masses of oppressed people against the enemies- feudal lords, imperialists, comprador bourgeoisie; in the struggle overcame many hurdles; marched ahead over-coming various wrong trends within the party and marched forward.

Before the establishment of the People's Republic in its four stages the Chinese revolution faced the left and right opportunist trends. Like twins, like the two sides of the same coin, these trends sat on the shoulders of the Chinese communist party. At one time, the left trend became more dangerous and at another time right trend that adopted a capitulationist line became more dangerous. On the eve of establishing the people's democratic dictatorship, the left trend came to the fore. After the people's republic was established and when the socialist movement started the danger of right trend was main. The Chinese communist party under the leadership of Mao upheld Marxism-Leninism and fought against those trends. It applied Marxism-Leninism to Chinese concrete conditions in every stage and defeated the left, right and capitulationist trends within and outside the party.

China achieved tremendous progress in agri-products. The standard of people's living had gone up. But economic successes brought some dangers too; Arrogance has increased; nationalism was given more prominence; the attitude of thinking that we already achieved more and nothing more is needed had developed. In 1956, the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Soviet Communist Party accepted the Khrushchev's revisionism. The Chinese communist party realized what harmful and dangerous impact it was going to have on the international arena, more importantly the severity of its impending damage in the socialist countries. From then on the Chinese party began its ideological struggles against this revisionism. By 1960's it started open criticism. The Chinese revisionists came out as the adherents of capitalist road. By 1965's the struggle against these revisionists intensified. The struggle against the adherents of capitalism intensified with the big poster movement and later the Red Guard's movement started.

Once China entered the stage of Socialist Revolution the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie class has become the contra-diction. Liu Shao qi took the line of consolidating the new democratic system and guaranteeing the protection of private property. Thus he made it clear that he does not want to move to socialism from new democracy.

In the 8<sup>th</sup> Party Central Committee meeting, Peng Duhai opposed the Great Leap Forward, People's Communes and the revolutionary people's movement. Mao waged a bitter struggle against his right opportunism.

The Central Committee of the 9<sup>th</sup> Party Congress rejected the report of Lin Biao. This report, instead of defining the principal contradiction as between proletariat and the bourgeoisie class, he defined it as the contradiction between backward productive forces and a developed socialist system. This is a class collaborationist theory. It either teaches the line that class struggle has ended or that it is not required. It rejects the Marxist-Leninist thesis that class struggle exist even in socialist society. Mao thus said that the struggle against Li Shao qi, Peng Duhai, Lin Biao is part of the 50 year long larger struggle between the two lines within the party; this is not the last one; this goes on as long as the adherents of capitalism exists. Mao stated 3 principles basing on the experiences gained from internal struggles:

Fight for Marxism-Oppose revisionism.

Stand for unity-oppose disunity.

Act openly-Oppose conspiracies.

Mao warned that at a time when the internal struggle between the two lines is going on one wrong line supports another wrong line and it is not possible to have unity with them in the struggle against bourgeoisie. In the same way during a united front with the bourgeoisie, it is possible to forget about the struggle against the bourgeoisie. In the Chinese Communist Party, the left line of Wang Ming which said that there will be only struggle but no unity had covered up the Chen Duxiu's line which said that there will be only unity but no struggle with the bourgeois. In the same way the right opportunist line of Li Shao qi is covered by the left line of Lin Biao. The experience of the Chinese Communist Party once again proved that both left and right are opportunisms and they are twins.

After the death of Mao in 1976, the capitalist line gradually gained the upper hand. It changed China into a capitalist country and the Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist party. The Chinese people will definitely oppose the revisionists and the capitalist roaders. They may call Mao a dictator; a dogmatist; a farmer; But the lessons of the Chinese revolution teach us that these statements have no value and that Mao is a man of the masses, a great Marxist-Leninist, a great strategist, teacher, fighter and a great leader. The November Revolution (based on the present Gregorian calendar) of Russia which is earlier called as the October (based on old Julian Calendar) revolution and the October Revolution of China (there is no old calendar in China) -both are two milestones in the history of mankind. It is a naked truth that from the birth of Communist Parties in these two Countries the representatives of various wrong trends had been creating many hurdles against Marxism-Leninism. These forces did not stop attacking Marxism even after the establishment of proletarian state under the Communist party's leadership. They acted like the agents of capitalists and imperialists under the guise of Marxism. So even though they appeared under different names, the struggle went principally between two lines. But how did these forces again grew strong and gained an upper hand after the death of Stalin in Russia and Mao in China? Why the cadre and the people who were steeled in such a protracted struggle are allowing their dominance? There are many such questions. But even then these capitalist traitors can't wipe out these great revolutionary milestones.

Human evolution and human society has a long history, about 10 lakh years. The Russian communist revolution is 100 years old and Chinese revolution is just 70 years old. Compared to the millions of miles human race has traveled, the distance the Russian and Chinese people have travelled are only a very few miles and in the 10 lakh years of mankind the Russian and Chinese revolutions are of just 100 years age. So

everything is not lost. The revisionists and capitalists may temporarily defeat the revolutionaries and Communist fighters, may keep them aside for the time being, but they never gain a complete upper hand. While speaking about the revisionists Lenin stated a Russian adage “Some-times eagles may fly low but hen will never soar to eagle’s height in its life time”. So the dominance of revisionist won’t go for long.

Today we may not have experienced leaders of the Stalin and Mao’s era. But this situation won’t prevail longer. The history of mankind is history of class struggles. Class struggles have not yet come to an end. They continue as long as imperialist, capitalist, feudal and semi-feudal oppression continues. The resistance struggles, resistance wars and armed struggles would continue as long as there is oppression. The revolutionary cadre and leaders are made from these class struggles and people’s revolutions. Even Stalin and Mao are the products of such class struggles and people’s revolutionary movements. They steered themselves in these struggles.

Today the Imperialists, Bourgeoisie and Feudal classes cannot deprive the Communists from this opportunity. Even though leaders like Mao are not there, they will soon be born and get steered in the ongoing class struggles and will lead the great task of building a tomb to the oppressive systems.

### **3. Indian Communist Revolutionary Movement**

Marxism spread into many countries with the impact of October Revolution. It also has its impact on India. The Indian communist movement has faced many political, ideological, organizational and practical issues and faced many ups and downs, victories and defeats and betrayals. It is now 90 years old.

The communist party worked with the aim of putting and to colonial rule and achieving national independence and socialism. The British rulers wanted to contain the spread of Marxism in India and unleashed severe repression. It foisted Peshawar, Lahore, Meerut and Kanpur conspiracy cases and arrested the founders of communist party. There were country-wide strikes by the proletariat in Bombay, Kanpur, and Calcutta and so on.

During the 1935-45 period, there was an upsurge of peasant struggles in Bihar, Bengal, UP, Telangana, Gujarat, Punjab, Kerala and Madras. There were adivasi struggle in Worli of Maharashtra, peasant struggles in Punnappra-Vayalar of Kerala (1943), Tebhaga in Bengal (1946), Mymensingh (now in Bangla Desh) and Ahmednagar in Maharashtra. The armed resistance of peasants of Telangana led by the communist party against Nizam and feudal lords has reached the stage of guerrilla struggle. The feudal lords fled from the area.

#### **Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle.**

In April, 1948, the leadership of party prepared a thesis and kept before the Central Committee. This is called the Andhra Thesis. *“It defined our system as comprador bourgeoisie and feudal system. It defined the strategy of the revolution as establishing unity among workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat and taking along the national bourgeoisie on its side; establishing a front with labor, poor peasants, middle class and rich peasants at the village level; building an agrarian revolutionary movement along a revolutionary mass line and the revolution will advance while liberating the villages and building liberated areas”.*

Telangana peasant armed struggle was the struggle for independence, for abolishing the rule by Nizam and for liberation from the oppression of feudal lords. Communist party led this struggle. The peasants occupied 10 lakh acres of land in three thousand villages. Nearly 4000 people laid their lives in this struggle.

The Indian ruling classes were and are still in favour of protecting the feudal lords. Hence they did not join hands with the movement led by the communists. Because of the bourgeois and feudal politics and right opportunist and reformist trends the Telangana peasants could not liberate from the bourgeois and imperialist exploitation. There is no review based on clear Marxist-Leninist orientation in the communist party. Due to this lacuna, the anti-people bourgeois and feudal ruling classes are claiming the Telangana peasant armed struggle as theirs. The correct lessons from the struggle are not available to the communist party.

#### **Comrade D.V.Rao’s Analysis of the Struggle**

*“It is clear that the Telangana peasant armed struggle has brought a revolutionary change in the rural life. A new life was formed; that was peoples democratic life. The change was possible only through this revolution. Even after 36 years and even after spending billions of rupees, the governments headed by the Congress and other parties are unable to distribute land of feudal lords and eradicate poverty in rural areas. These changes were achieved by the revolutionary movement in a short span of one year. A new economic system was formed. A new political system was formed by establishing village governance committees. A new military system was formed to fight back the attacks by the land lords with guerilla squads that were filled with people in contrast to mercenaries of Nizam and Indian governments. The local*

squads taken care of their local affairs and law and order. A new cultural life emerged along with new political life. Absence of thefts, prostitution, right to the divorce for women, their participation in all activities, every one learning to read and write, their sincere toil and showing a different attitude towards those in the enemy's armed forces, those who were disarmed – that was a stage in which highest culture and morality were formed. New democratic culture took shape in the practice along with learning from books during the September 1947 to September 1948.

This political, economic and cultural system took a definite shape during the last 3 to 4 months of this period. Before it was in a formative phase. The areas of struggle were at the level of guerilla struggle and no liberated area was formed. So there was no scope to develop this into a comprehensive system. Yet is significant that such a system was formed.

We have to understand the weaknesses of the movement. There were two different approaches about these weaknesses from the beginning. There were those who argued to withdraw the struggle after the police action and those who negated and denigrated or minimized the achievements of the struggle. "There are certain great things. We can retold them as heroic stories. But now withdraw the struggle. It could not withstand. Everything is over. Let us go back to homes" –this trend had come out. Those who argued after the police action for the withdrawal of struggle had minimized the achievements of struggle to support their argument. It happened 35 years back.

The same leaders who argued for withdrawal are now placating the achievements as great and not mentioning the weaknesses. They are utilising the movement to validate their reformist, anti-struggle and anti-revolution opinions. It is easy to propagate anti-revolutionary ideas disguising them with praises of revolutionary movement. Anti-Marxist ideas can be propagated in the name of Marxism in these days. It is difficult to propagate them opposing Marxism because there is a positive attitude among the people and intellectuals on Marxism, revolution and revolutionary movement. They will be condemned as anti-Marxists and anti-revolution. Once the difference between anti-revolutionary ideas of then and now is recognized it is easy to understand how they are opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

Praising the achievements uncritically and ignoring the weaknesses became a usual affair now a days which in no way useful to the movement. One can avoid committing the same mistake only when the mistakes are understood properly. So it is necessary to examine the mistakes, deeply understand them and draw lessons from them. All steps have to be taken to avoid recurrence of these mistakes. Then only the revolutionary movement could progress on a proper manner.

From this angle, the mistakes committed during this period were not less in quality and quantity. We have to examine them carefully. Some of them are being mentioned here.

The main weaknesses are there in political as well as military policies. These can be seen in the implementation of these policies. The most important weakness was the lack of clarity on policy. At that time, Joshi's line was replaced by Ranadive's line. But there was no clear understanding on the Telangana struggle."

Comrade D.V.Rao also wrote about the Party organization and consciousness as follows:

"Equating general anti-Nizam spirit with the party consciousness, and lack of policy on political education were some of the important shortcoming in the party organization. Political education was woefully short. The anti-Nizam spirit and party consciousness were equated but not differentiated. Without politics many educated people may remain as left nationalists, anti-Muslim and anti-Nizam rule. They may fight militantly and they no doubt fought militantly. The party members should understand the programme of the party and inculcate party consciousness. They should clearly understand that the struggle was not only against Nizam, but also continue after the downfall of Nizam to establish a new socialist society. This should be the basis for their consciousness. There was almost no effort to inculcate such a consciousness. Senior leaders had such understanding due to political education they received earlier. But the youth that came into the party during the struggle had no such understanding. Lack of political education haunted the movement from the beginning. There was scope for left nationalists, revolutionary nationalists and other forces to exist in the unity against Nizam. Along with them there were leading comrades and cadres who were politically conscious. There was no effort from the side of the party to explain and convince the nationalist revolutionaries about the party programme that anti-Nizam struggle was an agrarian revolutionary programme and it had to be waged through armed struggle and it had to be continued against the Nehru's government. This left the scope for the understanding – though not in a categorical manner- that armed struggle ends with the fall of Nizam. So the lack of political education policy led to such development. This caused harm at a later time" (Telangan Peasant Armed Struggle- D.V.Rao – 1983-85).

Telangana peasant armed struggle took place in the context of the socialist construction in Soviet Union, defeat of fascism in the World War II, formation of peoples democracies in Eastern Europe and victory of new democratic revolution in China and it provided valuable lessons to the present day revolutionary movement.

The communist party metamorphosed from reformism to revisionism and practiced it. Though the struggle against revisionism began in 1955, the differences got expressed within the framework of reformism. That was why struggle started on ideological positions of CPI(M) in 1967. As the CPI(M) was moving away from the agrarian revolution, peoples democracy and dictatorship of Proletariat, struggle was waged on both the ideological and practical fronts.

The movement of workers, adivasis and peasants in Darjeeling district of West Bengal. The movement of adivasis in Srikakulam district of AP and the peoples resistance to attacks by the land-lords in Khamma and Warrangal districts of AP were going on by the time of 1957. These struggles made it clear that the fight against reformism and revisionism in Indian Communist movement was not completed.

Elections became the main form of struggle instead of it being one of many forms of struggle, the ill effects of which harmed the communist party. It restricted its activities to propaganda and agitations on partial issues and spontaneous struggles> the Party organized weakened. When asked by the press reporters Com. TN said:

*“The difficulties are of course our own mistakes during the last 16 years which have naturally led us to a condition of disorganization. To be frank, we are not organized in a way we ought to be if we were to function in a revolutionary way. We have created illusions among the people about the parliamentary action, organized the communist party’s machinery in a very parliamentary way. The old discipline has been lost; the old unselfish tendency has gone to waste. The old hard work was disappeared. Every-thing that a revolutionary needed has been lost. We must rebuild. This will be our greatest difficulty”.*

#### **Naxalbari Armed Resistance**

*“In fact, for Factual and proper assessment one is to go back to the days peasant movement of 1959. Everybody knows that the then congress government of West Bengal enacted ceiling on land and consciously kept loopholes to deprive the peasants from land. The Provincial Kisan Council of West Bengal (CPI period) decided to give a call to stop benami transactions by the landlords within the limits of certain dates ie. legally. But the Kisan Sabha of Siliguri Committee opposed the move and stressed that if benami transfers were to be stopped then one should start with the enacted ceiling on the cultivable and non-cultivable land and only the ceiling land under preview of the enactment should be left out and all the rest beyond the ceiling should be captured. This was opposed by the PKC. In spite of this, Kisan Sabha launched the struggle against benami transfers.*

*In spite of official withdrawal, the struggle for land went on unabated. This period was covered by complex situation. Anti-China hysteria and division of party created immense political problems and along with it there were attacks on comrades by the government. The comrades were thrown into prison twice; once in the year 1962-64 and again in the year 1964-66. This is the period when wide spread attacks continued on the peasants and the tea garden workers and perhaps no district in the country had to face such a wide spread attacks. Hundreds of workers and peasant leaders were arrested under Defence of India Rules. During this period on the one hand the party comrades had to reorganize the CPI(M) and ongoing peasant struggle and to look after their problems. On the other hand they had to combat the neo-revisionists and also had to tackle the seeds of left deviation.*

*Over and above, the struggle against landlords went on unabated. A peculiar, cumbrous and a very complicated struggle had to be carried during the period, most of the comrades never faced such a situation. There were deaths of intellectual comrades in the rural areas. They remained mainly on their practical experience. In this period, the situation was such either the comrades were to quit or to carry on struggle. In this situation the comrades again started re-capturing land, especially against two landlords and the area virtually became free of landlords. The small landlords and rich peasants gave whole hearted support to us. The peasants snatched guns from the landlords’ goondas. It happened in the year 1966 December. In another area a tea planter taking advantage of the absence of the leaders of the movement, thrown out the peasants from more than 100 acres of land and constructed 15 dwelling quarters for the workers of the plantation.*

*The SKS mobilized more than two thousand peasants and workers and demolished all pucca quarters and took possession of the said land. The land is still now in the possession of the peasants of that area. The incident took place in March 1967. Fight against the military contractor and canteen owner and a big*

landlord was very important because it created impact on North Bengal University students. The slogan of boycott of Elections came forward in 1967. Com.KS was in jail and was released just before 1967 elections.

After the release of Com. Jungal Santhal from Culcutta jail just a month before 1967 election, this boycott line was fought. Com. CM retreated from his position. So during the whole period political struggle and struggle for land were continuing. This fact should also be in the knowledge of the comrades that Com. JS was defeated in the election.

However the congress ministry was defeated and the UF ministry came to power in 1967 in WB. Just at this period Iswar Tirkey, a congress MLA tried to evict late Com. Bigul Kishan from his barga (rented) land in Naxalbari itself. Naturally the anger against the landlords gathered momentum. Our late com. Jungal Santhal led the struggle against the eviction. This attracted the attention of media because Iswar Tirkey was not only a congress MLA but also a former deputy minister.

Comrades Kanu Sanyal and Souren Bose went to meet and talked with him (H.K. Konar, the land reforms minister) in forest bungalow at Sukna the gate way to Darjeeling hills. The minister along with highest police officials of WB met them. They demanded surrender of all the comrades wanted by the police. The delegates put forward questions why the landlords were not arrested against whom many FIRs were already lodged and finally they said that list of wanted persons would be given within a few days and they were to surrender in batches. The talks broke down as the delegation refused to surrender. After this the delegation informed the minister that they were ready to talk on the basis of fixed agendas and the police camps were to be withdrawn. The talks finally broke down.

After 8/10 days a large police force entered a village BR Jharu (3kms from Naxalbari) to arrest the comrades. The police force has to face strong resistance from the local villagers and the news reached other villages and surrounding tea gardens. Thousands of peasants and workers rushed to the area and a scuffle took place and as a result some police officers were injured and Inspector Wangdi was killed. This incident took place on 24<sup>th</sup> May 1967. It should be reminded that so long the political propaganda carried on "Stick to land by resisting landlords and police". This is the first time that the police forces were resisted with conventional weapons in hand. This was a qualitative change in the struggle. Struggle for land turned to a higher stage. So, the importance of the 24<sup>th</sup> May lies here and so Naxalbari Day should be observed on 24<sup>th</sup> May. On 25<sup>th</sup> May the women comrades were holding a general meeting by the roadside, two and a half km south of Naxalbari at Prosadu Jote. The SDO along with a police force came to the spot and halted and at once the women comrades surrounded the police and tried to disarm them and actually disarmed them as the police were in small number. The SDO called one of our male comrades and requested him to leave them and the male comrade agreed and asked our women comrades to allow the SDO and police to go.

The police left the spot with arms but halted a few yards away and took position and fired upon the women folk and 11 women comrades with a baby got killed. Actually the police took revenge on 25<sup>th</sup> May. After 24<sup>th</sup> May this incident exposed the UF government. It proved UF government was not to safeguard the rights of the peasants and workers but to safeguard the interests of the land owning class. These two incidents created a great stir throughout West Bengal and length and breadth of our country. Hence 25<sup>th</sup> became Martyrs Day and it exposed the sham and fakeness of parliamentary path in relation to the question of radical land reform ie. Agrarian Revolution. Hence a remotest place Naxalbari became a turning point in communist movement. Supporting Naxalbari struggle became emblem of communist revolutionary while opposing Naxalbari struggle meant taking the side of bourgeois landlord system and their status quo. In spite of all vicious attacks by the UF government the Naxalbari struggle continued unabated till September 1967.

A few more events are to be mentioned in connection with Naxalbari struggle. The period between July and September 1967 was very crucial for Naxalbari struggle. Repeated encirclement by the police and para-military forces took place in this period. The repeated announcement of surrender and sudden arrest of Com. Jungal Santhal created problems for the leadership. As a matter of fact com. Khokan Mazumdar, Jungal Santhal and Babulal Viswakarmarkar took shelter in a peasant hut. The area is favourable due existence of bushes, a small jungle and nearby tea plantation area. It is heard that when the police were trying to encircle the area at that very moment Com, KM suggested leaving the shelter one after another. And he left first. He got through. But comrades Jungal Santhal and Babulal Viswakarmarkar were arrested a little away from the hut. This caused a great damage". (from The History of CPI(ML) from 1969 – 72 – An Evaluation by Com. KS, 2005)

The Naxalbari Struggle that took place 50 years back in 1967 had 14 years of background. The experiences of 14 years earned during relentless class struggle helped the comrades of Naxalbari to break from revisionism, neo-revisionism and left trends. The resistance to Jotedars and government on 24<sup>th</sup> May



1967 was a revolutionary act and complete break from neo-revisionism and parliamentary line. The call of Naxalbari reverberated in all parts of India.

### **Srikakulam Adivasi Armed Upsurge**

The Srikakulam adivasi movement also developed over a long period. The communists organised the Girijan Sangh since 1959 in various forms of struggle on the basis of 10 demands (land, loan waiver, abolition of bonded labour, right to forest etc). People got most of these demands fulfilled. The movement reached a new stage by 1969. The people are taking into their possession lands that were illegally occupied by the landlords. They also distributed draught and dairy animals of landlords among themselves. They stopped transport of rice from this area and distributed them at fair prices. This gave an impetus to the movement.

Fearing the growth of peoples movement, the landlords and their henchmen attacked the adivasis and killed two girijans. Koranna and Manganna were the first martyrs of the struggle. After some time, the people got mobilised in the commemorating programme for martyrs. They moved to cancel the loans and harvested standing crops. It became a daily affair for the people to move in a rally with traditional weapons. They are ready to implement the land distribution. The girijan sangh established its authority.

The camp of Special Armed Police was set up in this area after 2-2-1968. Large scale attack by police started from March 1968. Many adivasis were arrested. Several women were molested and the properties of the people were looted. Another two adivasis were killed in an armed conflict. As the people were not prepared to face this situation, they were not able to resist these attacks in an organised manner.

Under the guidance of state leadership, the District Committee took certain steps on March 29.

- “1. The party cadre had to re-establish relations with the people and restore the ordinary life and agricultural activities that were disturbed by the police.
2. taking organisational, political and technical preparations needed for armed struggle.
3. taking all the possible steps to extend the movement to other areas of agency and to Odisha. The state leadership stressed that the then movement was limited to very small area. Both Seethampeta and Parvatipuram areas are small and surrounded by roads. It was impossible for the guerrilla squads to withstand enemy’s onslaught”. (Review of APCCCR).

Yet, the left opportunist leadership at all India level and a section of District committee leadership had ignored the direction from the State Committee and went to the extent of splitting from APCCCR and joined directly the AICCCR. A gap was created between the state leadership and a section of district leadership. The left and opportunist trend at all India level was responsible for this gap.

Srikakulam adivasi movement developed as a militant anti-feudal struggle. It gained revolutionary character as the politics of peoples war came to it with the efforts of communist revolutionaries. The conditions were getting ripened to take the movement to higher level – the level of peoples’ armed struggle. Yet there were weaknesses in the movement that were to be overcome. The leadership should have had adopted –under the then prevailing situation of the movement- the possible and necessary steps to protect the achievements of the movement, while adopting the tactics to hoodwink the enemy, extend the movement, to mobilise solidarity for the agrarian revolution and armed struggle and thus gaining more time for preparations. The leadership should have utilised both legal and illegal forms of struggle and organisation.

The impact of left opportunist trend was so strong that a section of leadership of APCCCR had got attracted or tilted towards it. This largely weakened the strength of the leadership which was determined to fight the politics and practice of left opportunist leadership.

Debra-Gopiballabhpur was another important struggle of that time. It showed the potential to developing into a peoples armed struggle. By 1969, it passed through various forms of struggle to reach a higher stage. Thousands of peasants came out to harvest the standing crops. The left opportunist leadership of CPI(ML) condemned the taking possession of crops as outright revisionism. Then the agrarian revolutionary task was abandoned and annihilation line was put into practice.

### **On Reasons for Errors committed in the Process of Failures:**

When Comrade Souren Bose met the leaders of Chinese Communist Party in 1970 for the second time, Comrade Kang Sheng said to Bose:

*“In 1968, when I met comrade Bose talked about this question with him emphatically. I said during the talk, if we engage in armed struggle in an isolated way, ie. Without the broadest masses of people this kind of struggle would not be successful. Disregarding the vital interests of peasants and disregarding agrarian struggle of the peasantry the armed struggle would have no base. Hence it will not be successful. I have said that the level of consciousness of the masses has always been raised from lower stage to higher, and only when we proceed from the vital interests, the economic interests of masses of people and raise their*

*level of consciousness, can we mobilise them to armed struggle. We should not mobilise the masses of people for armed struggle in a way isolating ourselves from the masses.”* (Comrade Chou En Lai talk with Souren Bose)

In October 1970, comrades Chou en Lai and Kang Sheng had detailed discussion with Comrade Souren Bose and categorically said the following:

1. In the world there was no party that had authority or superiority over other parties. Every party was independent. It had to apply Marxism-Leninism and Mao's thought to the concrete conditions of their countries. It had to take itself the responsibility for its achievements and failures. It is not to correct to copy or mechanically apply Mao's teachings and experiences of China.
2. It is not correct to proclaim "China's chairman is our chairman".
3. It is wrong to say that struggle of peasants is not for land but for political power. These two are interrelated and indivisible.
4. It is wrong to say that mass organisations and peoples movements are an obstacle to organise guerrilla struggle. On the contrary, their absence will be an obstacle on the way of organising guerrilla struggle.
5. Annihilation line is wrong. It is proved in Chinese revolution that such actions are unfortunate.
6. It is wrong to form guerrilla squads secretly and conspiratorially without relations to the people. It only leads to defeat by separating the party and guerrilla squads from the people.
7. It is wrong to form Red Guards in cities. It is wrong to abandon trade union activities.
8. CPI(ML) has no programme of agrarian revolution. It is a serious weakness and failure. It is not possible to prepare the people for armed struggle without an agrarian revolutionary movement based on agrarian revolutionary programme and without linking it with armed struggle revolution will not be successful.
9. It is wrong to say that united front should be formed after gaining political power. The idea and practice of united front should be the guide for the work of communist revolutionaries through-out the revolutionary movement.
10. It is wrong to say "whoever does not dip their hands in the blood of class enemy is not a communist".
11. The general orientation of CPI(ML) is correct, Its policies are wrong. They have to be corrected.

If the leadership of CPI(ML) grasped the essence of opinions expressed by the leadership of CPC and if it genuinely and self-critically examined its opinions and practice, it should have realised that the way it has applied Mao's thought, peoples war line is totally wrong and had come back to the revolutionary mass line. Here we have to examine the following points:

1. The internal struggle within the CPI(ML) against left opportunist leadership was significant and positive development, It reflected whole hearted attempt to learn from practice and to adopt revolutionary mass line. If dispassionate and democratic discussions were organised on the basis of experience, it had helped the CPI(ML) to correct its errors even at the last minute. But the left opportunist leadership showed incorrigible and incorrect attitude. It adopted all methods to suppress the divergent opinions.

2. If the forces that fought against left opportunist leadership of CPI(ML) both inside and outside of it had discussed and acted with unified understanding in their struggle, it could have strengthened the forces of revolutionary mass line. It could have greatly influenced the revolutionary camp. But the distance between Andhra revolutionaries and those within CPI(ML) is still continuing Along with this and other factors like lack of physical relations and wrong notions spread against communist revolutionaries played their negative role.

3. The criticism and advice of leadership of CPC was a help to the Indian CRs. But the painful fact is that the leadership of CPI(ML) – which claims utmost respect towards CPC – kept these advices under wraps without any reason and continued in its own path. These criticisms and advices of CPC came to light very lately and as bits of information. Suppression of these facts caused enormous harm to the Indian revolution. If CPC's criticisms and advices were opened for discussion in a proper manner, it could have strengthened the process of unifying all CRs on the basis of correct path. We had lost this opportunity. More hurdles were created for the unity of CRs and revolutionary movements.

"More on Naxalbari" said: There were "internal contradictions and splits among the ruling classes, countrywide mass discontent against the government and a strong mass base in Naxalbari. But save these, all other conditions necessary for the existence of red area were absent. Moreover, there were illusions on the newly formed united front government. Though communist cadres in Darjeeling, Kolkata and other areas revolted against CPI(M) leadership, the rank and file members of CPI(M) are in confusion and are not ready for revolt. It was possible to preserve Naxalbari peasant uprising without incurring heavy losses,

if we avoided subjective tactical mistakes, absence of subjective preparations and absence of flexibility in policy by keeping firm on principle”. (from “More on Naxalbari” written in 1973-74)

The communist parties of Russia and China followed the method of internal discussions to solve political, organisational and movement problems. They organised struggle against wrong trends that harms the movement.

Serious differences and opinions emerged on ideological, political, organisational and movement problems in the Indian communist movement also. They also arose during the Telangana, Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Khammam, Warramgal and Godavari movements. These differences got expressed between reformism and revolution and between revolution and left sectarianism during Telangana peasant struggle in 1946-50. The reformism later developed into revisionism and left sectarianism into left adventurism. In the final analysis, the result of both the trends is the same. To fight against these trends, internal struggle within the party, with long-term and overall interests of revolution, comradely spirit, flexibility with firmness on principle are needed. As it did not happen, a large physical and mental gap was formed among the active cadres and forces aspiring for revolution. By reviewing our organisations and movements in a factual manner, this gap could be bridged.

Indian communist movement can surmount the obstacles faced by it only by discarding subjective trends in the method of criticism review and analysis.

The centenary celebration of great October socialist revolution is needed because the history has not ended, because revolution is inevitable, because CRs are engaged in revolutionary movement and because the people are struggling against exploitation and oppression. The bourgeoisie and its supporters are crying hoarse that Marxism became outdated and capitalism is the last stage for human well being. It is the duty of CRs to re-establish the spirit of struggles and socialism and spread them wide and review and draw lessons from the past and present experiences. For this the CRs are celebrating the centenary of October Revolution.

***Long live Great October socialist Revolution!***

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