

Indian Communist Revolutionary Movement - Some Lessons

-Viswam

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 an end 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 Punnapra-Vayalar of Kerala (1943), Tebhaga in Bengal (1946), Mymensingh (now in Bangladesh) 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 of 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 be liberated 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 people's 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 guerrilla squads that were filled with people in contrast to mercenaries of Nizam and Indian governments. The local squads have 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 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 guerrilla struggle and no liberated area was formed. So, there was no scope to develop this into a comprehensive system. Yet it 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 retell 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 praising 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 while 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 is 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 in 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 shortcomings 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" (Telangana 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 people's 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 meta-morphosed 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, people's 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 landlords in Khammam and Warangal 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 organization 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. Everything 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 of 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 (PKC) of West Bengal (CPI period) decided to give a call to stop benami transactions by the landlords within the limits of certain dates i.e. legally. But the Kisan Sabha of Siliguri (SKS) 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 purview 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 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

that either the comrades were to quit or to carry on struggle. In this situation the comrades again started recapturing 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 December of 1966. 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 till 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. Kanu Sanyal (KS) was in jail and was released just before 1967 elections.

After the release of Com. Jungal Santhal (JS) from Calcutta jail just a month before 1967 election, Com. Charu Mazumdar (CM) retreated from his position of election boycott. 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 United Front (UF) ministry came to power in 1967 in WB. Just at this period Ishwar 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 Ishwar 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 Barajharu (3 kms 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 24th May 1967. It should be reminded that so long the political propaganda carried on was "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 24th May lies here and so Naxalbari Day should be observed on 24th May. On 25th May the women comrades were holding a general meeting by the roadside, two and a half km south of Naxalbari at Prosadu Jote. The Sub Divisional Officer (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 positions and fired upon the women folk and 11 women comrades along with a baby got killed. Actually the police took revenge on 25th May. After 24th 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 25th became Martyrs Day and it exposed the sham and fakeness of parliamentary path in relation to the question of radical land reform i.e. 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 paramilitary 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 to the 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 re-break from revisionism, neo-revisionism and left trends. The resistance to Jotedars and government on 24th 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 the lands that were illegally occupied by the landlords. They also distributed dairy animals and etc. 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 people's 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 of 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 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 inter-related 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 throughout 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 apart from 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 harm the movement.

Serious differences and opinions emerged on ideological, political, organisational and practical problems in the Indian communist movement also. They also arose during the Telangana, Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Khammam, Warangal 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.

How to Take Lessons

At the end of the chapter on "Revolt in Srikakulam" in Comrade Nagi Reddy's court statement "India Mortgaged", he said that those with different opinions and views due to our wounded people's struggles, make their comments, criticisms and lessons according to their opinions and views. He quoted Marx and Engels's "German Revolution and Counter-Revolution" on taking lessons. He quoted Lenin's lessons from "Agrarian Programme of Social Democracy". We elaborately quote from the pages of 'India Mortgaged' by Tarimela Nagi Reddy.

"I have had to re-trace this recent history to show how it was the government, and thspired against the people to suppress their organised fight for their legitimate demands. It was the government and the landlords who used all the illegal methods against the people. It was the landlords and their gangsters that created terror in the villages. It was the landlords that used lethal weapons including guns for the first time against the people. It was the police who opened fire on the girijans. It was the landlords and the government that openly declared war on the peasants."

It was only when the peasants found that every legal agitation only brought forth illegal brutal means of repression on their heads that they woke up to the realisation that the landlords' government had no legal bounds in putting down the downtrodden, however legal their demands be. They saw that all their representations to the government in the illegal means of extraction of free labour and mamools to the landlords and the government officials went unheeded. Their representations about abnormally low wages were not even enquired into. Their petitions and agitation against illegal confiscation of land by the landlords did not move the '*constitution-bound*' rulers. On the other hand, illegal arrests, tortures and shootings against the people became the order of the day.

I would like to ask who were the conspirators ? Was it the people who fought bravely against illegal, immoral desperados of the despicable landlords and their servile government ? Or was it the government and the landlords who for the past so many years acted against all the so called canons of the Constitution, not only robbed them of their land and labour but visited them like the plague with all the Nazi brutality with illegal arrests, tortures and finally started the shooting game to destroy their will to fight?

For the present, there is jubilation heard from all the bourgeois parties and their servitors over the temporary setback to the great resistance put up by the girijans. Forcible repression might have temporarily succeeded. **But I can do no better than quote Marx and Engels who, on the basis of the experiences of the 1848 Revolution, in 'general, and of the German Revolution', in particular, wrote in "Germany: Revolution and Counter – Revolution" as follows:**

"A more signal defeat than that undergone by the continental revolutionary party - or rather parties upon all points of the line of battle cannot be imagined. But what of that? Has not the struggle of the British middle classes for their social and political supremacy embraced - forty-eight, that of the French middle classes, forty years of unexampled struggles? And was their triumph ever nearer than at the very moment when restored Monarchy thought itself more firmly settled ever ?.... If, then, we have been beaten, we have nothing else to do but to begin again from the beginning. And, fortunately, the probably very short interval, of rest, which is allowed us between the close of the first of the beginning of the second of the moment, gives us time for a very necessary piece of work; the study of the causes that necessitated both the late outbreak and its defeat, causes that are not to be sought for in the accidental efforts, talents, faults, errors or treacheries of some of the leaders, but in the general social state and conditions of existence of each of the convulsed nations. When you enquire into the causes of the counter revolutionary successes, there you are met on every hand with the ready that it was Mr. This or That citizen who 'betrayed' the people. Which reply may be true or not, according to circumstances, but under circumstances does it explain anything - not even show how it came to pass that the 'people' allowed themselves to be thus betrayed. And what a poor chance stands a political party whose entire stock-in trade consists in a knowledge of the solitary fact that citizen so and so is not to be trusted."

Therefore, temporary setbacks should be used by the revolutionaries to study deeply every aspect of the movement and come to certain broad conclusions, to gain valuable experiences to broaden and intensify the struggle. Let the counter revolutionaries and the ruling class shout temporary jubilation from every available house-top! But the revolutionaries know it to be only short lived. He who laughs last laughs best. That was why

Marx and Engels remarked in relation to the restoration of monarchy between 1640 and 1680 in England and between 1729 and 1830 in France : “And was their triumph (the triumph of middle classes : Tr.) ever nearer than at the very moment when restored monarchy though itself more firmly settled than ever?” The bourgeois- landlord government after un-heard-of terror not even experienced in the period of direct rule of the British, has temporarily felt jubilant at a fake victory over the people, and is thinking of being “itself more firmly settled than ever”. In this short interval of rest”, it is the duty of the revolutionaries to historically and self-critically analyse these five years of the glorious period of convulsions. As Marx said, “The enquiry into, and exposition of the causes, both of the revolutionary convulsion and its suppression, are besides, of paramount importance from the historical point of view.” (*Karl Marx, “Selected Works” Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., Volume 11 June 11, 1943, Page 41*).

There will be many, like the revisionists, who will proclaim the ‘unsuitability’ of peasant agrarian revolution at this moment and try to spread demoralisation and disintegration among peasant masses and cadres taking advantage also of the savage repression let loose by the big bourgeois - landlord government. But the revolutionaries who are aware of the growing all round economic and political crisis which the bourgeoisie is facing today, know that its days of jubilation are short lived. The revolutionaries must keep in mind and work according to the heists of Lenin who proclaimed in 1907 as follows:

“Let it not be thought that, at the present moment of history when the Black Hundred diehards are howling and raging in the Third Duma when Plus Ultra of rampant. Counter revolution has been reached and reaction is perpetrating savage acts of political vengeance upon the revolutionaries in general and the Social -Democratic deputies in the Second Duma in particular - let it not be thought - that this moment is ‘unsuitable’ for ‘broad’ agrarian programme. Such a thought would be akin to the backsliding, despondency, disintegration and decadence which have spread among wide sections of petty bourgeois intellectuals who belong to the Social Democratic Party, or sympathise with this party in Russia. The proletariat can only gain by having this rubbish swept clean out of the ranks of the workers’ party. Yes, the more savagely reaction rages, the more does it actually retard the inevitable economic development, the more

successfully does it prepare the wider upsurge of the democratic movement. And we must take advantage of the temporary lulls in action critically to study the experience of the great revolution, verify this experience, purge it of dross, and pass it on to the masses as a guide for the impending struggle". (Lenin: "Agrarian Programme of Social Democracy", "Collected Works", Volume 13, Page 429).

During this period of confusion, inevitable at a time of savage acts of political vengeance by the bourgeois - landlord government, certain sections of the revolutionary movement slip out and betray it in various forms. There will be many at this hour who will justify their revisionist role by proclaiming the 'unsuitability' of peasant actions for peasant agrarian upsurge. Taking advantage of temporary lull, they will use all methods, in addition to government repression, to disrupt and demoralise the revolutionary ranks. It is the duty of the revolutionaries now to analyse and explain the experiences of the great struggles that have taken place, to prepare for further implementation of the agrarian programme by directly taking these experiences to the masses for the preparation of the impending struggle.

There is no dispute in the fact that Telangana, Naxalbari and Srikakulam mass movements became the targets of repression after reaching a certain stage. At the same time the movements became the victims of diversionist ideas, theories and tactics. In such a circumstance the leadership of the parties had to take the reins of the movement. We should not hoodwink the facts by attributing the failures to the ideas and actions of an individual or a group. We have to examine the conditions in which those individuals or groups became victims of those trends.

From Marx, Engels, Lenin to Nagi Reddy explained in detail in their writings that during the time of lull in the movement we should not waste our time in the mutual condemnation for the failures but on the other hand we have to make use of the time available in planning from where and how to launch the movement again after examining our experiences and taking lessons from it. Our opponents, the anti revolutionaries try to create confusions and spreading demoralisation among the revolutionary ranks by utilising our failures and by heckling us. They are chattering from the roof tops blaming and accusing revolutionaries. Let them chatter! But their excitement will not last long as they are entangled in financial and political

crisis. Their boasting may continue for a short time. So Comrade Nagi Reddy explained that after learning lessons from the previous experiences revolutionaries have start their activities again. Class struggles continue as long as exploiting classes and exploiting system exist and the Red Flag keeps flying.