

April 16th in Memory of Comrade Madhu:

Ideological and Political Struggles in Communist Movement from the Inception of Formations

It must be understood that in India the ideas of communism developed under the impact of Great October Revolution. After October Revolution contacts between various centres of Indian revolutionaries in exile and Soviet Union were established in 1918. This paved the way for the dissemination of Marxist ideology amongst the national revolutionaries in the early period. Indian revolutionaries who visited Russia between 1918-22 were deeply impressed by their meetings with Lenin and other Soviet leaders and their observation in Moscow, Petrograd, Tashkent and Baku. Among them Moulana Barakatulla had written a book in Persian called 'Bolshevism and the Islamic Nations'. This book was translated into different Asian languages. This book played an important role in India. Inspired by this book about 200 Mahajirs crossed at Soviet border in 1920. In the later period some of them had come back to India and 30 of them stayed in Taskhent who formed Tashkent branch of Indian Revolutionary Association. MPBT Acharya had represented this association in the Second congress of Comintern in 1920. At the same time, in Baku a group was formed and it published a paper called Azad Hindustan Akbar. The representation from this organization also took part in the Congress of the Oppressed People of the East in 1920.



In exile M.N. Roy played an important role in spreading the ideas of Marxism. He joined the Communist party of Mexico and had come to Moscow in 1920 as a delegate to the congress of Communist International (CI) and he was elected to executive committee of Communist International.

On October 17th 1920 CPI was formed in Tashkent with 10 members. First Secretary of this party was Md Shafiq.

During this period Communist group came in to existence in Bombay under the leadership of S.A Dange, S.V. Ghate and R.S. Nambikar. Another Group was formed in Benaras under the leadership of Shaukat Usmani. Communist groups were formed in Lahore, Calcutta by Muzaffar Ahmed and in Madras Singaravelu Chettiar.

Since 1920, Many attempts were made to bring various groups under one All India Communist Party. In 1925 December, from 26-30 a Conference was held under the

chairmanship of Singaravelu Chettiar of Madras where a resolution was passed for the formation of CPI with its head quarters in Bombay. Central Executive Committee with J.P. Bagerhatta and S.V. Ghate as secretaries was announced. These were some of the important attempts. Later on due to differences, this centre also ceased to exist. Another effort was made in 1925 through the formation of Workers and Peasant Party as an open platform.

All these attempts, however, failed. At the same time, under the leadership of various Communist groups kisan sabha organization started coming up and gained firm ground among the peasants by leading their struggles in various parts of the country. So also the workers movement started developing in various parts which resulted in the formation of 200 trade unions with 0.3 million membership under the leadership of AITUC.

Finally, seeing state of party organization in India, CPC, CPGB and CP Germany had sent an open letter to the Indian Communist groups (published in the IMPRECOR—the organ of CI on May 12, 1932.) The letter observed *“The general situation of the communist movement is not satisfactory. But on the other side the tremendous development of the working class and peasant movement which is unprecedented in the past. On the other hand, the communist party as yet consist of small number of weak groups and isolated from the masses”*. The letter also observed that *“instead of a struggle for united all India CP, localism, provincialism, self-isolation from masses are mainly existing”*.

Letter further stated, *“The conversion of the proletariat from an active political force into the leading force with the hegemony of the people’s movement can be brought about at the present time by the exposure of the bourgeois National Congress and its “left wing” Bose, Kandalkar, Ray etc as the betrayers of the struggle for independence and can be realized only if the C.P. takes a most energetic part in the struggle for independence on the basis of irreconcilable struggle against national reformists.”*

“However while struggling against “left” national reformism, it is incorrect to separate ourselves from the mass movement of the people under the leadership of National congress. A distinction must be made between the bourgeois congress leadership and those sections of the workers, peasants and revolutionary elements”.

Though this letter was written in the name of three Parties, all the suggestions made by it had the approval of CI.

After this the CPC has sent another open letter to the Indian communists on July 16, 1933 appreciating the moves of the Indian communists towards the formation of “All India Communist Party”. In 1933 the most of Meerut prisoners were released. In December 1933 an All India Congress was held in Calcutta where a provisional Central Committee was formed which adopted a Political Thesis and a draft Constitution. They were subsequently published in IMPRECOR, the organ of CI.

In real sense the CPI came into being with a proper centre, a Programme and CC in December 1933 in Calcutta and this CPI got affiliation to the CI. Since 1933 the CPI continued

to function as All India Party. This All India Party had convened its first Party Congress in Bombay from 23 May to 1st June 1943. Membership at the time was 15,563.

Second congress was held in Calcutta in 1948. Subsequently, Third Party Congress was held in 1954, in Madurai, Forth congress was held in 1956 in Palghat (2 months after 20th Congress of CPSU), Fifth Special Congress was held in 1958 April in Amritsar. During this period Great Debate on the Ideological Questions of International Communist Movement started. Fifth congress was held after the 61 parties met in Moscow which adopted a Declaration, which was published in the name of 12 parties. Sixth congress was held in Vijayawada in 1961. Inner party struggles continued. CPI (M) came into existence through 7th congress held in Calcutta in December 1964. The formation of CPI (M) in 1964 was a culmination of bitter and prolonged inner party struggles. Fed up with the revisionist policies and practice, overwhelming majority of rank and file rallied with the CPI (M) with the hope that Party would adopt a revolutionary line. But due to neo revisionist orientation of majority of the leadership these hopes were belied and the inner party struggle was betrayed. Since 1964, as earlier, again the inner party struggle started developing inside CPI (M) which resulted in split in 1967 after Naxalbari Revolt and consequently the formation of AICCCR.

The Communist Movement in India suffered enormously from one or the other wrong trend which dominated for a greater part of its life as on 1964. Consequently, the proletariat could not emerge itself as the leader of Indian Revolution in the period of National Liberation Movement as well as in the subsequent period. At the same time, the Communist Movement is a rich and invaluable treasure-house of experiences in leading the workers, peasants, youth, students, women, middle classes and other oppressed people in glorious struggles and movements. It led many a peasant struggles and revolutionary movements. Telangana peasant armed struggle providing a shining example of them. It established best example of ideological and political struggle and communist qualities.

The period 1964-67 was marked by four important aspects. a) Neo-revisionist leadership exposed its real ugly face. b) Along with carrying inner party struggles against revisionist politics, party cadres took up the responsibility of initiating and advancing class struggle and peasant movement to expose the revisionist leadership, c) the struggles within CPI (M) got intensified, d) the inner party struggle started at different level in India. CPI (M) finally decided to hold plenum to settle the ideological issues and as a result in April 1968 Burdwan Central Plenum was held. Final split was completed immediately after the Burdwan plenum. Majority membership of CPI (M) in AP under the leadership of T.Nagi Reddy and D.V.Rao had come out from the CPI (M) and formed APCCCR and joined AICCCR.

After the split of CPI (M) in 1967, the Communist Revolutionary movement witnessed various trends, practices and divisions before all the Communist Revolutionaries could unite in a common platform. It has gone through various courses of inner party struggle with many permutations and combinations and developments. There came into existence various formations under different names. Several formations are existing today. A single all India Communist Party is yet to come into existence.

Between 1943–1951, the documents published in it deal with a very important part of Communist Movement in India. During this time, debates on the question of stage, strategy and tactics of Indian revolution took important turns. They are rich in their ideological and political content; sharp and systematic was the clash of ideas and rich in experiences based on practice. The documents of Andhra leadership; line of BTR; the documents of New CC formed in 1950; the documents of 'Three Ps' and the documents of 1951 CC throw light on the lines and practices that were in lead as well as clash in this short but turbulent period in the Communist Movement in India. Objective picture and help the readers to judge the whole course of developments objectively and correctly.

The period from 1964–72. Documents on differences and struggle inside the CPI (M) will give clear picture of the ideological –political and organizational nature of differences and struggle. This struggle was carried on not only as individuals or groups but also in committees and other internal fora from local to all India level, not only on some specific questions but also on the path of Indian revolution and the ideological–political line of International Communist Movement. The document '*On the Ideological issues in the International Communist Movement*' by D.V.Rao, *the Resolution and Documents of Andhra State Plenum on Madurai ideological draft, Open letter to party Members* by T.Nagi Reddy, D.V.Rao, Kolla Venkayya and C.P. Reddy will give an inspiring and clear idea of the ideological and political content of the debate and struggles carried on by the Andhra Comrades under the leadership of T.Nagi Reddy and D.V.Rao. These documents will be of useful reference material to understand the inner party struggles and its nature. At the same–time ideological debates were also going in different states. Document on the "*Present Situation and Task*" by Committee for struggle against Revisionism (W.B) in 1966 is another important document.

Eight documents by Charu Majumdar (Darjeeling) written in the period between 1965–67 to understand the nature of struggle and its political ideological content.

The peasant revolutionary movements which had come up in some parts of the Country, more significantly the workers and peasant uprising of Naxalbari added strength and momentum to these ideological and political struggles and had taken them to new heights. These struggles had finally culminated in the break of CRs from the CPI (M). Immediately after Naxalbari uprising *Naxalbari–O–Krishak Sangram Sahayak Committee* was formed under the chairmanship of Promod Sengupta. Document of Naxalbari–O–Krishak Sangram Sahayak Committee is an important step forward towards the unification of CRs inside and outside the party CPI (M).

With the initiative of W.Bengal comrades *All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries of CPI (M)* was formed on November 13, 1967. AICCCR was a historic event. Differences have cropped up inside the AICCCR as well as between the leadership of AICCCR and the CRs outside the AICCCR. AICCCR faced divisions. These differences are of serious nature. APCCCR and many comrades like Parimal Dasgupta and his Organisation, Com. Promod Sen Gupta, Asit Sen, Ban Bihari Chakrabarty, Shyamal Nandi

and many others started opposing the line of Charu Majumdar. The Documents, Declaration (Nov 13, 1967) of the Revolutionaries in CPI(M), Declaration of AICCCR; (May 14, 1968), AICCCR's Resolutions on Elections and Work in TU Front; Feb 7, 1969, Resolution of AICCCR on APCCCR; Resolution on APCCCR, Resolution (Feb 8, 1969) on the need to form Party; April 22, 1969 Communique of AICCCR and various documents of APCCCR (1968-69); Asit Sen's Document, '*Another Dangerous Line*' and Promod Sengupta's document, '*Whither Revolution*', etc. abundantly reveal the nature of differences.

Large sections of CRs were outside the AICCCR when those who remained in the AICCCR led by Charu Majumdar decided to form a new party CPI (ML) and announced its formation in 1962, 22nd April in Calcutta. Those including APCCCR the largest section which came out from CPI (M) - was left out.

The documents show how and under which conditions the struggles had developed after 1964 within the ranks of CRs.

After the formation CPI (ML) on the basis of "*Resolution of Party Organisation*" and '*Political Resolution*' the COC, CPI (ML) led by C.M. had convened Party Congress in May 1970 where the documents, CPI (ML)'s Party Programme, and Political Organizational Report presented by Charu Majumdar were adopted.

Immediately after the CPI (ML) Congress differences within CPI (ML) took a serious turn. Bihar State Committee came out with a document called "*Problems of the Indian Revolution and Neo Trotskyite Diversions*", criticising various positions of CM and his followers. In November, 1970 Sushital Roy Choudhury made a sharp criticism of left adventurism in document called *Problems and crises of Indian Revolution and appealed the ranks to Resist the Ultra-adventurist trend Raising its Head in Our Party*. Almost all the leading comrades from Bihar to Bengal, UP to Punjab opposed CM's line. Subsequently the struggling comrades from Bihar, Debra, Mashahari have summed up their experiences. As a result several CPI (ML) groups emerged during 1971-72. Thus the document of various sides to give a proper representation of facts and situation.

By April 12, 1969, the APCCCR consolidated itself as Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communists Committee (APRCC) through a State Convention. This convention adopted the programme of NDR; Agrarian revolutionary programme with the perspective of path of people's war as applied to concrete conditions and practice. It reviewed its ideological, political organizational and movement work, the problems and trends it encountered in the course of guiding the girijan peasant movement in Srikakulam. Later the APRCC moved ahead out the revolutionary mass line. It continued the struggle against wrong trends as well as the efforts to unite the CRs based on a correct revolutionary mass line.

Similarly group led by Asit Sen formed West Bengal Unity and Co-ordination Committee on the basis of their struggle and started to bring out a journal called *Liberation War* (1971) in English and *Murktiyudh* in Bengali (1969-70); They formed RYSF and Krishak Sangram Samittee.

Under the leadership of Parimal Dasgupta CCR of W.B. had come into existence with its own documents. They organized state wide trade union too.

WBCCR led by Moni Guha had come into existence with the close contact with APCCR.

In Northern Zone, N.Z.C. RCUC (ML) had come in to existence with three documents- *Draft Programme, Organizational Draft, Method of Work.*

Along with this CPI (ML) led by S.N. on the basis of *Self Critical Report of the Central Committee* had come into being.

Similarly CPI (ML) led M.M and CPI (ML) led by Johar had also emerged by 1972.

By 1972 majority of CR leadership was in jail. Six leading Comrades released an *Open Letter* from Vishakhapatnam Jail. Kanu Sanyal wrote a document called *More About Naxalbari* (1973) throwing more light on the course of development of Naxalbari struggle as well as the struggle between the trends manifested in Naxalbari. The same time Comrade KS revealed that the Terai Report which was published by his name was not by him. It was written by some other Comrades.

All these documents and writings from different formations during the period of 1964-72 are valuable for serious communist activists, sympathizers, serious research workers to understand the historical facts concerning the course of developments, trends, practices and the nature of inner party struggle in the Communist Movement and to arrive at objective and correct conclusions. This will also be useful as reference materials.

This not may be comprehensive one because there exist many more documents which are yet to be found.

Comrade Madhu

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