

The Role of Communist Party and Problems Faced by Party for Achieving Peoples' Victory

The Class Struggle published in its previous three issues on Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle (1944-50) and how it was developed by the Communist Party. There is a need to write about the controversies and polemics of that time. We will put our effort to write on them comprehensively.

The Communist Party and Kisan Sabha had observed the mounting discontent among the peasants and tenants in East and North Bengal. The peasants and tenants were demanding since long time that the share-cropper should get two-thirds of the produce while the landowner's share should never exceed one-third.

The Kisan Sabha had given a call for Tebhaga movement. While the communal riots were still going at Naukhali and Tippera, The Hindu and Muslim peasants who were seething with discontent had, within a short time, plunged into the movement on their demands. "Let us settle the problem of lease today. We will settle the problem of land tomorrow" was the slogan that resounded in the voices of thousands of people. This movement had spread to 19 districts and surrounded Naukhali and Tippera districts from all four sides. The Tebhaga movement started when the crops were in the fields. Even before the disrupters began their vilification of the movement as an anti-Hindu agitation, it had spread to all corners and became strong as an united movement. The repressive policy was unable to suppress the united movement of Hindu and Muslim peasants fighting for Tebhaga. The slanderous propaganda could not slacken the movement. The movement surged forward brushing aside all the objections. The peasants resisted the government with guerilla methods of struggle.

Hindu, Muslim and lower caste people of Bengal fought a war against the oppressive Zamindari system. The shame of Naukhali and Tippera communal riots was wiped out by the unity achieved by the Hindu and Muslim peasants in the Tebhaga movement.

The peasantry of Bihar had also moved. They had given the slogan that they cannot pay half of the agricultural produce as rent to the Zamindars as was being done till that day and that their rent shall be decided in the form of money but not in kind. "We will harvest the crop, we will pay the rent when we sell it" was their slogan. The Hindu and Muslim peasantry had united to achieve their demands from the Zamindars.

A new wave of strikes was fast spreading in the industrial belt in and around Calcutta in the course of which the unity among the Hindu and Muslim workers was strengthening.

Supporting the workers resistance struggle against the communal turmoil 20,000 clerks of 34 Central government offices in Calcutta went on a one day strike.

The textile workers of Kanpur who were in the general struggle and the workers and citizens who rose against the policy of repression stood united. It is to be noted that the workers were in the vanguard.

The peasants led by the All India Kisan Sabha waged many a militant struggles during 1935-45 in Bihar, Bengal, UP, Andhra, Gujarat, Kerala, Punjab and Madras. The Worli adivasi revolt took place in Maharashtra (Thane) during 1939-47). The peasant revolt in Kayyur of Kerala in 1943, the Telangana peasants armed struggle in the princely state of Hyderabad (1946-51), the Punnapra-Vayalar movement of 1946 in the princely state of Travancore, the Tebhaga movement of 1946 in Bengal, Armed resistance at Maimensing in East Bengal and the struggle of peasants for land in Ahmadnagar of Maharashtra were conducted under the leadership of the Provincial Committees of Communist Party of those States. The Telangana was the Peasant armed struggle that reached to the stage of guerrilla warfare in which 4000 people laid down their lives for the cause. 3000 villages and 10,00,000 acres of land came into the possession of the people. The feudal despots had run away from their well guarded forts, called gadies.

The British colonial rulers used many tactics to trample the struggles of Indian People under foot. They used the hard as well as 'soft' methods-like the repression, reforms, and the divide and rule policy. They groomed the diversionist forces and used them against the struggling people. But they were not successful all the time.

Struggle for Path

The Second Congress of the CPI (1948) had defined that the independence of 1947 as sham, and that the entire bourgeois class including the national bourgeoisie had joined the imperialist camp and that the feudal and bourgeois classes are wielding the state power. It defined that the united front had to be formed with workers, peasants, middle class and urban middle class. It also defined that the Indian revolution follow the workers and peoples insurrection, to be precise in the path of Russian revolution. It defined that this revolution was a peoples democratic revolution, and that the democratic revolution and socialist revolution would be intertwined and assured that the revolution would be completed with a new momentum.

The Second Congress had rejected the reformist policies of the then Central Committee under the leadership of P.C.Joshi. It ridiculed the standpoint of supporting the 'progressive section' in the bourgeoisie. Yet, it branded the Telangana peasant struggle as a reformist struggle. From its sectarian view, it rejected the fact that the Telangana peasant struggle was an agrarian revolutionary struggle, a movement for the development of Telugu culture and languages, a struggle directed against the Nizam's rule and other feudal landlords and had the aim of achieving national liberation from the yoke of imperialism. The sectarian line

had inflicted a severe blow to this movement even before it was consolidated as a guerilla struggle based in the villages.

Though the Second Congress has accurately defined the 1947 independence as a fake, it was unable to provide a clear understanding about the nature of bourgeoisie. Moreover it had adopted left sectarian policies. The democratic and socialist stages of the revolution were made into one and both the stages were seen as a single stage. There was no clear demarcating line between the enemy classes and the revolutionary classes. With the slogan of "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" the program for calling attacks on individuals and destruction of property was given.

This line is given by Second Congress, B.T.Ranadhive as the GS. More over this line is introduced by BTR. So it is Ranadhive line.

This line caused two-fold losses to the movement. **One:** It diverted the Telangana peasant resistance movement that was being conducted on correct line. The efforts to build guerilla bases in the rural areas, to expand the agrarian revolutionary movement and the preparations to be made at the all India level with a long term revolutionary perspective were abandoned. Two : this line provided opportunity to the revisionists to gain upper hand in the leadership of Central Committee. These right opportunists had taken up the task of finding 'good' elements in the big bourgeoisie and persuade them to establish socialism. They tried to make the people believe that equality can be achieved through good legislations and reforms. They resorted to all schemes for withdrawal of the ongoing revolutionary mass movement. They had subordinated the oppressed people's movement to the wishes of big bourgeoisie and capitalist classes and thus betrayed the people.

In the final analysis, both left sectarianism and right capitulationism had taken toll of the revolutionary mass movement and destroyed them. Precisely for this reason, Com. Lenin emphatically said that both the left and right opportunism are twins and two sides of the same coin. Adopting a liberal attitude towards left opportunism by those who stood for revolution will cause harm to the revolution. To the extent the left opportunism opposes the revisionism, it appears to be on the side of revolution. But, in the final analysis, both of them are not only the children of same mother but also the twins.

Andhra Thesis

A section of the leadership of the Telangana peasant armed struggle has demarcated itself from both these wrong lines. In April, 1948, Visalandhra Committee leaders Chandra Rajeswara Rao (CR), Basavapunnaiyah, Sundarayya, DV Rao and other leaders had prepared a thesis and submitted to the Central Committee. It is called Andhra Thesis. This Thesis defined our society as comprador bourgeois and feudal system and the strategy of revolution as worker-peasant alliance under the working class leadership and united front with national bourgeoisie. It also defined that the building up of united front with the poor, middle and rich peasants, building up of an agrarian revolution on the lines of mass

revolutionary path, liberating the villages, establishing liberated areas and thus marching forward shall be the form and content of the revolution.

The same policies were being implemented in Telangana at the time of presenting this thesis. The Andhra Thesis had shown a correct path to the then on-going anti-Nizam struggle and to other big and small struggles being conducted against zamindari and feudal systems amidst the confusion and deviations created by the left and right opportunism. This Thesis had shown a correct revolutionary line and direction to the then leadership of Communist Party. But this section with CR as GS could remain in the central leadership only for a small period of less than one year.

What is the target of the struggle of Indian people? What is the path of revolution? These questions became a controversy. The decision to consult the international leadership has pushed the people's movement into a crisis. It became a hurdle to analyze the upsurge in the people's movement. The Central leadership of Communist Party could not take up this task. It did not attempt to analyze the upsurge of peasant struggle of Tebhaga, Maimensing, Ahmednagar, Telangana and other movements and the railway and postal workers agitations with an orientation of ultimately establishing the Proletarian State in India.

What should have been Done by the Communist Party?

Stalin said in the University of the Toilers of the East: "The independent role in the national liberation movement, formation of national revolutionary front, establishing the leadership of working class in the front, preparing the working class to take up the leadership of national liberation movement, replacing the bourgeois leadership step by step—such are the tasks of the Communists."

Stalin emphasized the historical role that should be played by the Communist Party in India in the national liberation movement. "The wealthy classes in colonial countries feared more of the working class revolution than the danger from imperialism." He also warned that "a section of bourgeoisie has joined the reactionary camp and formed pro-imperialist alliance against the workers and peasants".

Though the Communist Party organized many militant struggles of the workers and peasants and secured a firm base among the widest masses of people, it could not formulate a tactical line suitable to the concrete Indian conditions. There were reasons for this.

1. One can conclude from the examination of the policies and practice of the Communist Party until 1946–47 that it failed to discharge the above tasks. It tailed behind the bourgeois leadership of Congress, accepted its status as the representative to conduct the talks with the British and placated it as the leader of independence movement. It kept aside the role of Communist Party.

2. It strived for the unity of Hindu and Muslim people. But with its call of Congress and Muslim League unity, it placed both the representatives of bourgeois and feudal classes in

place of respect. It supported the 'two nation' theory and agreed to the division of the country. With this stand it harmed the national liberation movement and the peasants and workers movements which were a part of the national movement.

3. It mechanically implemented the call given by the international leadership. i.e. the call to fight against the Fascism, and put aside the struggle against the British imperialism which was the enemy of the Indian people.

4. As a continuation of recognizing the bourgeois class as the leader of national movement, it had wrongly differentiated the Bourgeoisie as a 'progressive' and 'reactionary' sections. It took upon itself the task of protecting 'the progressive sections' from the attacks of 'reactionary' section. Not only it abandoned its independent role; it also nurtured illusions upon this 'progressive' section and tailored its policies accordingly.

5. The left sectarian line caused a serious harm to the people's armed struggles. It failed to draw the lessons not only in the light of ideology and politics but also from the experiences of Andhra, Telangana, Tripura, Maimemsing and other struggles.

The question of Path was one of the main points in the long drawn discussion in the Communist Party. This proved to be a diversionary discussion to a large extent that derailed the Indian revolutionary movement. Development of class struggles, establishing workers state—such issues were set aside. While confining the rank and file and their activities to reformist programmes and parliamentary politics it reduced the Communist Party into a social democratic party.

In one word, the Andhra Comrades in their letter to party Members have concluded that the right trend and left trend ultimately serve one and the same interests.

"The fact to be noted is, the long history of our party proves that neither had right reformists under the leadership of P.C.Joshi fought left sectarianism; nor left sectarianists under the leadership of B.T. Ranadive really fought right reformism— but both had fooled the ranks and people with seemingly revolutionary slogans one with the slogan of "National unity for National Independence" and other with the phrases: "hegemony of proletariat" and "Socialism."

Both carry on a mock fight against each other as long as there is no correct line, but as soon as the correct line is put forward, both resort to attacking it from two opposite ends. This is the lesson the history of our Party teaches us."

Posing itself as opposed to the extreme left and extreme rightist policies that had raised their heads in the party the centrism which has come to the fore as the third trend under the leadership of Ajay Gosh has obstructed the implementation and advance of correct line which has taken shape under the leadership of Chandra Rajeshwar Rao as GS and finally turned the parties line into a rightist line. Thus a big rightist clique got entrenched safely in the party.

Three Trends—Help from the International Leadership

1. The Communist Party, P.C.Joshi as its secretary, implemented the reformist and rightist line of United National Front.
2. The Communist Party under B.T.Ranadive in 1948 implemented sectarian line of "Weapon of the general strikes of industrial workers and country wide insurrection" as path in a terrorist way.
3. In 1950, it implemented the path of partisan war of the peasantry - the Chinese revolutionary path-under Chandra Rajeshwar Rao, as its Secretary.

The three trends were discussed in the party. The policies of Central Committee under the leadership of P.C.Joshi were rejected. The policies of the CC led by B.T. Ranadive were also rejected. The CC led by its Secretary C.Rajeswara Rao implemented an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist agrarian revolutionary path and followed guerilla warfare.

After Ajoy Ghosh was elected as the General secretary, the CC severely criticized the policies implemented by the CC under C.R. Rao and the practice of Andhra comrades and Telangana struggle. It equated the path pursued by the Andhra comrades and the sectarian path implemented by the BTR. In essence, it developed P.C.Joshi's united national front into a national democratic revolutionary front. It rejected the Telangana struggle built by the Andhra comrades with C.Rajeswara Rao as Secretary, and called it terrorism. Some of their criticisms were as follows:

"The Andhra document of June 1948, though correct in many vital respects, made wrong formulations about civil war and also failed to see the complete nature of the government's policies and various weapons used by the government.

"It is in line which continued the sectarian strategy of the old PB, though in modified form, as seen in the attitude towards rich peasantry and middle bourgeoisie.

"It is a line of the worst type, which can only further weaken the party and its strength.

"It is line of liquidation of the party".

The 3Ps Comrades had severely criticized the Andhra document. So the differences became complex and critical.

For resolving and settling these differences, a team of representatives had gone to the international leaders for help. Ajoy Ghosh, Dange, Rajaswara Rao and Basavapunnaiah were the members of the team.

The International leadership had given the following advice:

- To learn from the national liberation movements that are going on internationally and to learn from the experiences of Chinese revolution.
- To create a common ground for united struggle against Anglo-American imperialism and against reactionary big-bourgeoisie and feudal land-lord classes that had collaborated with both these imperialisms, and to achieve freedom and national

independence. The international leadership had also advised that the leadership of CPI to decide their path applicable to the concrete conditions of its country and hinted that such path will not be peaceful.

The 1951 Program had defined that "This Constitution (Indian) is anti-people, it has the attitude of subservience to imperialism and serving its interests and it serves the interests of landlords and capitalists." It also stated that: the Congress government under the leadership of Nehru had pledged that it would protect the parasitic landlords, princes and the heads of princely states and their properties."

The 1951 Policy Statement has stated the following about the Path:

"After discussion running for several months, the party has now arrived at a new understanding of the correct path for attaining the freedom of the country and the happiness of the people, a path we do not and cannot name it as either Russian or Chinese path. It should be and is one that conforms to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and that utilizes the lessons of all the struggles of history, especially the Russian and Chinese revolutions.

It further stated:

"At the same time, one has to remember that every country has its own peculiarities, natural and social, which can not fail to govern its path to liberation."

About the individual terrorism, the Policy Statement had stated the following:

"But one action history does not sanction and that is individual terrorism. Individual terrorism is directed against individuals of a class system and is carried out by individuals or groups and squads. The individuals who act may be heroic and selfless and applauded or even invited by the people to act and the individuals against whom they act the most hated. Still such actions are not permissible in Marxism. And why? For the simple reason that there in the masses are not in action, therein it fostered the belief that the heroes will do the job for people. Therein it fostered the belief that many more such actions will mean in sum total to the annihilation of the classes or the system. Ultimately it leads to passivity and inertia of the masses, stops their own action and development towards revolution and in the end results in defeat. Hence Marxism warns against individual terrorism and bans it."

Right Opportunism Gained Upper-hand through Deception

The CPI under the leadership of Ajoy Ghosh had systematically moved away from the stand of Policy Statement. In the Madurai Congress (held in December 1953–January 1954) it had brought forward the formulation of "protecting independence" in the place of "achieving independence". It had mentioned its objective as "formation of a united front government through the Parliament. It has abandoned the objective of people's democracy. It brought forward the understanding of united front as an intermediate path. Thus by 1955, it had revised the 1951 policy with regards to the understanding on the independence of India.

In April, 1956, the Palghat Conference had formulated that India has “newly achieved the independence and sovereignty”. The Central Committee was divided itself into two sections basing on the formulations of “National democratic front” and “people’s democratic front”. The Palghat Conference had proposed that a democratic front and government shall be formed by the left forces and parties. By forming the government in Kerala in 1957, the Kerala State Committee had put this policy into practice.

In 1958, the Amritsar Party Congress expressed its hope that there were opportunities to come in to power through peaceful means.

In the 1960 the Vijayawada Conference, the supporters of ‘National Democratic Front’ gained upper hand. The policy of supporting and stabilizing Nehru government was adopted saying that there as a possibility of Nehru leaning towards the left in the wake of attacks from the reactionary sections of the bourgeois class. Accordingly, the CPI came forward with the slogans such as “Support the progressive policies of the government,” “Enhance the unity with the progressive section of Congress Party and the people following Congress Party”, “Support the pro-socialist and peace policies of Congress government” and “It is possible to come to power through the united front of democratic forces on the basis of minimum program” etc. It opened the gates wide for a parliamentary path. It had fanned the national chauvinism and anti-China sentiments during the 1962 border conflict. A section of the CPI had depicted China as an aggressor. Another section, without attempting to call China as an aggressor, had argued that the attempts should be made to settle the problem through peaceful talks while, at the same time, taking the required steps for the protection of borders.

The political and theoretical differences continuing between the two sections within the party from 1953–54, and at the time of India–China border dispute of 1962 have reached to a climax. The government had detained Communist leaders under DIR on the basis of who reproach China and who do not. This had quickened the division of the party. When one section of CPI held the 7th Congress at Calcutta, another section held it at Bombay.

The Great Debate in the International Communist Movement:

There can be no revolutionary path of India that had no relation to the assessment and understanding of nature of ruling classes of India and the character of Indian state. There can be no discussions within the CPI that have no relation with the debates of International Communist Movement.

The revisionism that had raised its ugly head in the 20th Congress of CPSU after the death of Stalin had taken a comprehensive and complete form as Modern–revisionism in the 22nd Congress of CPSU.

With the slogans, “Party of all the people” and “government of all the people” the principles of “Party as the vanguard of working class” and the “Proletarian dictatorship” on the exploiting classes were abandoned. By distorting the formulation, “the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions,” it had succumbed to capitulation and attempted to revise

Marxism the principles of “peaceful transformation”, “peaceful co-existence” and “peaceful economic competition” were introduced. It distorted the policies of anti-imperialist united front. It adopted the policies that weaken the co-operation and solidarity with the national liberation movements.

These Modern Revisionist theories had given strength to the rightist sections within the CPI. The relations of the Russian Government with the Indian government, and the policies such as lauding the Indian ruling classes adopted by Khrushchev encouraged the CPI to uphold the Modern Revisionism. The policy of toeing to the bourgeoisie (Indian) gained an upper hand.

Albania and China condemned these Modern Revisionist theories. They started ideological struggle one after the other. Chinese Communist Party has determined to carry on an uncompromising struggle against the Modern Revisionism gone beyond the 1957, 1960 Statements of 81 Communist Parties. The understanding of the International Conference of Communist Parties of 81 countries is given here under:

“The Moscow document had pointed out how the national bourgeoisie of underdeveloped countries compromises with imperialism and domestic reaction, as social contradictions develop”

“The US imperialists seek to bring many countries under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic aid.”

“The United States is the main stay of colonialism today. The imperialists headed by U.S.A make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of former colonies by new methods and new forms, the monopolists try to retain their hold on the levels of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedoms and capturing new positions under the guise of economic aid.” (World Conference of 81 Communist Parties Statement).

“All the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and they have equal rights. Those parties will apply Marxist-Leninist principles to the specific conditions of their countries and adopt their policies and help each other.” Moreover; Every Party will be responsible to the interests of the workers and toiling masses of their own countries besides to the international working class and World Communist Movement also”. (Statement of 81 Communist Parties)

The Russian Communist Party had acted against the spirit and policy of the Moscow Declaration of 81 Communist Parties. It started the relations of “peaceful friendship” with American imperialism. It started openly preaching Modern Revisionism. It attempted to water down and discourage national liberation movements. It gave support to the revisionist section within CPI. Chinese Communist Party had to stand as the leader of the struggle against Modern Revisionism.

Resistance against Revisionism within CPI:

Even within the CPI, in different states through different forums, many comrades started the ideological struggle under the leadership that was opposing the Modern Revisionism. In various states like West Bengal, A.P., Kerala, Bihar, U.P. and J&K, the literature opposing the officials policies was distributed secretly. Journals were published and organized. In the forums of Conference conducted by the CPI. They had questioned the revisionism. Political and theoretical propaganda was conducted against the official policy of open collaboration with bourgeoisie classes. A line of division was drawn between the policies of compromise and non-compromise. At the same time, different mass struggles at different levels were conducted at different states against the conditions that were unbearable to the people.

Though the inactivity brought by revisionism haunted the party ranks many mass struggles were conducted. On the issue of food problem, in 1959 agitations were conducted in Tamil Nadu, UP, Bihar and West Bengal states. Punjab peasants agitated opposing betterment levy on irrigation facilities. In West Bengal, the peasant agitations were conducted for benami lands. In Andhra Pradesh agitations were conducted against the exorbitant revenue taxes. The agitations and hunger strikes were conducted for the forest lands and government waste lands. Elections campaigns were carried on withstanding the violence and wickedness of landlords.

During the period 1953-60 the workers, employees and students waged struggles against rising unemployment and job insecurity. During 1961-62 the students and youth had militantly braved the national chauvinism in colleges and universities.

In the vast Terai region in West Bengal the adivasis and workers of the tea plantations agitated. Thousands of people en-masse moved into these agitations.

In the process of their struggle, Terai peasants adopted various forms of struggle. They formed their own mass organization, strengthened it and enjoyed the power of their own mass organization against the landlords. They implemented 10-point Program based on their revolutionary initiative, strength of organizations and their fighting spirit to destroy the political and economic hold of jotedars. This movement had increased the co-ordination and solidarity among the struggling working class and peasantry. It achieved the alliance of workers and peasants. It provided valuable lessons to establish the leadership of working class in the revolutionary movement of peasants in the specific conditions of that region. 9 activists of peasants and people were killed by the government guns. This news has reached to the revolutionaries in other parts of the country, only when the movement was being subjected to repression and suppression.

In the Telangana and Rayalaseema regions of AP., the rural masses moved opposing the violence, wickedness and atrocities of landlords and against the conditions of famine. In the adivasi regions, especially in Srikakulam, where efforts were concentrated in the organization of adivasi movement, the adivasis have achieved many a victory. They strengthened the organization of their SANGHAM. (Mass organization). The movement had been braving the evil designs of the landlords from the beginning. The landlord forces had

gunned down 2 comrades at on 31st October 1967. In the districts of Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam, the wickedness, violence and murders by the land-lord class were on the increase without any control.

The unsettled land issue, increase in the feudal despotism and the subservience of government to imperialism had devastated the lives of people.

The burden of world economic crises was passed on to the people. The devaluation of Rupees in 1966 and the situation of economic recession of that day had devastated the lives of people. Agitations for supply of food and control of prices had erupted. Students, employee's workers, agricultural laborers and small peasants were on the war path. The wickedness and violence of exploiting land-lord classes had increased.

The opportunistic positions of the leadership of CPI (M) were questioned in 1965-66 in the jails itself. The discussions on how to counter the violence and attacks of land-lord forces against the ever increasing discontent of the people were started. Whether only peaceful agitation? Is there a militant course of struggle beyond that peaceful agitation? What is the solution for Kashmir issue? The internal discussions on the assessment (Class characterization) about the Indian ruling classes and the relations between Indian rulers and imperialism and such other questions and understanding about them were intensified in West Bengal, Kerala, A.P. and some other states. After the release of comrades from jails, the forces struggling against revisionism had consulted mutually with others and at places like West Bengal they formed forums (against revisionism) and released the documents. The resistance started in the form of discussions outside the committees.

In the 1967 General Elections, The Congress Party was defeated in 11 states. Congress was able to remain in power in the centre with a slender majority. In Kerala and Bengal the 'left' coalition governments were formed. The contradictions among ruling groups were intensified. Congress party had reached to the stage of splitting in to two.

The discontent among the working class, rural poor and employees had increased. In 1967 the workers and employees opposing automation conducted a massive agitation. In 1968, the Central Government employees conducted historic strikes. With an intention to side-track these agitations and strikes, the exploiting classes had instigated regionalism and fundamentalism among the masses, Shiv sena in Maharashtra, Azit Sena in Assam and separate Telangana agitation in AP were incited and led by the sections of ruling class parties. CPI and CPI (M) had joined in the United Front governments as partners. By 1967, both the CPI and CPI (M) had come to the same understanding about the issue of achievement of power by working class and thus degenerated to one position. In West Bengal, the CPI (M) leadership, instead of resolving the issues posed by the peasant movement of Terai region, directed its party cadre to take up the protection of the United Front government as their important task.

“At the present stage of development the future of the entire party is closely linked with the successful organizations of these ministries (U.F). It is also linked with the role of our party in the ministries.”

“There are greater opportunities for peaceful revolution through the coalition governments.” (New Situation–New Tasks, 1967 document of CPI (M)).

CPI (M) in its 1964 Program of this programme adopted by the 7th Congress held at Kolkata for such a stand. The clauses 112 & 113 stated as follows:

“112. The party therefore will continue to educate the mass of people on the need for replacing the present bourgeoisie–landlord state government headed by the big bourgeoisie even while utilizing all opportunities for forming such governments of a transitional character which give immediate relief to the people and thus strengthen the mass movement.

113. The CPI strives to achieve the establishment to people’s democracy and socialist transformation through peaceful means. By developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement by combining parliamentary and extra parliamentary forms of struggle the working class and its allies will try their utmost or overcome the resistance of reaction and to bring about these transformations through peaceful means.

However, it needs always to be borne in mind that the ruling classes never relinquish their power voluntarily. They seek to defy the will of the people and seek to reverse it by lawlessness and violence. It is necessary for the revolutionary face to be vigilant and so orientate their work that they can force up to all contingencies to any twist and turn in the political life of the country.”

Though the CPI (M), after coming out of CPI, had stated that the Indian bourgeois class as big bourgeoisie that depends upon imperialism, it was not prepared to recognize its comprador nature. It was not prepared to take into consideration the nature of the big bourgeoisie and land-lord state as the class dictatorship. It had asked the people to believe the hopes it had in possibilities for establishing the working class power through the means of peaceful transformation.

With the Madurai document on the Problems of International Communist Movement, they exposed their neo-revisionist incarnation. They changed their tune by equating the C.P.C and C.P.S.U. Serious differences started erupting in the Central Committee of CPI (M).

The peasants and workers movement of Naxalbari had reached to the stage of resistance.

In the districts of Srikakulam, Warangal, Nalgonda and Khammam, the movement was still facing the attacks by the landlords. The resistance against neo-revisionism that raised its ugly head at the Central Committee level had begun. The re-examination of the documents of 7th Congress had begun. The documents which came later were too subjected to criticism.

The spring thunder has roared against the jotedars, offensive in the Darjeeling district. As the local comrades were breaking away from the neo-revisionist policies of the leadership of CPI(M) and were taking up their activities, this struggle became flag bearer of struggle against not only the Indian ruling classes but also against neo-revisionist policies. It emerged as beacon light of revolution.

The resistance of Naxalbari peasantry with the consciousness for land, sustenance and liberation had quickened the breaking away from neo-revisionism through practice, Birbhum, Debra-Gopiballapur in border in Eastern Ghats, and in Dandakaranya forest-the task of orientating adivasi-peasantry towards revolution was taken up.

The Terrorist-Sectarian Trends and Anarchist and Conspiratorial Organizational Methods:

A path that had no relation with the Mao's thought, with the experience of the movements of Telangana, Tebhaga etc and of Terai region peasant movements was preached. The left sectarian leadership in West Bengal had wantonly ignored the Telangana struggle. With subjective-ness, it declared that Naxalbari was the first armed struggle conducted under the leadership of Communists in India. The leadership that was influenced by the left terrorist line of B.T.Ranadive preached the path that was different from the Mao's thought. They pronounced subjective assessments even on the movements led by them. They announced many a political stands that are different from Marxism-Leninism. The History commission constituted by our Central Committee will narrate the details of this episode.

Left opportunism and Right capitulation had caused serious harm to the Indian revolutionary movement. In his article **On Practice** Mao explained about Right Opportunism Com. Mao explained as follows:

"It often happens, however, that thinking lags behind reality, this is because man's cognition is limited by numerous social conditions. We are opposed to die-hards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking fail to advance with changing objective circumstances and has manifested itself historically as Right opportunism. These people fail to see that the struggle of opposites has already pushed the objective process forward while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This is characteristic of the thinking of all die-hards. Their thinking is divorced from social practice, and they cannot march ahead to guide the chariot of society; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast trying to drag it back or turn it in the opposite direction."

This danger is very severe from outside the revolutionary organizations. Even the elements in the revolutionary organizations who expected the revolutionary movement to advance at accelerated momentum got disheartened and are succumbing to this deviation. This is being expressed in so many forms. We have to carefully observe at which specific situation and at which specific context this danger gets expressed and we shall fight against it. There is necessity of such a struggle in our CPI (ML) too.

When we are concentrating our struggle against right opportunism, at the very same time, the left opportunism that was awaiting will raise its head. Sometimes we may have to stop the fight against right-opportunism for some time and to face and fight against the left opportunism.

In his article **"On Practice"** Mao described left opportunism as given here under:

"We are also opposed to "Left phrase-mongering. The thinking of "Leftists" outstrips a given stage of development of the objective process; some regard their fantasies as truth, while others strain to realize in the present an ideal which can only be realized in the future. They alienate themselves from the current practice of the majority of the people and from the realities of the day, and show themselves adventurist in their actions."

Further:

"Idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism, are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice. The Marxist-Leninist theory of Knowledge, characterized as it is by scientific social practice, cannot but resolutely oppose these wrong ideologies." Marxists carried on recognize that in the absolute and general process of development of the universe, the development of each particular process is relative, and that hence, in the endless flow of absolute truth, man's knowledge of a particular process at any given stage of development is only relative truth. The sum total of innumerable relative truths constitutes absolute truth?."

So we have to examine both the right and left extremist trends in the light of the philosophy mentioned above. If we consider only the favourable factors of objective situation denying to take into account the subjective conditions, and with the approach of separating practice from the philosophy; the right and left opportunism will ride over us. These two trends are very harmful to the revolutionary-practice. Revolutionary mass movement can only be advanced by waging political and ideological struggle against these two trends. Neglecting or postponing the struggle against opportunism causes great harm to the mass movement. All this only amounts to postponing the task of building people's liberation movement.

Now all the Positive and Negative experiences of the Peoples' Movements must be taken by the Communist Revolutionaries who are shouldering the responsibility to uphold the Marxism- Leninism and Mao's thought for building Revolutionary Peoples' Movement. With utmost consciousness in this given situation of ups and downs, sets backs, reactionary disruptions and deviations we should move forward and think about 'Where to begin and What is to be done'.