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SUPPLEMENT

**Preliminary Steps for Building
Revolutionary Movement**

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Preliminary Steps For Building Revolutionary Movement*

1. Present Situation

We are taking up the task of building revolutionary movement in a critical situation. The crisis-ridden ruling classes have intensified their repressive policy. Emergency** is being continued. A major part of the leadership is under arrest. The leadership left outside has renounced the revolutionary path of the party and took to an opportunistic and disruptive line. Majority of the district-level leadership that is now in jail, have renounced the party line, and some are in a confused state without any line. Some are carrying on opportunistic and disruptive politics in various forms.

There are some important differences between the present situation and the initial stages (early forties) when we were making efforts to build the revolutionary movement. At that time, our efforts had the support and sympathy of anti-British and anti-Nizam nationalist forces. Absence of splits in the party and among the revolutionary forces served as an important and positive factor, for us. At present, besides repression, splits in the party and revolutionary forces is an important weakness of the revolutionary movement.

On many occasions, opportunistic politics and leadership of the disruptive forces are acting as the main reason for these splits. Along with this, the influence of revisionist and neo-revisionist politics, and the deceptive tactics of ruling

classes are an obstacle to the advance of revolutionary movement.

Today most of those working by following the revolutionary line of our party are young, zealous and determined. There are the comrades who withstood the manoeuvres and opportunist politics of opportunist forces and stood by the mass line. For so many reasons, our old comrades are unable to concentrate much in the field of action. As a result of this, the responsibility of building revolutionary movement lies mainly with the young comrades. Their being ready to fulfill this responsibility is a welcome feature.

To the extent we have, we do have a good mass base. In plains as well as forest areas, we already have enough areas where we have our influence. We also have the mass base necessary to work among students, workers and lower middle classes. Providing an organisational shape to the militants and cadres, giving them a practicable programme and reviving the mass activities will be our immediate task.

To fulfill this task it is necessary that we have a revolutionary orientation, revolutionary practice and a long term perspective. Our movement will have a revolutionary foundation only when we work with a revolutionary orientation, from now it self, towards the party and mass organisations, towards building the united front and mass issues. Only a revolutionary movement with a revolutionary foundation will take the form of people's armed struggle in a short time. It is only through their armed struggle people's democratic revolution will be victorious.

2. Significance of Revolutionary Practice

In 1968 itself we have decided that it is not enough if, ideologically, we break from neo-revisionism and accept Mao zedong Thought,

* This is a document prepared by Com. DV when he was in jail. Its purpose was to provide guidelines to the State Organising Committee outside so that it can function on its own. It is translated from Telugu original.

** The reference is to external emergency that was in force. There was, however, a equally intense repression as it was during the internal emergency of 1975-76 so far as Andhra Pradesh was concerned even at that time.

and that we should take to building the revolutionary movement through revolutionary practice. In accordance with this a circular titled "Lay Foundations for a Struggle oriented movement" was given to party activists in the beginning of September. Some efforts were made in some areas. Realising that this is not enough and that we need a clear cut programme for building revolutionary movement, we have formulated 'Immediate Programme' in April 1969. The understanding that revolutionary movement should be built based on a programme of agrarian revolution and this revolutionary movement should be developed as people's armed struggle was evolved in our "Immediate Programme". This understanding is entirely different from Charumajumdar group's understanding of armed struggle which has no relation with people and agrarian revolution.

Differences between state leadership and CP group in the implementation of 'Immediate Programme', usurping the party machinery by CP group and deflecting the party from the path of revolution, mobilising all those who accept Immediate Programme into one organisation are the important developments of the recent period.

During this period the State Committee has prepared two documents "Left Deviation within the Party" and 'Right Opportunist Trend within the party' and handed down to the party. Prior to this, a document criticising the extremist line of Charu majumdar, "Left Trend among Indian Revolutionaries", was handed down to the party. In all these documents the experiences of Telengana Armed Struggle (1946-51) and Srikakulam Revolutionary Peasant Struggle (the phase earlier to armed struggle) were examined by the state committee in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. That the understanding contained in Immediate programme is correct was clear by this. *

- * There were several documents in the subsequent period too. But they did not reach the party members and people for several reasons. Now they are being made available one after another.
- ** The reference is to 'People's Democratic Revolution in India—An Explanation of the Programme'. In the Foreword to it, the question of "nine communist revolutionaries" was clarified.

Now the Statement given by nine communist revolutionaries in the Additional Sessions Court is also before, the party ** This will also help in developing the understanding contained in Immediate Programme on our programme and tactics.

Thus we made unsparing efforts to apply Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to the specific conditions of and revolutionary practice in India. Today we are not the same in number as we were in 1968-69 70. We are revolutionaries with unity of will; though small in number. This very unity will give us strength and will lay the foundations for the advance of the revolutionary movement.

All comrades in various responsibilities should seriously study these documents and take their help in understanding and solving the problems facing our revolutionary movement. Even in this document suggestions given by us will be very general. In the fast changing conditions of the present day, trying to implement these suggestions verbatim may not be helpful to advance the movement. Comrades should review their experiences and party's experiences and discuss and decide in their party units as to when, how and to what extent the implementation of these suggestions would be helpful to the progress of the movement. We must not forget that we may have to formulate new ones also in many cases.

We must study the theoretical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. We must learn to apply the basic issues in these works to our specific conditions and revolutionary practice. We can learn this application only when we start working among the people. So long as we don't work among the people, all our ideological knowledge remains academic. Because of this reason, revolutionary practice is essential and basic for revolutionaries along with ideological knowledge. At this stage we must clearly realise that revolutionary practice means but taking preliminary steps for building revolutionary movement and building it.

With the help of their "Two years' experiences", * CP (Chandra Pulla Reddy) group has also formulated a programme; so a doubt may arise for some people as to why it also should not be considered as correct? We review our experiences of mass struggles gained while implementing the Immediate Programme and make necessary changes in our tactics. In the same way, we also review the experiences of spontaneous struggles and those not led by us, and examine how far are our programme and tactics are correct and make necessary changes. The programme remains the same throughout the revolutionary stage. In our Immediate programme we have decided on the outline of a programme necessary for the stage of People's Democratic Revolution. We have yet to formulate a comprehensive programme.**

CP group does not have this understanding. They carried on activities going against Immediate programme, and said that armed struggle can be carried on without any relation to people's consciousness and agrarian revolution and they say that this is their two years' experience. These are the major defects in their understanding: 1. Their experiences have not come in the course of mass struggles; rather they are a result of their renouncing them. 2. Nor they are a result of implementation of Immediate Programme; rather they are the result of rejecting it.

3. Their experiences are not in keeping with mass line which is the basic point of Marxism-Leninism and Mao thought. They are the experiences contrary to it. 4. These experiences, let alone helping to build and advance the revolutionary movement, had caused a setback to them. After studying them in the light of Marxism Leninism and Mao-Zedong Thought, we have decided that they are not helpful to build and advance the revolutionary movement. And we have rejected them. As against this, we have studied experiences gained during the

implementation of Immediate Programme and concluded that it is correct. This is the correct understanding and this is the correct method.

In this connection, our experiences in Kondamodalu area of East Godavari district are revolutionary. They are helpful to the progress of revolutionary movement. They are the experiences gained during 8-10 months of agrarian revolutionary movement built with the help of one comrade in a limited area on the basis of party programme and tactics formulated in the documents "Lay Foundations for a Struggle-oriented Mass Movement" and Immediate Programme. (We made these experiences available to the party through a review). When we study them, our experiences make it clear that there is no need for us to despair and while away our time thinking that ours is a small party with a very few cadres, and that we can do little in the near future. If we start work with a correct revolutionary understanding even with the few cadres and the mass base that we have, we can surely build a revolutionary movement in a short time. A short time does not of course mean months or weeks. It only means that we should not consider it as a matter of distant future. Our opinion is that it is not only necessary but practicable that we go about building the revolutionary movement right now.

Party building has a great importance in the preliminary steps that we take in building the revolutionary movement. The way we build it on solid revolutionary foundation right from now will determine the results we get in future.

3. Party Building

If our party has to shape into a revolutionary party and develop and consolidate, it must have a foundation, ideological, programmatic and organisational. Besides accepting Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought as our ideology, we are making efforts to apply it to our specific conditions and revolutionary practice. Our struggle against 'left' and rightist trends are providing an ideological base to our party. When we build revolutionary movement on the one hand and carry on ideological struggle on the

* A document circulated by the CP group leadership.

** It was also completed shortly after. They are published as "Our Basic Documents" [also in the Proletarian Line, Sep. 82 (No. 25) as supplement] The Draft Programme and Path were circulated earlier also.

other, then our party will develop on a strong foundation.

We also have a programmatic basis. In our Immediate Programme, besides formulating a programme of agrarian revolution, we have also decided on the important components necessary for our general programme. At present we have also evolved a comprehensive draft programme and are discussing it. With this we have a programmatic foundation also.

But we don't have an organisational foundation. In our state as well as all over the country revolutionaries are divided into groups. With the CP group renouncing the Immediate Programme and taking to an "armed struggle" that has nothing to do with people and agrarian revolution, whatever organisation we previously had was also split. With this all those following Immediate Programme and having that understanding came to one side. Those who did not accept and implement Immediate Programme and those who did not have that understanding were divided and are dividing into various groups. CP group is one of them. This course may still continue *

As a result, a filtering has been going on in the party. This does not mean that there are no weaknesses in those accepting and implementing Immediate Programme. Recognising and getting rid of their weaknesses is a part of building the party and revolutionary movement.

We must lay foundations to build the party on the ideological programmatic foundation that we have. We must strengthen our party organisation. We can lay right foundations for the party organisation only if we take up the task with a correct understanding right from now. We should not weaken party foundations with our eagerness to somehow gather a crowd.

- * The latest (end of 1980) breakaway group is of the same category.
- ** There was a State Organising Committee outside the jail when this was being written. It was no more necessary after the State Committee members were released from jail subsequently.

At present we have a state organising committee** units working as district committees. and units working under these committees. Having less number of units and whole-timers at village level is one main weakness. Added to this, we don't have financial resources. Both the problems, finance and cadre, can be solved only in the course of development of the movements. We have well-wishers, sympathisers, those helping in legal programmes, and militants to be developed into whole-timers and party members. But we don't have contacts with them. Even where we have, they are very weak. There is no clear cut understanding as to which category we have to place them in. Keeping contacts with them, deciding their grade, absorbing the deserving comrades into the organisation, and entrusting responsibilities to the rest according to their capacity and consciousness, coordinating their work and using them for the party are some of the important tasks in the organisational front. As we have some mass base, this effort is not only possible but necessary also.

4. Gradation

In the absence of the stable party organisation, and as a result of organisational weaknesses which are a legacy of the revisionist party, we ceased to have a clear cut understanding towards various people related to our party organisation. Often, because of our inability to distinguish between wellwishers, sympathisers and candidates, we are unable to decide as to who should be used, and to which extent, for the party. Sometimes it is leading to losses also.

We must atleast roughly decide the grade of those helping and working with us. In some cases we may go wrong in our assessments. We should go forward by correcting these mistakes with experiences. Wellwishers - People's democratic revolution has the character of bourgeois democratic revolution. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois individuals, though continuing in their professions, will be helping us, as they accept atleast some aspects of our programme, or as they regard us as those working for people. We

consider such people as our wellwishers. We should take help from these people to the extent and in the form it is possible for them.* We must keep an eye on those who want to use us for their own ends.

Sympathisers :- By sympathisers, we mean political sympathisers. Those who accept our political programme and policy and extend monetary and other kinds of help to the extent possible, as they can not participate in our day-to-day programmes, are sympathisers. In revisionist and neo-revisionist parties, such people are not only considered as party members but also as party leaders. As they are election parties, only such people have importance. As far as we are concerned, all these are sympathisers. Helping party economically and otherwise is their main responsibility. Some of them may have led public life. We can consider as to in which mass organisation and in what capacity they are useful and decide accordingly.

At present there is confusion among our sympathisers. Revolutionaries being split into several groups and their slanderous propaganda against us is the main reason for this. To remove this we have to patiently explain our politics to them and counter the slander. We must remove their doubts by discussing with them individually and in groups. We must rally them to our mass line.

We are in need of a large number of sympathisers. A ceaseless effort should be carried on to consolidate those we have and to win over new sympathisers. Their necessity is very much there for party activities.

Militants :- In villages as well as towns there are youth who have contacts with us and who do party work. They have an important role among those who work and make a success of the mass struggles and movements we conduct on economic and political issues. It is they who work in student movements and youth organisations. It is they who join volunteer

squads. In any campaign or struggle they come forward in large number. Best elements among them will develop as party members. Party development depends on absorbing them into the organisation and developing them politically. If this is not done, they often become inactive, go away from the party and its activities, and get lost in the masses again. This is what is happening to many today.

They must not be confused with party members.

Candidates : All those who want to be party members should first work as party candidates. Besides accepting Marxism-Leninism and Mao Thought as their ideology, they should accept party programme and path (People's war), and in accordance with that, should work in a party unit. Generally many people accept the ideology and programme but they will not be prepared to work. Such people should be considered as sympathisers but not as candidates. Candidates must necessarily participate in party activities. A part of local party will be inactive if the candidates do not work.

These comrades, in the period of candidature, should acquire the qualifications necessary for party membership. Working with discipline, developing party understanding and party conduct, understanding problems in the field one works with party outlook are essential for them.

The period of candidature should be not less than 6 months. If one does not acquire the necessary qualifications within that time, one must be kept as a candidate for some more time, and party membership should be given only after the above qualifications are acquired.

Candidates do not have the right to vote. Candidates and members should be kept in the same unit for the present. If there are enough candidates to form a unit in one place in a particular field, then, according to convenience of work, a separate unit may be formed for them.

Leading committees should carefully review from time to time as to how far they are acquiring the above qualifications.

* When they accept at least some aspects of our programme, they are political sympathisers to that extent.

Party Membership: Deciding who is a party member would not be a difficult work when we work with the above understanding in selecting candidates and in reviewing their work. They must have the qualifications and fulfil the responsibilities given below.

1. They must accept Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought and also party programme and path. (This aspect is completed during the period of candidature itself).

2. They should have class consciousness and class outlook and should be able to participate in and lead mass struggles without fear.

3. They should have the necessary discipline in their day-to-day life, party activities, in carrying out responsibilities, and in preserving party secrets. One should have the necessary moral conduct as a mass leader. He should not have any vices harming the party.

4. One should always make efforts to develop his ideological level and experiences of the struggle. One should cultivate the method of criticism and self-criticism to the extent of one's understanding and experience.

5. In accordance with local conditions he should be able to utilise a part of his time for party activities. He need not be a whole-timer.

6. Within the limits of his income, he must give some amount to the party as a levy and be a partner in maintaining the party.

7. He should be prepared to go to jail and lead a secret life.* He should be able to carry on party work not only when there is no repression, but also when there is. Whether his area is an ordinary area, or a struggle area, or an area of armed struggle, he should be able to work in some form or other.

8. He must be a member of a unit. After expressing his opinions in the unit, he must be ready to implement his unit's and the above

* Subsequently this was relaxed. The minimum is one should be prepared to go to jail. Underground life is not possible in everybody's case.

committee's decisions. He should work according to the principle of democratic centralism.

Higher committees should not accept party membership en masse. Membership should be given after scrutinising qualifications of each individual.

Some who are already party members may lack in certain qualifications. After reviewing their conditions, necessary help should be given to them to overcome their weaknesses and to acquire those qualifications.

The CPC (during the period of revolution) had a stipulation that, to give membership, one's class background should be considered, and depending on that, a period of candidature should be decided after completion of which he/she should be recognised as a member. We must think of including this type of a clause in our party's constitution to be prepared by us. For the present we must give membership only to those who shed away alien class features. Once membership is given, everyone must have the understanding that all have equal rights and responsibilities. Class differences have no place in party membership.

For the present we will have a very limited membership. There is nothing to worry about this. To the extent we have, a working membership with due political level is enough. As our activities spread and as revolutionary movement develops, membership and its quality also develop.

If we want to lay a strong foundation to the party organisation, we must be careful right from the stage of selecting candidates and giving membership.

Politics must be in command while selecting candidates and giving membership. Today different types of opportunist politics are in circulation in the name of Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought. There are rightist and 'left' politics among them. Petty bourgeois revolutionism looks like revolutionism. But it cannot be Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought. We can not accept petty bourgeois revolutionism just

because it is some sort of revolutionism. We have only one ideology i. e. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We have formulated a programme and path in accordance with this. Because of this reason other politics have no place among us. How we should act towards those having a different programme, different politics and a different path, will be decided separately by us but their membership will not be accepted. It would be wrong to advocate that they be given membership and then be corrected and developed. We will try to study and correct them as and when such trends raise their head in the course of the movement. Thus we always keep our party membership on correct foundations.*

5 Cadre

Till now both part-timers and whole-timers were called as cadre. This only serves election parties (revisionists and neo-revisionists). This arrangement will not be enough for a revolutionary party. This understanding is not correct or comprehensive.

All of us working in revolutionary party are revolutionaries. We have amongst us ordinary workers as well as professional revolutionaries. Ordinary workers also fulfil responsibilities that are in keeping with their level, with revolutionary consciousness. Though they are part-timers, when we understand that they are those who with revolutionary consciousness, we can see the basic difference between them and part timers of the old type.

The concept of professional revolutionaries is by far new to us. Lenin mentioned this in his work, "What is to be done? In the legal party machinery the Leninist concept of professional revolutionaries was degenerated by naming them as whole-timers. By categorising all those who work by giving all their life to the party, either with a wage or without it, as whole-timers, they have removed even the name of professional

revolutionaries from the party. Working whole-time with or without wages is by itself a sacrifice. A comrade can do this sacrifice only when he has revolutionary consciousness of some level. But professional revolutionaries' level of consciousness will be much higher than that of an ordinary whole-timer. It is an altogether different concept. We can develop professional revolutionaries only when we are a revolutionary party. If a party has such a leadership, it can overcome the ebb and tide of the revolutionary movement and march ahead.

All those in our leadership are professional revolutionaries. The cadre whom we are going to develop as leadership in future should also be developed with this understanding.

We need to study this process further. We have to gain some more experience. The higher committees should look into the problems of revolutionaries with care and sympathy and help in solving them. We should not follow 'make or break' methods.

It may not be possible nowadays to run classes for the development of cadre as in the past. For this they have to depend upon individual effort as well as political discussions and review of experiences made in their unit. The higher committees must pay special attention about this. They must carefully observe how each comrade is developing.

The usefulness of each revolutionary should not be decided merely by his ability to work as an organiser. By entrusting which responsibilities are one's capacities best utilised by the party has to be decided by us. There is a dearth of party organisers. But still every revolutionary can't be an organiser. If one has the skill to work as an organiser, others only have capacities to work in other fields. These people are also necessary for us. When we look at them in this angle and give them responsibilities which they can perform, then they can fulfill their responsibilities with confidence and satisfaction. Party activities will also spread and we will have wide contacts with different classes of people. As against this, in view of party

* The preliminary draft constitution of CPI (Revolutionaries) has some more written in it about party membership. It is included in the book "Our Basic Documents".

needs. We entrust to comrades responsibilities which they can not fulfil, they will be disheartened by failures. There will be no development in him; gradually he will become inactive and move away from the movement. Party organisation will not be strengthened.

Though the member of our cadre is small, we have to work with a correct understanding from now itself. Experiences gained on cadre question have to be studied from now itself.

6. Intensive Work and Extensive Work

Besides state organising committee, we have different units, local units and comrades working in mass organisations. Since our units, and comrades are spread throughout the state, our central organisers also have to travel throughout the state to maintain contacts with them. It is not exaggeration if we say that we don't have contacts with all those who are with us politically.

Establishing contacts with them and organising them in units and making them work is an important task still before us. We call this an extensive work. Our central organisers naturally need some time to meet these comrades scattered all over the state, to give them a programme and to check up. That is why we can not concentrate in all areas. In our present organisational situation, we can implement only a limited programme in many areas.

There are some areas when we have mass base. Though we have many such areas in villages, we have them in towns also. If we work intensively in these areas, we will be able to give an organised shape to our mass base. There is no objection to intensive work even in areas where we don't have mass base. If it is practicable we must definitely make efforts. A strong movement can be built in such areas also very soon.

There are no readymade formulas to explain how extensive and intensive work should be. There are however some experiences we gained in the past. Experiences of Telangana revolutionary

peasant movement are important among them. Recent experiences of Kondamodalu peasant movement in East Godavari district are also there. We endeavoured to study and draw lessons by reviewing them in our documents. As these experiences are related to so many aspects, we may have to discuss them in the coming documents also. For the present, comrades should take from these documents, points necessary for the initial stages of building the movement and necessary efforts to apply them and formulate a programme accordingly and to implement it. In this connection, we should keep in view the negative experiences of Khammam and Warangal areas and be careful to see that our comrades don't repeat the mistakes.

While applying these experiences, we should keep in mind one more important point. Today we don't have the historical conditions in which had started Telangana armed struggle. We are setting out to build the revolutionary movement in different historical conditions. Kondamodalu area movement was started in the recent times. These experiences will be helpful to us to a greater extent in the rural areas. The usefulness of these experiences or the experiences of Telangana armed struggle depends upon their application to the present conditions. No experience, after all, can be useful without having relation with the present conditions.

Some people argue that the special conditions prevailing in a given area are responsible for the development or non-development of the revolutionary movement there. We have been hearing these arguments ever since 1944. The main defect of this argument lies in belittling the efforts of the comrades who have adopted tactics in accordance with the conditions in their area, and in not understanding the weakness of those who have not done so. There will always be differences in the conditions of different areas. But that it would be wrong to say that there won't be any opportunity for development of revolutionary movement in some areas. When we follow tactics suited to local conditions, forms of struggle have to be decided on the basis of the level of people's consciousness.

In the present conditions, we must start building party organisation keeping the following points in mind.

1. Our programme and policy apply to the state and the whole country. They do not contain details relating to local conditions. Comrades should work out details after studying the local conditions. Then it would be possible to decide the programme and slogans to be implemented immediately.

2. On all occasions our units should take practicable decisions and implement them. Any decision that can not be implemented is useless. Formalism develops out of non-implementation of decisions. On the other hand disappointment and frustration develop among comrades. Instead when we go ahead implementing decisions, confidence develops among comrades. Their experience and understanding also develop. Movement goes forward.*

3. Through pamphlets and documents, CP group has carried on a wild false propaganda against us. They have not limited it to activists. They have taken it into the sympathisers and people also. So we have to counter their slanderous propaganda while taking our programme and policy to the people. We have to wipe out its influence in people, sympathisers and cadre. Only then our party organisation and movement develop.

4. Our programme, policy and explanations (our documents) are till now known only to the cadres who are in contact with our leadership. Our sympathisers do not know them. They only know the slander and distortions made by CP group. For this reason also it is necessary to take our politics into sympathisers and people.

* Some decisions may appear as impracticable and beyond our capacity. But they are necessary to advance the movement one step ahead. We should concentrate all our energies and implement such decisions and thus advance the revolutionary movement. We should not, in the name of being modest, take decisions that keep the movement in a state of starvation or push it behind.

5. We must explain the main points of the differences in the party in militants' meetings and in group meetings. Where we have mass base, we must also explain as to how it is necessary to build revolutionary movement for armed struggle and how "Immediate Programme" and other documents are providing the necessary programme and explanations to realise it.

It is not safe for underground comrades to attend these meetings. For this we must use comrades working openly. We must make them understand the main issues and coach them how to explain. Though they fail in one or two meetings in the beginning, gradually they gain confidence. Some cadre also develops in this process.

6. After completing the formation of party units and explanation of programme and policy, the comrades should concentrate on the problems faced by the people in that area. Instead of conducting academic discussions on these issues, practicable programme should be decided in the units. This programme should be explained to militants and people. Only when people respond to it, it becomes a practicable programme. Otherwise it remains as a propaganda programme and people may join in it only in future.

7. This is a period of crisis. Any section of the people (peasants, agricultural labourers, workers, students, middle class people) may come into struggles at any time on any issue. It is quite common for the reformist and petty bourgeois militant forces which lead these struggles to distort the issues and slogans and thus present them before the people. Our units should not keep quiet at such times. Units must conduct practical discussions and decide their stand on specific issues on which people are moving and go into the people. If militants can mobilise people on the basis of our decisions, it will be possible for our party and mass movement to develop soon. We should not lose such opportunities. Our comrades should strengthen our base by working day and night in these struggles. In the end we need not see whether the programme was a success or failure and

whether its demands were realised or not. We must see as to how far our organisation and mass base have progressed and strengthened, and on the basis of this, decide how far our policy is correct. In many instances, we may be able to strengthen the movements by following a correct policy but we may not play a deciding role.

8. Even in the mass struggles led by us, the fact whether revolutionary party-building and movement-building have advanced a step ahead, or are advancing, is our criterion. There will be serious repression against us. Therefore we must prepare people for struggle, without exposing our organisation and forces. For this we must carry on day to day work (spade work) as long as it is necessary.

9. In the rural areas we must not limit ourselves to any one village. We must select 5-10 or 15 villages and build party and mass organisations in a large area, and prepare the people in all ways and carry on struggle. Areas where feudalism is strong and areas where it is weak, forest areas, plains, wet land areas, areas of commercial crops, areas where we have contacts, and where we don't have all have their own specific problems besides general problems. We must decide a programme after looking into them and prepare people accordingly.

10. In the coming months drought situation will be serious in the rural areas. Spontaneous struggles may break out on food problem. In some areas we will have to take initiative and lead these struggles. Party units in areas where we are working should get ready for this.

11. We must take the work done in Kondamodalu area as a model for our work in forest areas. In the initial stages there were some legal opportunities in that area. We may not have these opportunities in future. We can still have some opportunities if our comrades carry on work by basing on villages away from

police stations and camps. They should be fully utilised. People should be prepared with intensive work. The conditions in which our comrades organised the people in Kondamodalu area should be well understood and these comrades should study and decide as to how far we can adopt those methods and what are the new methods to be adopted. This will not be difficult when we start working.

The comrades who go from plains to forest areas should be able to work among tribals. Those who are of no use in plains, the inexperienced, those who have become a problem to the party, and those who are given to petty bourgeois habits and can not adjust with tribal life, can do nothing by going to forest areas. They only create problems in forest areas. Unable to stay there, they return and carry on a propaganda. The higher committees should consider all these problems and send only those who acquired some experience in plains and can work as cadres. It is wrong to send to forest areas those who have been a problem hoping that they will come out of their problems. They create still more problems in forest areas. The harm done by such people is more than any good done to the forest movement hitherto.

12. To the extent we have contacts, we must give a shape to our efforts among working class and students in towns. We must try to coordinate the work done in different areas by forming a student fraction* and a trade union fraction as soon as possible.

It is unnecessary to recount various aspects of party organisation which were discussed in party documents. We must decide a programme by following them and go ahead. We should go forward by making necessary changes and additions with the experiences we gain.

Propaganda Machinery

Our propaganda machinery should be developed according to the needs of our ideological and political struggles. We are able to explain our stand on issues which are points of discussion among revolutionaries and within the party. Circulation of documents relating to them is

* There were no state-level students and trade union organisations when this was written; so they could be subcommittees but not fractions.

confined to cadres. We have to take our politics into the people through a paper and pamphlets.

In our documents many problems have been explained in the form of discussions. Some were dealt with only briefly. Some were only suggested. Ordinary party members, militants and sympathisers may not understand all of them. Even if they understand they may not get a comprehensive view. Higher committees should put up efforts to explain them well. If necessary they should write party letters explaining them. Pamphlets should be published on political issues*.

Notes should be provided for party workers on talking points. They should be equipped with details as to which problems should be explained, and how, to militants and people, and as to the aspects to be stressed. This should serve them as a class. We can make people conscious only by telling things that are factual.

8. Finance

As we are in the initial stages of party-building, we are naturally facing financial hardships. Along with this, because of the slanderous propaganda by our contenders, our sympathisers are confused and are unable to help to the extent they can. Main leadership being in jails and expenses for court cases are also adding to our financial problems.

If we mobilise all our resources and utilise them, we can solve our financial problems. The more we counter the slanderous propaganda against us, the more sympathisers will come forward to help. We must discuss and decide with them as to what extent they can help and take such help. Financial problems should always be a point of discussion in committee meetings. Only practicable decisions should be taken.

Maintenance of revolutionaries; families, travel expenses and expenses for propaganda should be the main items. Mobilisation of resources should be done keeping these things in view.

* To do so, the higher committees must diligently study them.

These hardships are inevitable until revolutionary movement takes a shape. However, raising and spending funds should go on to the possible extent so as to meet the party needs.

Importance of Some Mass Fronts

We need not neglect any mass front where we have contacts. Keeping contact with comrades working in those fields, we must from time to time provide them with a programme. Higher committees should take special interest in this work.

Apart from this there are some fields in which we have to concentrate. There is no need to emphasise the importance of peasantry and working class. Our concentration will always be in these fronts. We should develop party organisation in the working class and intensify independent political work among them. Efforts should be made to make working class conscious and to shape them into a political force. For this we have to fulfill the task of taking revolutionary politics into them and concentrating in key industries etc.

Among the peasants we must make efforts to build agrarian revolutionary movement on the basis of agrarian revolutionary programme. We recognise this as a pre-condition for developing armed struggle in rural areas. Though armed struggle does not start in plains areas immediately, it is necessary to build agrarian revolutionary movement there. We carry on building mass organisations and party organisation in the rural areas with this aim only.

We must particularly concentrate in students' field. Because of the crisis in the field of education, students are coming into struggles in large numbers. Though who have leftist ideas are eager to know our politics. Student militants who were under the influence of M-L group are rethinking and are getting prepared to accept our politics and work with us.

Ruling congress and Jana Sangh have lot of influence among students. Often students are victims of national chauvinism and localism.

We have to carry on a intense struggle against this. Our efforts should not be limited to students' problems. They should be mobilised by propagating our politics among them. The programme and organisation necessary for this have to be formulated.

Because students take up some jobs soon after their education, most of our student activists will not be able to work as revolutionaries subsequently; but still, a large number of revolutionaries must come from among them. In semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like ours, they are very much necessary to develop party organisation.

Viewed thus, we have to work by concentrating in students field. We have to develop all the militants in our contact by absorbing them into organisation and giving them our politics.

Students are coming into struggles on our several issues. To study these problems and give a shape to our comrades' work, we must consider forming a fraction or a sub-committee at the central level. We should get ready (from now itself) to fulfill our due role in the coming struggles.

We have some place among primary school teachers. Some of them are within ML group, some are with us and some others are not clear. Many of those with ML group in Telangana are also caught in separatism. Though we see these differences in militant sections, if we organise our comrades and militants and make them work, our efforts will greatly help in moving this front and to develop our organisation.

Many of these leaders are youth; they are from poor and middle class families. They have contacts with villages by virtue of their social relations and jobs. They are influenced by the developing agrarian revolutionary movement

in villages. They can take to revolutionary ideas because of their educational background. There is a possibility of developing our cadre from among them. The role played by teachers in Srikakulam movement is very significant.

As a class they belong to lower middle class. With paltry wages they are leading a very miserable life in these days of rising prices. They have waged many struggles in the past and are likely to come into struggles in future also. We should make efforts to organise their movement.

From the beginning comrades should have clear understanding towards party-building, mass organisations and united front. They are explained in various documents. When we start working it will not be much difficult to solve the problems. We face with the help of the experiences we gain. With this approach, we should start working.

We must start our work with this view.

It is not a small task to organise all the divided revolutionaries into one party. This will be possible after some time if our comrades work hard with zeal and determination. We will have to make efforts to build revolutionary movement by facing the obstacles created by ruling classes and their agents as also those created by our contenders. It is not an exaggeration to say that we are starting these efforts with ABCs.

We have some good opportunities. Besides a revolutionary situation, we have the mass base necessary to start work. We have formulated a programme and path. We have a practice which follows mass line. We need not work groping in the dark. Because we are following Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, all comrades should come forward with the confidence of building and developing the revolutionary movement.
(12-1-72.)

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Supplement

**PARTY BUILDING AND POLITICAL
WORK AMONG WORKING CLASS**

By

DEVULAPALLI VENKATESWARA RAO

(Published as a Supplement in
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Supplement

Party Building and Political Work Among Working Class*

(Note: We have kept in view the experiences of working class movement among the Railwaymen who fought a glorious battle recently. We think that this situation prevails all over India. Therefore we are yet to build a party of Marxism-Leninism among the working class).

1. To begin with, let us have a clear idea that ours is the party of working class, though we are yet to form it. We will have it soon. Absence of a full fledged party should not come in the way of a correct understanding and implementation of our line.

2. We are in the stage of Democratic Revolution. It becomes peoples' democratic revolution only when it is led by the working class. A politically conscious working class alone can lead it. There are various types of politics prevalent among them. Class collaboration, reformist opposition, religious fanaticism are important. They can be seen through INTUC AITUC. CITU. HMS—led by various parties. They are not working class politics. Those which are guided by Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung thought are alone can have working class politics. They should be taken to them from outside. For this we have to build a real party of working class. Such a party alone can make them conscious of their leading role in the revolution.

3. There are a good number of trade unions, having our comrades in leading positions. This does not mean that all the workers belonging to these unions are having the revolutionary political consciousness. Since our comrades are honest, self sacrificing and militant, in contrast to others, the workers recognise them as their leaders. It is quite possible that a good number

of them have vague sympathies towards struggles-revolutionary or otherwise. This is a step forward from the trade union consciousness. But it is no substitute to the one which makes them conscious of their leading role. Hence the need for building a revolutionary party which can fulfil this task.

4. The main aspect of the above formulation applies to workers belonging to other trade unions also. A Section of the white collared workers, are undoubtedly influenced by the politics of party which leads their trade union, but not all of them. Most of them are non-political. Overwhelming majority of workers, who are not white collared are also non-political. They are the oppressed sections among them, with degrees of difference. They are within our reach. They are ready to know and learn our politics if we approach them correctly.

5. INTUC, AITUC, CITU, HMS etc., are not so strong and powerful as they appear to be. They have their limitations because of class collaborationist and reformist politics. The white collared workers are the social basis for trade union bureaucracy. The present emergency situation is strengthening the hands of this bureaucracy. The government in its turn, is also getting unqualified cooperation from it to serve the interests of foreign as well as native capitalism. At the same time, it has its own strong negative features also. The trade union bureaucracy with its open class collaboration is getting isolated from the rank and file of the workers, who are non-political and unsophisticated. Therefore the present situation provides us an additional advantage to reach them.

6. The same is the case with independent and unaffiliated unions. They too have their own bureaucracy with non-political unsophisticated

* This was written in the form of a party letter and was circulated on a limited scale.

and backward workers existing side by side. Even these unions are controlled by individual parties. They are independent because the management of the industry does not want to recognise a union, which is affiliated to one or other central unions. We have better opportunities to reach the workers of such unions. We should not underestimate the difficulties to be created by the political parties and their bureaucracy for us to work among them.

7. The above explanation is enough to show that we should not confuse trade union work with political work. Political work is to be carried on exclusively by the party with the objective of politicalising the working class so as to play the leading role in the present democratic revolution. Therefore we should differentiate between the work among trade unions and the party work. We are already working among trade unions. We have to think of improving the quality of work. Our purpose of working in them is firstly to have living contacts with the working class masses. Secondly to carry on the trade union work in accordance with party policy. This implies firstly, to prepare the workers for future struggles—not so distant—to lead the struggle, to analyse the experience, draw lessons from struggles, educate the party and workers on their basis, and again prepare them for next battles keeping in view the given situation and the past experiences. This is a continuous work which the party can not afford to relax. We should be clear in our minds that such work can not be carried out by the trade union leadership. Experience has proved that even our comrades being in leading positions are unable to carry on the party work. They have to carry on the day to day trade union work, along with their jobs. Because of its litigant character, it has no limits for these (our comrades) who honestly carry it out.

8. We have tried to replace a major section of the present leadership with a second rank one in the trade unions, so that the present leaders may be trained into good party organisers. But we failed in this attempt. The causes for it are yet to be analysed. The party

building needs spade work with no immediate perceptible results and ideological and political equipment on the part of the party workers. We don't find our leaders to be able to rise to this level. We are yet to develop such cadres immediately. The artificial division between the party and mass leaders is a remnant of the revisionism. We are not free from it, with additional disadvantage of having no independent party work in the working class. We should fill up this gap as soon as possible.

9. Advancing age is no bar to learn from the revolutionary experiences of working class struggles and to equip themselves with Marxism-Leninism, once they take a firm departure from the past remnants. Therefore we cannot entertain the excuse that they (mass leaders) are too old to become party workers. Notwithstanding this, party has to organise units to carry on party work, step by step. Necessary arrangements should be made in this direction.

10. It is not enough for the party workers, militants, sympathisers to hear reports from party representatives and seek clarification for their doubts. They must thoroughly discuss the reports, party literature etc., They must be able to understand them so as to send their criticism. It is often found that comrades are whiling away their time on Sundays etc., with loose and non serious type of talking. It is of no use for those who want to do their utmost for the cause of revolution. They should use every minute either for practical work or theoretical studies.

The militants who come into our contact are precious ones. They are young energetic, devoted, amenable to correct their shortcomings, if any. They must be given specific jobs according to their political consciousness, stamina, willingness and the jobs they are doing. They should have a unit life. There should be a thorough check up of the work entrusted to them. They will be recruited into the party strictly according to the party rules.

Militants and their units must be extended always. Those who have proved their

worth during strikes and agitations should be given special consideration for the recruitment in to the party. They should be made to understand party policies as explained in the party literature. Every one of them have to see a selected number of workers, propagate party line and enlist their support to the party. When the workers go into action in one form or the other, they must be in the forefront to lead them.

Trade Union work has its own importance. We cannot ignore it. Now that the Emergency is in force, only the collaborationist unions are allowed to function. We should utilise them, whether recognised or unrecognised, for mass contact, taking even the insignificant issue connected with the workers. Youth and cultural organisations can be started in the workers colonies to run libraries, night schools and carry on cultural activities to the extent they are allowed. Issues like supply of essential commodities can be taken up to redress the grievances of workers families.

11. We have earlier stated that workers down below are within our reach. Some of them are connected with rural life in one way or the other (small; poor peasants and agricultural labourers). By organising them into local branches of unions, we can come into contact with the villages. We can also organise the rural poor through those who are still having social connections with their respective villages. The rural poor will stand by working class in times of their struggles. The working class will also do the same when the rural poor carry on struggles. The revolutionary unity achieved thereby is the embryonic form of alliance of working class and peasantry. It will develop all over India, as the revolution advances. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that our revolution will not succeed without this alliance.

12. This does not mean that we leave the white collared working class to its fate. For all intents and purposes, it is petty bourgeoisie. It is also a victim to the present economic crisis. Therefore we need not treat them as our enemies. On the contrary we should win them over or

neutralise a section of them in the political as well as economic struggles. Most of them are under the influence of revisionism and neo-revisionism. An ideological struggle becomes an important feature of our work because of this. This section is the main political basis of trade union bureaucracy. The latter can be isolated and weakened only by winning or neutralising the former. It is possible in the present advanced stage of our revolution.

13. The trade union bureaucracy derives its strength not only from the white collared working class, but from goondism also (Dadagiri as it is called in some places). This is the decisive factor for its survival, in addition to the support of the management and government. The goondas are paid and nurtured by the bureaucracy with the trade union funds, facilities provided by the management and the Government. The goondas reduce trade union democracy into a mockery. Workers are forced to act according to the terms dictated by the bureaucracy through these goondas. It is obvious that the trade union is in hand and glove with the management and authorities. But Sometimes they pose themselves as opposing both; but they become one with the other in the end. Therefore its opposition is fake. The party should make the constant feature of its work, to expose the role of the trade union bureaucracy including its fake opposition, to dislodge it from the leadership of the working class.

Trade unions are miniature states for the trade union bureaucracy. It can not be removed and replaced by a genuine socialist and democratic conscious leadership through ballot box. Only a militant revolutionary working class movement, guided by Marxism-Leninism can perform this task. Sometimes petty bourgeois elements may replace the bureaucracy. But they can not remain as such for long. Either they have to turn into bureaucrats or unite with revolutionaries to continue as democrats. Advancing revolution is sure to weaken the bureaucracy just as the state apparatus itself. It will disappear along with the state as soon as revolution comes to an victorious end.

Therefore the task of the party is not to fight for a place in the trade union bureaucracy in the name of 'doing something good to the workers'. Some times the bureaucracy may provide us a berth to hood-wink the restive workers and malign our party. We should not be entrapped by them. Our direction of work must be firstly to build local unions so as to have a living contact with the working class; secondly : to build our party at all levels so as to direct our party work independently. It should not be equated with trade union work which is a part of it.

14. Our working class base is limited. Therefore we have to try to extend it. There are no hard and fast rules to perform this task. Yet we can work out some to facilitate our work. (i) we are working in "Basthis" and such localities where workers from more than one industry live. It is but natural that we win over some or most of the militants from these places. They should be given the job of working among their co-workers. (ii) strikes provide the best of the opportunity. A number of militants come out during strike period. Where strikes are going on in other industries, party should not content itself in organising solidarity campaigns, sympathetic strikes etc. It should send comrades to contact striking workers and their militants. These comrades should help them in conducting the strikes and educating in revolutionary politics. Thus the workers, and militants together will form the base for the future party building. (iii) once we establish ourselves in one or two industrial areas or industries, workers and militants from other industries approach us for help and guidance. We should use such opportunities to build party and working class movement. (iv) we can think of more basing on our day to day experience.

15. Most of the workers, especially those organised in various unions know that they are being exploited by the capitalists. But they do not know its political and economic content. For example: They do not know how foreign capital in collusion with Indian big business is minting profits by exploiting our cheap labour; unequal nature of imports of industrial products

and exports of raw material and agricultural products affecting the life of the people in general and workers in particular; how the government is responsible for rising prices etc. Every political and economic aspect of the concerned industry must be studied by the concerned party unit. The militants must be educated on the basis of the study. They will in turn, educate the workers during their day to day work. They are the first, concrete lessons of our country's politics and economics, which they see and feel in their daily life. Exposure pamphlets should be distributed among the workers. literate militants and workers should read and explain their contents to make them understand. The pamphlets should be sent to the workers of other industries. The workers, after going through them, would like to learn more about them. We can begin our work among them by responding to their desire.

16. We have a good many public sector undertakings, Railways being the biggest among them. Most of them are heavy industries. Workers belonging to these undertaking see no capitalist, who is exploiting them: On the contrary the State is their owner, as state capitalism. Revisionists and neo-revisionists are embellishing it as an anti-monopoly progressive force. By supporting the administration or management, they blunt the class consciousness of the workers. (Some times the neo-revisionist unions play a formal opposition role also. This does not mean that they are opposed to State capitalism). In India, State capitalism is comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Therefore the public sector undertakings have no role to play against Indian big bourgeoisie and foreign capitalist, social imperialist domination.

Our party units should lay bare this truth with facts and figures, so that the workers and the petty bourgeoisie may understand the political and economic content of their exploitation in clearest terms. Since the state is involved in these undertaking, we have to deal with the relevant politics, while dealing with economic issues. Such exposure however painstaking it may be, should be carried on constantly.

Party can be built among these workers on the basis of ideological and political work though we don't minimise the importance of economic struggles. Railwaymen's strikes are examples which will be followed by other undertakings. Such strikes have begun already.

17. There is a confusion on the functioning of the party fractions and party committees. While the former function as units to carry out the party decisions in the leading bodies of trade unions (mass organisations in general), the latter are political units having full powers to take and implement political organisational decisions. Fractions taking the place of party units means liquidating the party itself. We are opposed to this. We have to build the party among working class by all means. Not to build the party means continuation of economism in the party.

18. Lenin has dealt with economism in his famous work "What is to be Done?" (1902). He has added in his latter works, that it can have liberal politics, when working class begins to rally behind revolutionary politics. We too have our variety of economism in revisionism and neo-revisionism. They take their politics into the working class. But not all of them are interested in them. The Trade union bureaucracy and small section of its following (it may be considerable in some places) accept their politics and practices. The same is the case with other forces i.e. socialists and congress. We have to fight economism in all its forms to the finish, in order to dislodge various types of bureaucracy from the leadership of the working class. We have to continue our fight till the mass of workers are free from such influences. In this connection we have to note that revisionist and neo-revisionists claim that they are opposed to economism. It is formal and similar to their claim of accepting Marxism-Leninism. Their social chauvinism has led their trade unions to support India's war against Pakistan (Bangladesh) in 1971. Annexation of Sikkim is supported by both CPI and CPM. Now the AITUC led by CPI is supporting the naked fascism forced upon the people by the Government. This

shows that economism is not practised in its old naked form. The stage has already reached with its new forms of class collaborationist politics. We have to fight it from the very beginning.

19. Revisionism and neo-revisionism have equated revolutionary working class movement to trade union movement. This has led to the liquidation of the party as a revolutionary force among the working class itself. Left adventurism has done the same by denouncing the trade union work as economism, by withdrawing from trade union asking workers to join armed struggle without creating the necessary political consciousness among them as a class, and by starting urban guerrilla warfare with lumpen proletariat as its base. CPI (ML) groups of SN Singh, C. Pulla Reddy and Charu, claim that they have corrected their wrong line, by deciding to work among the trade unions. But they continue their deviation in new form by using the trade union platforms for advocating armed struggle. The party is the sole instrument to propagate and practice the party politics including armed struggle. Trade unions have a limited scope (present emergency has further narrowed its scope). They are means for mass contact through day to day work and developing political consciousness through economic, political struggles. Therefore a call for armed struggle without fulfilling these necessary pre-conditions has isolated communist revolutionaries from the working class to the advantage of revisionists, neo-revisionists other reformist and pro-government elements. Therefore a party of Marxism-Leninism with a correct fundamental line is necessary. It should be built up from among the working class. It should be able to raise its consciousness to the level of armed struggle by adopting correct tactics in a given situation. There is no substitute or alternative for this arduous and zig zag path. Left adventurists have avoided this path which is essential to build the revolutionary working class movement and the party, leading to their liquidation.

20. We are yet to pool and sum up our experiences from the working class movement of the various states. Division among the working class is not limited to politics alone. It is as well based on caste, religion and nationalities. We can unite them only when the division is rooted out. It is possible only on the basis of proletarian internationalism. It demands the highest level of consciousness. Party alone can perform this task and not the trade unions.

21. To sum up : Trade Union movement should not be equated to working class movement. The former has limited tasks to perform. In the changing political situation, when

fascism has already appeared in its naked form the possibilities of legal trade union work are narrowed down. We will use them whatever their limitations are. But the most important task before us is to build the party of working class guided by Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought. This is the party which can build the real working class movement, which is revolutionary, capable of completing its tasks i.e. establishing hegemony of the proletariat in the present stage of democratic revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat in the stage of socialist revolution. Our party units must reorientate themselves to this and start work with a new understanding taking a departure from the past. 30-8-75

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SUPPLEMENT

MASS ORGANISATIONS

By Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao

*(Published as a Supplement in
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MASS ORGANISATIONS

The ruling classes in our country are following an intense repressive policy against the people. A part of our cadre has been arrested, a part is working secretly and the local cadres are by far inactive.

Though there is some difference between conditions in areas of armed struggle* and those in plains areas, certain questions like how to build mass organisations, how to work in the existing mass organisations, and our attitude towards mass organisations working under the leadership of other parties are points for discussion to us in order to preserve and strengthen our relations with the people. We cannot step ahead in building a revolutionary people's movement without a clearcut understanding on these issues.

What is the present condition of the mass organisations ?

Every political party has organised its own mass organisations. Because of split in the political parties, mass organisations are also splitting. The AITUC which had led a strong trade union movement at one time is split into several trade unions. As soon as Congress came into power, it formed the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC). Socialist party had formed Hind Majdur Sabha (HMS). Recently CPI (M) had formed the CITU. We need not be surprised to find a split in the INTUC too as a result of the split in Congress**. Besides them, there are many trade unions which are not affiliated to any party. Because of these

splits, in each industry we find more than one trade union.

Indian ruling classes, following in the footsteps of Western capitalists, have taken several legal, administrative and economic measures to keep trade union (TU) movement within legal bounds. They could buy over the top strata of the working class by providing them some extra facilities. Helping itself with the trade union money and the facilities provided by the ruling classes and management, the TU leadership has developed into trade union bureaucracy and is serving as the basis for reformism in TU movement. As all the opposition parties—the socialist, revisionist CPI and Marxist parties—are reformist parties, the trade union movement built by them is also reformist. Conducting strikes now and then, and gaining marginal facilities after compromising with the management, is the usual practice of this leadership. If the Congress party has strengthened its hold on trade union movement by using its power at the Centre and in States, the communist parties have gained strength to an extent, by using their tenure in power in Kerala and West Bengal. It was the CPM in the main which has gained thus. By utilising this split in the working class, the ruling classes are trying to cut down existing facilities. United agitation against this is yet to start. This reformist leadership is leading the strikes resulting from the revolutionary upsurge of the people with high sounding leftist slogans and is helping the ruling classes by watering them down. In places like Bengal, political strikes are conducted though they are within the limits of reformist politics (1970 Durgapur strike). Revolutionaries have to make efforts to replace this reformist leadership of trade union movement with a revolutionary leadership.

Generally only one of the unions in an industry has the support of the majority of the workers and the other unions are just nominal ***. In new industries there are unions which started developing recently. We need not be surprised

* At the time of writing this article, Srikakulam was an area of armed struggle. We did not recognise the armed actions indulged in Telangana by Chandra Pulla Reddy group as people's armed struggle but, however, we referred to it as an area of armed struggle.

** It did indeed split subsequently.

*** Some of them may have some or more strength.

if unions are yet to be formed in certain backward areas.

When we look at the country as a whole, we find that Hindu, Muslim and other communal forces have considerable strength in student organisations. In places like West Bengal leftist elements have some strength. Youth have no organised associations.*

In Andhra Pradesh the student and youth organisations under the leadership of revisionists and Marxist parties are only nominal. It is a usual practice for the party activists and sympathisers working, or allotted to work, in these fields to meet now and then, to issue statements in the name of their organisations and to publish them in their papers. These meetings are hectic before elections and they have remained as election-oriented organisations.

Even the peasant and agricultural labour organisations are only nominal, Kisan Sabha under the leadership of Swatantra Party and Hind Kisan Panchayath under Socialist Party meet very rarely. Peasant and agricultural labour organisations under CPI and CPM are not real mass organisations. Their existence is only nominal consisting of allotted party activists and sympathisers who meet occasionally. It is only before elections they are given any importance. If they conduct "struggles" on some issues now and then, it is also with an eye on elections. The leadership of these organisations is in the hands of landlords, rich and middle peasants supporting those parties. Militant leadership with anti-landlord class consciousness is simply absent.

To sum up: except working class and the middle classes working in public and private sectors, the students, youth, peasants and agricultural labour are not organised in any mass organisations. Here and there we have student organisations working locally. We must realise that mass organisations of these sections, under whatever label, are only nominal.

At this time when the government repressive machinery is hunting the revolutionaries to

* Some are formed in recent period.

suppress the revolutionary movement, the responsibility of organising the unorganised vast masses into mass organisations and preparing them for revolutionary struggles lies on the shoulders of revolutionaries. This responsibility has a special significance in the present conditions wherein people are moving into revolutionary struggles. The Communist revolutionaries can properly fulfill this responsibility only when they have a clear-cut understanding regarding mass organisations and the problems related to it.

The fact that revolutionary situation exists in the country today is indisputable. In spite of the severe repressive policy of the government, people in towns as well as villages, are coming into struggles on their issues all over the country. The same situation exists in Andhra Pradesh. Here in certain places armed struggle is being carried on. This will have a lot of influence on towns and other places where there is no armed struggle. There is no doubt that armed struggle will have a lot of influence on people who, on their own, are getting prepared for struggles on their issues. Further there is uneven development of revolutionary movement in the country.

In areas where the feudal relations are strong, class contradictions have been sharpened. Peasantry and other masses are ready to join revolutionary struggles. In spite of government's severe repression, revolts and struggles are going on in these areas. There are many areas where feudal relations are strong not only in tribal areas but also in plains. These areas are often called as dry land areas and backward areas. Even in these areas, the conditions are ripe for revolutionary struggles. All that is needed in these areas is a party and mass organisations which can lead the struggles. Andhra Pradesh has not only girijan areas which have reached the stage of armed struggle, but also certain dryland areas in Rayalaseema like Anantapur and Kurnool districts where militant struggles for banjar lands took place. In Anantapur, it was carried on against the landlords. If only there was a party organisation that could lead them, they would have spread to many areas and would have continued for a longer time and reached higher forms. These struggles make it clear that in all places where feudal

landlord relations are strong, condition for militant revolutionary struggles are ripe.

The fact that capitalist relations are strong in delta areas (tobacco-growing dry lands are also included in this category) than in backward areas is indisputable. But just because of this we have no reason to say that landlords' influence is any less or that rural people are living happily there. In these areas there are favourable conditions for militant struggles. If only there is a militant leadership capable of leading these struggles, relentless struggles can be carried on in these areas. Though a part of rural poor has become corrupt and are following the landlords, it is still possible to organise others into struggles. It is wrong to say that conditions are not favourable for struggle in these areas.

In cities, not only workers but students and unemployed youth are also coming into struggles. Their coming into militant struggles in spite of revisionist and reformist leadership, is an evidence of their revolutionary consciousness. Leadership is trying to keep these struggles within legal bounds. Communal forces are trying to side-track them with militant slogans. Only when they are led by revolutionaries, they become a challenge to ruling classes and a support for the rural struggles.

If we are selecting tribal areas which are geographically favourable to armed struggles*, It does not mean that we are leaving out the plains areas in developing them into areas of struggle. We can liberate rural areas only when we develop plains areas also into armed struggle areas along with tribal areas. If we leave out the rural areas in plains to our enemies and liberate only the tribal areas, these highly populated plains areas will, in all likelihood, continue to be under enemy control for long and provide him the strength so as to undermine the armed struggle of the girijan areas.

Moreover, the government machinery and landlord class in plains areas, and more so in delta areas, are more stable than in tribal areas. Landlords having close relationship with government

* Hilly and forest areas.

** It refers to situation in 1970.

machinery and the rich peasants and a part of poor peasants being under their influence are an important reason for this. These areas can not be developed into armed struggle areas unless whatever stability the landlords have is undermined. And this stability is undermined not on its own but only by the relentless struggles of the people. Revolutionaries should not wait passively hoping that revolutionary conditions will develop sometime and thinking that they cannot do anything till then. They must consider it their duty to smash this stability of the landlords to smithereens and work accordingly. The mass organisations we build should be capable of leading these local struggles. This applies to both rural and urban areas. If the revolution is to progress, administrative machinery in cities must also become disorganised. Only the militant struggles of urban people can fulfill this task. It is wrong to think that we cannot do anything at present because of the arrests and repression, and that our immediate task is only to maintain contacts with the people in some form and to some extent or the other. Such an attitude will gradually lead to a situation wherein we will not have any contact with the people to any extent and in any form.

It is indisputable that we are facing severe repression. It is true that a large part of our leadership is under arrest**. It is also clear that party activities cannot be carried on unless the remaining cadres work secretly. But because of this we cannot after all, postpone the responsibility of leading the mass struggles for a long time.

If we must be able to lead these mass struggles, we have to develop the minimum party organisation necessary for that. It can only be a secret party organisation. We must immediately make efforts for this. Carrying on revolutionary struggles and being open (i. e., legal) cannot go together.

Here questions like - don't we carry on open activities? and don't we use legal opportunities to the extent available and don't we need mass organisations for this? - arise.

The answer for this is: To the extent possible we will openly carry on all our activities preparing the people for the struggles. We will utilise

legal opportunities to the extent they are available. And accordingly we will build mass organisations and work in them.

Viewed in this angle, the problem before us is, what our attitude should be towards mass organisations in plains areas to prepare the people for struggles. On the one hand we must make the secret party organisation the basis for our activities and on the other hand we should utilise the legal opportunities to maintain our contacts with the people and to prepare them for struggles. We should never forget that in the present revolutionary situation, and with this attitude, we can mobilise people into local struggles and they will be a prelude to the coming revolutionary and armed struggles.

III

Before determining our attitude towards mass organisations, it is necessary to broadly review the experiences we gained in mass organisations in the past. Andhra Maha Sabha, Rythu (Peasant) Sangham, Agricultural Labour organisation, Girijan (Tribal) Sangham, and trade unions are some of the important ones. Andhra Maha Sabha:

This was a cultural association of the Telugu-speaking people in Telangana, and was airing liberal political demands through its annual meetings and resolutions. This had not changed into a mass organisation till we joined in 1935-40. It was only through our efforts it had become a mass organisation. On the one hand we organised anti-feudal struggles and on the other hand we carried on ideological and political struggles against the leadership which had become an obstacle to it. By this we could remove the liberal forces from the association. We could function the organisation under the leadership of communists and other leftist allies. Anti-feudal struggles grew intense only after the liberal leadership left.

After the liberal leadership left Andhra Maha Sabha, the local units in some areas, i.e., district and village units, remained as ordinary

* The then party leadership wrongly characterized the latter phase of the world war (1941-45) as the "stage of People's War".

militant mass organisations. In some areas, however, they organised anti-feudal struggles and developed into revolutionary mass organisations. And they conducted the anti-feudal struggles in a revolutionary manner. When anti-feudal struggles reached the stage of armed struggle, the village units of Andhra Maha Sabha acquired the character of Gram Rajyas (Village Soviets) and they worked as full-fledged Gram Rajyas when the armed struggle was advancing. They functioned till the union army concentrated itself in the areas of armed struggle and arrested the leadership along with the masses.

We could work along with the liberals as long as the anti-feudal struggles were not started. Once they started, the question as to who should lead came to the fore. With this, the liberals who were organisationally weak had to quit. The legality of our Party and our organisational strength had also helped this. In the initial stages of party building it had become imperative for us to use this sort of organisation to protect our cadres from the onslaught of government's repression.

Rythu Sangham (Peasants Organisation)

This had started working in 1936-37. Though the communists were the main force in it, the leftists within Congress also worked along with them in accordance with the policy of national united front. However, all these leftist forces gradually fell apart as the communist party followed a different policy from them during the Second World War.* For some time some persons worked in their individual capacity. When they too drifted away gradually, the party took over exclusive leadership, and when there was a split within the Party, the organisation was also split into two. They are working as organisations of the two revisionist parties.

Though the experiences of peasant struggles led by peasant organisations are yet to be reviewed, it is true that some militant anti-Zamindari struggles took place under their leadership Mandasa (Srikakulam) Peasant struggle, Munagala Paragana (then in Krishna Dt) Peasant

struggle, Amudallanka Struggle (1946) of Challapalli (Krishna Dt) in Andhra are some of the important ones. They were all anti-Zamindari struggles.

After the leftists' exit from the Peasant Organisation, our Party members and sympathisers became the leaders at all levels. Both the present peasant organisations are filled by leaders and sympathisers of the old and new revisionists.

From the beginning party leadership has been making two mistakes regarding peasant struggles. (1) Anti-zamindari struggles were not taken to a higher stage and they did not take to higher forms of struggle. (2) They did not develop anti-feudal struggles by taking lessons from the experiences of these struggles and basing on the land question. Because of this the Rythu Sangham failed to develop into a militant organisation under the leadership of radical and revolutionary forces. Thus they were reduced into organisations of workers allotted to the peasant 'front' by various parties ranging from Swatantra Party to Marxist Party.

The peasant organisations and their local units of all these parties are led by those landlords and rich peasants who are the followers of those parties. This is possible only because they are more 'meeting' organisations without any anti-feudal programme.

It is true that prior to 1940-41 these peasant unions had been useful in attracting many leftist youth towards the party so as to make them work legally by facing the repression by the imperialists. But during 1948-51 they were not useful in that way. Though the democratic and leftist elements not allying with us politically was one of the reasons, repression on the party and mass organisations led by them because of the higher stage of the movement and the higher forms of struggle has made work impossible.* (Armed struggle in Telangana and armed resistance against the outrages by landlords in Circular districts.)

* In spite of this mass organisations are necessary to maintain contacts with people. In fact they were necessary at that time also.

Agricultural Labour Organisations :

Though from the beginning they were organisations of party activists allotted to the front, they led the agriculture labour movement by carrying on some struggles on agricultural labour problems. After the Second World War and after taking up the parliamentary path the whole movement has been watered down. At present this is also split into two just like the peasants' organisation. It has lost its class edge as there was no programme of agrarian revolution in the past and also because of following the policy of class collaboration in the name of peasant-coolie unity. Leadership was also oriented accordingly. There was no All India Agricultural Labour Organisation from the initial stages. But presently the revisionist communist party has an all India Association. The Marxist Party has nothing of that sort. Agricultural labour organisations are affiliated to their peasant organisations.

Girijan Sangham :

This has started recently. This is a mass organisation which has united all the peasants and agricultural labour in the Srikakulam's tribal area. Though it worked under the party, class conscious tribals have been leading the local organisation. Though to begin with, it worked on economic issues like wages and fair price for forest produce, the problem of lands occupied by the landlords came to the fore and it developed into an agrarian revolutionary programme. Thus the Girijan Sangham developed into a militant organisation capable of implementing the programme of agrarian revolution. The girijans under the leadership of the Party and the Girijan Sangham were prepared for and carried on armed struggle.

Muslim League :

As a result of the class collaborationist policy followed by the party during the Second World War, the reactionary Muslim League was characterised as a Muslim National Party. Some of the Muslim activists were allotted to keep contact with Muslim people. None of them remained with the party. All of them were lost

in Muslim League. Though some of those who joined Congress were likewise lost in Congress, all the rest remained as party cadre.

Though it is sometimes necessary for us to join and work in reactionary organisations, we should be able to decide as to by working in which organisation we will be helping the revolutionary movement. Further working in such reactionary organisations in the absence of ideological depth among the cadres and of a strong revolutionary movement, also results in the above problems.

In this context it won't be out of place to refer to the discussions that took place in the party regarding peasant and agricultural labour organisations. There was an argument that peasant associations are not at all necessary and it is enough if we have agricultural labour associations. This has mainly come from Andhra. The essence of their argument is: because Zamindari system is not there in some districts and even where it is there it has been abolished, and as the peasantry is conscious, there is nothing for the peasant organisations to do, so it is enough to have organisations for agricultural labour who are being exploited and that their living conditions could be bettered with their help. Though in some places there was no zamindari and jagirdari system of exploitation in the past, and though the landlords had capitalist features, not only agricultural labourers but also the poor peasants and other rural poor are subject to feudal exploitations in many forms. They are suffering under the domination of landlords. The comrades defending this argument failed to recognise that the programme of working to better the living conditions of agricultural labourers could not by itself be an instrument of uniting the peasants and rural poor in mobilising them for the struggle to abolish landlordism and to complete the agrarian revolution. Moreover, they have not noted that though there is no zamindari-jagirdari exploitation in vast areas, there are feudal landlords besides landlords having the capitalist features and that poor peasants and agricultural labour have to be mobilised not only against their exploitation but also in the agrarian revolution.

There is another argument in some areas of our country that peasant organisation is enough and there is no need for agricultural labour associations. (Today most of the States don't have even reformist agricultural labour associations.) Their contention is that the whole peasantry, including the rich peasants, have to fight against zamindari system, and that if we carry on struggles on issues of the agricultural labour against the rich peasants through the agricultural labour associations, the latter will not join the struggle against Zamindari system, and consequently, the struggle gets weakened and disrupted. They have not given up this argument even after the abolition of zamindari-jagirdari systems. In reality, since quite some time back, capitalist relations have been developing and strengthening not only in wet land areas and cashcrop areas but also in other places as some of the poor peasants are turning into agricultural labourers. Most often the same landlords who carry on feudal exploitation also carry on capitalist exploitation. And not only agricultural labour but poor and middle peasants also are subject to their exploitation. The struggle carried on by agricultural labour against their exploitation only strengthens the anti-feudal struggles and never weakens it.

Though betterment of the living conditions (wages and working hours) is the immediate aim of agricultural labour movement, it is definitely a part of agrarian revolution. As those who share in the landlords, land, agricultural labour are the main force of agrarian revolution. Along with them poor peasants (most of the agricultural labour are poor peasants) are also a main force. Thus the revolutionary peasant movement does not limit itself with abolition of zamindari-jagirdari system, nor revolutionary agricultural labour movement will confine itself with the betterment of the living conditions of the agricultural labour. These revolutionary movements must have abolition of feudal and capitalist landlord system, distribution of land to poor peasants and agricultural labour and completion of agrarian revolution as their aim and work for it.

In the present stage, those peasant and agricultural labour movements which do not

have agrarian revolution as their immediate target are nothing but reformist movements. Because of this, these movements, to the extent they are going on, led by revisionist and neo-revisionist parties are but reformist movements. Both the above trends are represented in these movements. Our own experience proves that it is wrong to assume that the entire peasantry will rally behind the peasant organisation simply because we name it so. Nor will all the agricultural labour rally behind the agricultural labour organisation simply because we name it so. And it is likewise wrong to assume that we can unite all the peasants and agricultural labourers simply by forming an alternative association in their place or by a coordination committee of the two. On the other hand, the programme of agrarian revolution and the slogans given in that context can alone unite the poor peasants, agricultural labour and middle peasants in the struggle against the landlords class. The form of mass organisations must be in accordance with this.

When the programme of agrarian revolution was implemented during Telangana struggle (1946-51) peasant and agricultural labour associations were not separate. Land distribution was implemented under the leadership of Gram Sanghams (Andhra Maha Sabha) representing the whole village population. This programme was watered down in places where rich peasants headed the committees. In some instances they sabotaged its implementation. Land distribution was implemented properly where it was led by poor and middle peasants and agricultural labour.

Unity of labourers and poor peasants and their struggling unitedly depend upon the programme we follow. The form of organisation also depends on this. Agrarian revolution is our programme. We must evolve a form of

organisation that accords with this. Our ideas and activities unrelated to this programme take us away from agrarian revolution.

IV

Our rural set up is divided not only on the basis of class but also on the basis of caste. The ruling as well as opposition parties are perpetuating the caste system by directly or indirectly encouraging caste associations in order to gain votes. The situation in cities is also the same. Because of this very often caste divisions are coming to the fore while obscuring the class division.

In the rural areas we find landlords, rich peasants, middle and poor peasants, agricultural labour, traders and handicraftsmen. Though money lenders will surely be there, they will either be landlords or rich peasants. These classes will have certain distinct features though there may be some exceptions because of caste customs or modern education and civilisation. Landlords have more land than all the others. They and their family will not do manual labour. They carry on their agriculture through agricultural labour or *palers*.¹ Though their number is very small in every village, the wealth—land, money, grain, gold and silver—with them is immense. Some of them have become lakhiers and multi-millionaires by usury and by setting up business and industries in towns. They constitute the backbone of all parties and groups who participate in elections, right from village panchayat to parliament. Thus they have a deciding role to play in the present-day parliamentary democracy.* Rich peasants do manual labour along with their family. As they cannot till all their land they employ agricultural labourers and *'palers'*. They will have some surplus income left after deducting farming and family expenses. They use this for usury and buying the lands of poor. The dividing line between them and the landlords is manual labour. Landlords** don't work while the rich peasants do work.

Middle peasants and their whole family do manual labour. They themselves till their land, and now and then they will be employing agri-

¹ Palers are farm servants employed on annual (or seasonal) basis.

* In recent times they are themselves contesting the elections and are grabbing all positions of power.

** There are some tradition-bound landlords who also put in labour.

cultural labourers. They may also use *palers*. Their income is sufficient only for their family and farm expenses and when the crop is very good, they will have some surplus. The middle peasants often change into poor peasants whenever there is drought or floods. The main distinction between them and the rich peasants is the employment of agricultural labourers and *palers* and the surplus.*

Poor peasants entirely depend upon agriculture and their income is hardly enough for their family and farm expenses. So they work as agricultural labour and do other work also. Tenant farmers are also included in them. Quite often these peasants, because of their indebtedness, sell the little land they have to the rich peasants or landlords and as a result are transformed into agricultural labourers. Their number is quite big in every village.

Those who do not have any land, and those who have very little land and so mainly live as agricultural labour and *palers*, all come under agricultural labour. Their number in every village is fast increasing as the poor peasants are gradually transforming into agricultural labour.

Generally, merchants and handicrafts-men belong to any one class since they also have land. A large number of handicrafts-men work as agricultural labour.

When we look caste-wise, most of those who are called as 'backward castes'** comprise of poor peasants, agricultural labour and handicrafts-men. Landlords and rich peasants are more among the 'dominating castes'. However rich and middle peasants had developed in 'backward' castes also.*** In the same way 'dominating' castes have not only middle and poor peasants but also agricultural labourers

* The share of hired labour is more than family labour in rich peasants' farming. Family labour is more in middle peasants.

** not in the legal sense

*** Their number has increased to an extent than in the past.

**** Even among them only the top section will be enemies. The lower strata are likely to be neutral.

among them. If we give importance to caste division, class division becomes obscure.

Revolutionaries have to realise that unity among poor peasants and agricultural labourers means uniting all the poor peasants and agricultural labour who are scattered in different castes and that it is possible only through the programme of agrarian revolution. Without achieving this unity it is impossible to develop rural areas into armed struggles areas. Though problems of agricultural labour help to mobilise and unite them to some extent, they alone cannot achieve unity among poor peasants and agricultural labour, and rural poor in general.

Agrarian revolution is the key to people's democratic revolution. Agrarian revolution will be our immediate task in view of the need to develop the rural areas into centres of armed struggle. Agrarian revolution will be successful only when we unite agricultural labourers, poor peasants and all the rural poor against landlord class, unite with middle peasants, and carry it out under working class leadership. Rich peasants carrying on feudal modes of exploitation like usury**** will be against agrarian revolution. A large section of the rest of the rich peasants will come along with us. Some may remain neutral for the time being. The struggles that we lead and the revolutionary movement that we build should be such as to achieve this revolutionary united front in the countryside. Our mass organisations should also be in accordance with this.

In cities besides capitalists, merchants and bureaucracy, who belong to the upper echelons of the society, we have the working class, small employees, petty merchants, students, unemployed, and those who live by doing so many small jobs and trades and labour. These people and their organisations, victims of exploitation and outrages by ruling classes, are very much influenced by reformists and casteists and communalists.

Under these circumstances we have to decide as to which of the class and trade organisations we should join and carry on our work. We must recognise the limitations of these organisations

and work out and implement a specific programme through our party machinery to revolutionise the urban people in general and the students and workers in particular. In this connection it is necessary to study what Lenin said about the necessity of joining and working in reactionary trade unions.

V

After analysing the experiences of the working class movement in western countries and the experiences of Russian Revolution Lenin had concluded in definite terms that it is necessary for communist revolutionaries to work in reactionary trade unions also so as to save the working class from under the bourgeois influence and to win them over towards socialism.

Along with this, he explained about many aspects which have to be understood and applied by us. If we ignore them and instead, observe only the aspect about working in reactionary trade unions, the movement that we lead will also be a part of reformist movement. We can build a revolutionary working class movement only when we apply the totality of Leninist principles to our conditions.

In his celebrated work, *Left-wing Communism-An infantile Disorder*, Lenin wrote thus under the caption, *Should revolutionaries work in reactionary trade unions?*:

"To make this clear, I shall begin with our own experience, in keeping with the general plan of the present pamphlet, which is aimed at applying to western Europe whatever is universally practicable: significant and relevant in the history and the present-day tactics of Bolshevism"

(P.47. Lenin, CW. Vol. 31.)

Here Lenin clearly said that he was applying the experiences of Russian revolution to western countries. But he did not say that he is applying them to colonial, semi-colonial, and backward countries. While applying these formulations to our country, we have also to keep in mind the main experiences gained after 1920, in the revolutionary working class movements of

colonial and semi-colonial countries. On another occasion he has explained about its special significance :

"In this respect you are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the communists of the world : relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adopt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the populations are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism."

(P. 161, Vol. 30.)

This is what Lenin said about Eastern countries in 1919. Their essence is that communist basic principles, should not be applied to Eastern countries as they are applied to the Western countries and that the specific conditions of East must be kept in mind before applying them. Lenin had this to say about working class movements in Russia and Western countries.

"The trade unions were a tremendous step forward for the working class in the early days of capitalist development, in as much as they marked a transition from the workers' disunity and helplessness to the rudiments of class organisation. When the highest revolutionary party of the proletariat, the highest form of proletarian class organisation, began to take shape (and the party will not merit the name until it learns to weld the leaders into one indivisible whole with the class and the masses,) the trade unions inevitably began to reveal certain reactionary features, a certain craft narrow-mindedness, a certain tendency to be non-political, a certain inertness, etc. However the development of the proletariat did not, and could not, proceed anywhere in the world otherwise than through the trade unions, through reciprocal action between them and the party of working class. The proletariat's conquest of political power is a gigantic step forward for the proletariat as a class, and the party must more than ever and in a new way,

not only in the old, educate and guide the trade unions. ... " ... In the sense mentioned above a certain "reactionism" in the trade unions is inevitable under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not to understand this means a complete failure to understand the fundamental conditions of the transition from capitalism to socialism. (Vol.31. p. 50-51.)

Here Lenin explained three stages in the development of the working class movement. The workers scattered in different factories and trades uniting as a class into one trade union is the first stage. Formation of a revolutionary political party of the workers is the second stage. seizure of power by the working class is the third stage. Lenin explained as to how the trade unions failed to fulfill the role they could in the first stage and also as to how there developed a certain 'reactionism' in the third stage.

In India working class has not yet seized power. The question as to what role the trade unions would or should play under peoples democratic dictatorship and later, under proletarian dictatorship, will come up before us. It does not mean that we will not have any problems. The establishment of proletarian dictatorship after the successful October (1917) revolution in Russia, and of peoples democratic dictatorship after the successful peoples democratic revolution of 1949 in China, have cast a revolutionary impact not only on international working class movement but also on Indian working class movement, which is a part of it. Working class has made big strides in fulfilling its revolutionary role. After the October revolution, the priceless experiences gained by Chinese working class in its prolonged armed struggle to make Chinese revolution a success are before us. The experiences gained by working class of different countries in their revolutions are before us. They should be summed up and applied to the specific conditions in India as well as in all countries where the revolution is yet to succeed.

The task of comprehensively analysing and taking lessons from Indian working class movement in the light of revolutionary experiences of International working class movement is still

before us. Presently we shall try to explain only certain important aspects necessary for understanding the role of trade union organisations.

In India, prior to 1924, trade unions were formed in different areas and they started uniting the scattered and disunited working class. The strike that was held during this period (in 1905) in protest against the arrest of Balagangadhar Tilak has a revolutionary significance.

Trade unions penetrated into the masses and developed a working class base since the communist groups started working among the workers since 1924. With this even anti revolutionary liberal forces had started working along with revolutionary forces and have become an obstacle in spreading the revolutionary movement among the working classes. Though the working class, under the leadership of communist party and the national forces, did participate occasionally in struggles on the general issues of the working class and on anti imperialist issues, the working class movement had essentially remained as a movement limited to the day-to-day problems in the respective industries.

Though working class carried on militant and revolutionary struggles after the Second World War (during 1946-48), they were cruelly suppressed by imperialists, and the big bourgeois landlord governments that colluded with them. Moreover, Congress, the party of the ruling class, and the Socialist party and the Jana Sangh, the liberal parties, set up separate trade unions and started running a reformist trade union movement on the basis of class collaboration. With the communist party withdrawing the Telangana armed struggle, participating in the elections and taking to parliamentary path in 1951, the whole working class that was under the party leadership got further steeped in the mire of reformism. The Indian ruling classes, in the footsteps of Anglo-American imperialists, have been taking necessary administrative and legislative measures to confine the working class within legal bounds in order to keep the leadership under their control. When India committed aggression against China in 1962, entire working class leadership with its

national chauvinism could mobilise the workers in favour of the ruling classes: with this we can well imagine as to how much reactionism has spread in the working class.

The communist revolutionaries break from revisionism and their attempts to form a revolutionary party ever since 1968, as well as the commencement of agrarian revolution and armed struggle in the countryside, marked the beginning of mobilisation and organisation of revolutionary forces under the leadership of communist revolutionaries. With this material and organisational conditions necessary for developing revolutionism were fulfilled in Indian working class movement.

Ruling classes are also entering into the field with new tactics to suppress this revolutionism. Counter revolutionary white terror is the essence of their new tactics. On the one hand the ruling classes are showing facilities and legality which are an eyewash as in the capitalist countries, and on the other hand they are unleashing brutal repression against those going towards revolutionism. We must with great attention notice this crucial difference between capitalist countries* and a neo-colonial India. Ignoring this fact, the revisionists and their followers working with class collaborationism are gloating over the meagre facilities provided by the ruling class and capitalists and they are confining the working class movement within legal bounds. They are trying to retain it as a centre of reformism and reactionism. Even then in the present revolutionary situation, working class movement will inevitably come out of revisionism and reformism and will come under the leadership of revolutionary forces.

In the course of Chinese revolution the working class had to face ruling classes' white terror till the end. Same is the case with the colonies, semi-colonies and neo-colonies where revolutions are going on. At a time when the world revolution is advancing and the Indian revolution has begun it would be wrong to imagine that legalities will be there in India as they are in capitalist countries or that we can work here as revolutionaries are working in those countries.

* Imperialist countries

In our country only class collaborationist trade union movement has legality and not the revolutionaries. revolutionary movement or revolutionary practice. We can understand the severity of the counter revolutionary repressive policy of the government when we see how cruelly they are suppressing the militant workers' struggle even if they are not led by revolutionaries.

When we apply the above words of Lenin to revolutionary practice, it is not enough to say that our country also has revisionism, reformism and legality. We should also take into consideration the counter-revolutionary repressive policy that is already existing in some degree or other and is intensifying with every passing day. It is wrong to compare it with the usual repression in the capitalist countries. We can have a correct understanding towards it only when we understand it in the light of the semi-colonial neo-colonial character of our country, the revolutionary conditions, and the emergence of an organisation of communist revolutionaries. As ours is a protracted armed struggle, the counter-revolutionary repressive policy against the working class will also be protracted. The present trade unions, as far as they are concerned with the reactionary and reformist leadership, are like miniature states. Instead of winning over wide public opinion and approval among the working class by making efforts to better their living conditions, they are on the one hand compromising with the government and the management and enjoying the facilities given by them, and at the same time making use of them and other subtle methods to consolidate their leadership in trade unions. For this they use goondaism wherever necessary. Leadership has the support of ruling classes also. The democracy in trade unions led by reformists and reactionaries is only nominal. They utilise this 'democracy' to consolidate themselves in leading positions. It is not that easy to replace this leadership through elections. This reactionary and reformist leadership will be weakened only if the revolutionaries carry on a relentless political work and build strong secret party organisation among the workers and wage revolutionary struggles. Gradually, at a certain stage of the revolutionary working class movement, this leadership should be removed

and a leadership of communist revolutionaries and their allies be established:

When viewed thus, communist revolutionaries, while working in trade unions, can not be content with exposing the reformists and revisionists. Revolutionary consciousness has to be created among the working class to expose these enemies of the working class.

We should have day-to-day contacts with the working class so that we can realise this task. To this end we should work in the trade unions in such a way that we can work among the workers by withstanding, facing up to and overcoming the counter-revolutionary repression. For this we should build and develop the revolutionary party. That economism which has taken deep roots in the working class movement has become the main obstacle to the creation and development of revolutionary consciousness is indisputable. This problem can not be solved by simply saying that political issues have to be given more importance than economic issues and that workers should be mobilised on political issues. Revolutionaries must have definite views on issues like-- what is the form of economism that is there in working class and what sort of politics should be taken into working class.

Though Indian working class movement is mainly related to day-to-day economic problems, it is also coming into struggles on issues relating to trade union laws. Along with this it is also coming into struggles against repression, and on local political issues (Samyukta Maharashtra movement). Sometimes working class is also mobilised behind reactionary slogans (Maharashtra Bandh under the leadership by of Shivasena in Mysore Maharashtra dispute) and sometimes on general democratic slogans. We must adopt a clearcut attitude as to how to participate in general democratic movements while opposing reactionary movements. One thing becomes clear by these experiences: Indian working class has not limited its struggle to only economic problems. It is coming into struggles on political issues also. But often reformists, revisionists and reactionary local chauvinists are able to lead these struggles. Revolutionaries must mobilise

the workers in such a way that they reject these reformist and reactionary politics and, instead, follow revolutionary politics.

What are Revolutionary Politics ?

Today the two congress parties representing monopoly capitalist and landlord classes, as well as the socialist and communist parties working as constitutional opposition (often they are tied to one or the other of ruling class groups) proclaimed socialism as their goal. Measures such as nationalisation of banks, which is an act of saving capitalism from crisis, are claimed by the ruling party as socialist measures, and the revisionist and reformist parties support that. But the fact of the matter is: all the measures taken by the government are only to strengthen the comprador-bureaucratic capitalist and landlord class dictatorship, and to isolate and suppress the revolutionary forces. They are flaunted as socialist and progressive measures by the ruling classes and "opposition" supports the same.

That revolutionaries should expose this is indisputable. Along with this, it should be made clear to the working class that real socialism comes only under proletariat dictatorship, that in no country it has come through ballot box, that it will not come so in India either, and that it can be established only through armed struggle in which the working class should participate and lead. In our country revolution will be in two stages. First stage is peoples democratic revolution. The workers, peasants, urban middle class and national bourgeoisie led by the working class their overthrowing imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalist class and landlord class, and seizing power constitutes the first stage. The armed struggle carried on for this purpose will be in the form of people's war. This is not an event of distant future, but it has already started. The working class should participate and lead this revolution not only through its ideology of Marxism Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and through its political party, i.e. through communist party, but also in forms that accord with the present conditions.

These politics related to people's democratic revolution are revolutionary politics for the present

stage. The political struggle carried on for people's Democratic Revolution is the revolutionary struggle in this stage. It is only by participating in this struggle the working class can come out of economism, reformism and reactionary politics and can lead the people's democratic revolution.

Second stage of our Revolution: The stage of socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship. It is only by completing the people's democratic revolution the working class will embark upon completing the socialist revolution. Communist revolutionaries not only keep this main point in view while working but also make it clear to the working class. Propagating only socialism in a general way and ignoring People's Democratic Revolutionary politics would not only amount to diverting the working class from their immediate task but will also be obscuring such an essential question as proletarian dictatorship. That the present revisionist, reformist, reactionary trade union leaderships can not lead the working class in any revolutionary struggle is indisputable. This leadership will water down all the revolutionary struggles of working class and will keep them within the limits of reformism. Communist revolutionaries should lead working class revolutionary struggles, not only through their day-to-day revolutionary efforts but also by boldly coming to the fore at times of revolutionary battles and mobilising other revolutionary forces into them, and by forming organisations suited to those struggles. All this is possible only through the revolutionary party of communist revolutionaries. As long as our cadres limit themselves to day-to-day trade union activities, working class movement can not reach the revolutionary level.

We don't accept the "left" views that we should not work in reactionary or reformist trade unions, and that working class does not need any trade unions and a revolutionary party is enough. Such ideas and practice will only help in alienating us from the working class and in handing them over to the agents of bourgeoisie like revisionists, reformists and reactionaries. At the same time, we will not confine the worker's struggles to day-to-day trade union issues.

If we confine thus, the reformist and reactionary influence in the working class will remain unaffected. This is the lesson of our long experience.

Viewed thus, there must come about a qualitative change in our work in the trade union front. That change should be in accordance with the following points: developing the secret party organisation; conducting the party organisation and activities effectively so as to face the counter-revolutionary repression; propagating politics of proletarian dictatorship and people's democracy; organising the working class so that it participates and leads people's democratic revolution; co-ordinating these activities with agrarian revolution and armed struggles in the countryside; widely propagating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought among working class-these are the important tasks in the present stage.

VI

Just as Lenin applied the revolutionary experiences of Russia to the revolutionary movement of Western countries and theorised that revolutionaries should work in reactionary trade unions, in his "Agrarian Thesis", he explained the class differentiation of rural poor and the need for agricultural labourer's associations in western countries, especially in capitalist countries. Since then this thesis has been a guideline for the revolutionaries all over the world to work in rural areas among the peasantry. Let us try to study those important aspects that are necessary to us and apply to our revolutionary practice.

"The proletariat is a really revolutionary class and acts in a really socialist manner only when it comes out and acts as the vanguard of all the working and exploited people, as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the exploiters; this, however, can not be achieved unless the class struggle is carried into the countryside, unless the rural working masses are united about the Communist Party of the urban proletariat, and unless they are trained by the proletariat.

2). The working and exploited people of the countryside, whom the urban proletariat must lead into the struggle or, at all events, win over, are represented in all capitalist countries by the following classes: first, the agricultural proletariat, wage-labourers (by the year, season, or day), obtain their livelihood by working for hire at capitalist agricultural enterprises. The organisation of this class (political, military, trade union, co-operative, cultural, educational, etc.) independently and separately from other groups of the rural population, the conduct of intensive propaganda and agitation among this class, and the winning of its support for the Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat constitute the fundamental tasks of the Communist parties in all countries;

second, the semi-proletarians or peasants who till tiny plots of land, i.e., those who obtain their livelihood partly as wage-labourers at agricultural and industrial capitalist enterprises and partly by working their own or rented plots of land, which provide their families only with part of their means of subsistence. This group of the rural working population is very numerous in all capitalist countries;..... If the work of the Communist party is properly organised, this group will become its assured supporter, for the lot of these semi-proletarians is a very hard one and they stand to gain enormously and immediately from Soviet government and the dictatorship of the proletariat; (Preliminary Draft Thesis on the Agrarian Question: Lenin, Collected Work-Vol.31, Page 153-154).

In the same way, Lenin explained about small peasants. He said that agricultural labourers, semi-proletarians and small peasants, all together constitute a majority in the rural areas of all capitalist countries and that proletarian revolution will be successful with their help. Certain aspects which can be clearly seen in the above lines from Lenin's Agrarian Thesis, are:

* For details see the work mentioned above.

This class differentiation is meant for capitalist countries. It is natural that semi-colonial and neo-colonial countries have certain specific features related to remnants of feudalism. In these countries agricultural labourers will be working with very primitive methods (use of wooden plough etc.) in the farms of landlords and rich peasants. They will be dependent on landlords and rich peasants because of debts and several other ties. Till the other day most of them were poor peasants, small peasants or tenants and lost the little land they had because of their debts. All these people seek to have not only some facilities as agricultural labourers but also yearn to acquire an acre or two and live independently.

Lenin said that agricultural labour have to be organised under separate unions, of agricultural labour. But he did not say any such thing about poor peasants. He only said that by organising the party work properly we can win over the poor peasants towards us. In villages where there are capitalist farms like industries in towns, he said, it is not only possible but also necessary to organise the workers in those farms. But as to the scattered peasants he said it is enough to win over them towards us politically. However, for our revolutionary programme of liberating the countryside by armed struggle and then encircling and liberating cities, it is necessary to organise poor and middle peasants together with agricultural labour. In 1903, in the initial stages of bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia, Lenin, in his writing 'To the rural poor' said that it is necessary to have a voluntary association of agricultural labourers and poor peasants to struggle against those living on the labour of others. (Vol.6: Page 381). In the same writing he also said that if they don't have a separate organisation they will be duped by rich peasants. However, in his later writings he stressed that agricultural labour should be specially organised in agricultural labour associations only. Though it is necessary in the capitalist countries to have separate agricultural labour associations in both democratic and socialist stages of revolutions it is clear from the above that Lenin was not against forming united organisations of labourers and poor peasants in

the stage of democratic revolution when agrarian revolution is crucial and peasants wage armed struggle.

Let us analyse the revolutionary experiences of China. Mao, in his "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," written in 1927, explained about peasant associations and the role the poor peasants played in them. The following lines from that report will help us understand the problem:

"The development of the peasant movement in Hunan may be divided roughly into two periods with respect to the countries in the provinces central and southern parts where the movement has already made much headway. The first, from January to September of last year, was one of organisation. In this period, January to June was a time of underground activity, and July to September when the revolutionary army was driving out Cnao Heng ti, one of open activity. During this period, the membership of the peasant associations did not exceed 3,00,000-4,00,000, the masses directly under their leadership numbered very little more than a million.The second period from last October to January of this year, was one of revolutionary action. The membership of the associations jumped to two million and the masses directly under their leadership increased to ten million ...

It was on the strength of their extensive organisation that the peasants went into action and within four months brought about a great revolution in the countryside, a revolution with out parallel in history." (Mao: Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan; Vol. I P.24).

These lines from Mao's work make some more things clear: A peasant organisation worked during Hunan uprising. It had membership too. The peasant association worked openly and its membership increased very much during the period of revolutionary action by the masses than during the period of underground work when repression was intense. Revolution

started and developed under the leadership of this association. By this it is clear that it is necessary to have a mass organisation capable of uniting and leading the peasantry so as to lead a peasant revolution.

Did the revolutionary class of agricultural labourers have a separate organisation? or did they and the peasantry have a common association? It will be clear in the following lines :

The poor peasants have always been the main force in the bitter fight in the countryside. They have fought militantly through the two periods of underground work and of open activity. They are the most responsive to Communist Party leadership. According to the survey of Changshaw County, the poor peasants comprise 70 percent, the middle peasants 20 percent and the landlords and the rich peasants 10 percent of the population in the rural areas. The 70 percent, the poor peasants, may be sub-divided into two categories, the utterly destitute and the less destitute. ... This great mass of poor peasants, or altogether 70 percent of the rural population, are the backbone of the peasant associations, the vanguard in the overthrow of the feudal forces and the heroes who have performed the great revolutionary task which for long years was left undone." (Page 32; same work).

According to this explanation given by Mao we can consider the destitute—they constitute 20%—as agricultural labourers and the less destitute as peasants who have very little land or who are tenants. The 70% of poor peasantry cited by Mao include poor peasants and agricultural labour.

The peasant organisation which led the revolution in Hunan state during secret and open periods had both peasants and agricultural-labour in the same organisation. Though some middle and rich peasants joined this, it was mainly the poor peasants and agricultural labour who played the leading and revolutionary role. And they were all organised in the same organisation. While the

experiences of Russia and China are like this. the experiences of revolutionary peasant struggles of our country also show that great struggles against feudalism were led by peasant associations having both poor peasants and agricultural labourers. Telangana struggle in all its stages (legal, secret, armed struggle stages) was led by Andhra Maha Sabha having both poor peasants and agricultural labourers. The Amudalalanka struggle of Challpalli (krishna district, was led by peasant associations. The Srikakulam girijan struggle, in all its stages, was led by the Girijan Sangham. The necessity never arose to build separate unions for peasants and agricultural labourers to lead them while building revolutionary movement and leading revolutionary struggles in these areas. Even then Andhra Pradesh continued to have two separate unions for peasants and agricultural-labourers. How did this happen?

In India peasant associations were formed prior to 1936 itself, and anti-zamindari struggles were waged under their leadership. These unions were led by landlords and rich peasants oppressed by zamindars and they tried to use the unions to further their domination on peasantry and to carry on anti-zamindari struggles within legal and reformist limits.

Akhil Bharat Kisan Sabha was formed in 1936. It started working in close contact with All India Congress. The communists in those days actively participated in All India Kisan Sabha and also its local units and led many anti-zamindari struggles. Kisan Sabha was formed not only in zamindari areas; it started working in ryotwari areas also on immediate economic demands. Even here the branches of Kisan Sabha were under the influence of landlords and rich peasants. In the later period (except during 1947-51), the peasant movement was led by landlords and rich peasants in the name of day-to-day problems and not as a revolutionary movement. It was not conducted as a revolutionary movement of poor peasants. As parties went on splitting, the peasant associations remained as those led by landlords and rich peasants following the respective parties. They remained as nominal mass organisations and not functioning peasant associations.

As revisionist opinions exist inside the party on class characterisation of rural population, considering, very often, landlords as rich peasants, and rich peasants as middle peasants, and there by giving them a leading role in peasant association in the name of "united front" with them, had become quite common. During the second world War, party had taken the non-class slogan of peasant labour unity. Poor peasant-labour unity is not only possible but is necessary for agrarian revolution. In peasants there are rich peasants. Because of peasant-labour unity, the agricultural labour will ultimately give up class struggle against rich peasants and even landlords. Thus it was a class collaborationist slogan.

Eversince 1952, when party took to parliamentary path the Ryot Sangham remained as an association that passes resolutions and occasionally makes representations to the government. Thus it failed to be a revolutionary mass organisation that would unite and lead the poor peasantry to realise agrarian revolution. Instead, it remained as an organisation of representatives of rich peasants and landlords. The conditions of the peasant associations led by both the revisionist parties is the same.

Thinking that agricultural labourers have become a separate class in India also as in the capitalist countries, efforts were made by the party to carry on the work of building agricultural labour associations which was suggested by Lenin for capitalist countries. This was done without recognising the essential feature that in colonial and neo-colonial countries, because of the dominating influence of feudal landlordism, the agricultural labourers had been poor peasants till the other day and that they continued to have relations with land in many forms. In this way agricultural labourers who ought to carry on struggle for agrarian revolution are mobilised only for daily or annual wages and thus the movement remained within the limits of economism. It does not mean, however, that capitalist relations have not developed in the various rural areas of Andhra Pradesh, or in India or that we should not take up issues specific to agricultural labourers. We should recognise that the agricultural labourer of yesterday is changing into today's tenant, and that today's tenant is

transforming into an agricultural labourer tomorrow, and that they continue to be a part of poor peasants by having some sort of link with land.

In Indian society, caste system still has a formidable position as a remnant of feudalism, more so in rural areas. Because of this peasants and agricultural labourers belonging to different classes are also divided on the basis of caste. This caste division is a big obstacle to the unity of poor peasants and agricultural labourers. In some castes, agricultural labourers and poor peasants are in large numbers and rich and middle peasants are small in number while some castes comprise of various classes of the peasantry including poor peasants. The caste system has to be abolished by us through people's democratic revolution. On the other hand we should unite the poor peasants and agricultural labour, the revolutionary classes scattered in all castes, and make the agrarian revolution a success.

Today the peasant and agricultural labour associations under the leadership of revisionist and neo-revisionist parties are not real but only nominal mass organisations. Even if we join in them and change them into real mass organisations, the revolutionary poor peasants will be split by some joining peasant associations in the name of being peasants while some others join agricultural labour associations in the name of being labourers. Thus this revolutionary force (i.e., the poor peasants including the agricultural labourers) which has to struggle unitedly to abolish landlordism will be divided not only on the basis of caste, but also split and disrupted organisationally, and thus will be left as a weak force incapable of achieving agrarian revolution.

Some people may argue why we can't organise peasant organisations of poor and middle classes and then co-ordinate their activities with those of agricultural labour associations and thus mobilise them all for agrarian revolution. The fact of the matter is, since major part of poor peasants and agricultural labour are fused into one entity, economically and socially, they do not consider themselves

as belonging to different classes. Though such ideas do exist in some areas, they are not so strong as to call for separate unions. It is easier and practicable to organise them into one union than coordinating their activities by organising them into separate unions. It is mainly because the achievement of agrarian revolution is the immediate task of poor peasants as well as agricultural labourers.

Transforming a peasants organisation into poor peasants organisation is also impossible. It is not possible for poor peasants, who have close ties with agricultural labourers socially and economically, to join or to be enrolled in these unions. Thus it will always remain as a union belonging only to a section of poor peasantry. A peasant association which can not mobilize even all the poor peasants can not after all think of revolutionary programme.

In the same way, on the basis of a limited programme for agricultural labour, we can not organise agricultural labourers who are limited in number into agrarian revolution' by leaving out the poor peasants who are in large number and who have close ties with them socially and economically. If we do so, they will be a weak force and can not carry on an effective struggle against landlords and peasants even on the issues of agricultural labour wages.

We have to firmly unite the poor peasants and agricultural labourers even to mobilise the middle class peasants-- who are our allies and who ought to play a revolutionary role in agrarian revolution and who benefit by it -- into anti-landlord united front. When such unity is not there, the middle class peasants will be under the influence of rich peasants and landlords. In such a situation anti-landlord united front can not be formed and agrarian revolution can not be carried on.

Viewed thus, we will understand as to how wrong it is to divide and organise separately the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, the most revolutionary class who have a vital role to play in agrarian revolution in rural areas. This is economism and remnant of revisionism, which we must reject.

There is a main difference between agricultural labour class in capitalist countries and those in semi-feudal countries like India. The inseparable connection between poor peasants and agricultural labourers is the specific feature in India. Though there are a few examples of running capitalist agricultural farms by introducing mechanisation, partial or complete, this is the predominant feature of agricultural labourers. It is only because we have not recognised this fact, we were swayed by economism all this time, we were forming separate unions for agricultural labourers as in capitalist countries and gave up the programme of agrarian revolution.

As we treat the agricultural labour as a part of the poor peasants, and as we have to apply immediately the slogan of land to the tiller -- the chief among slogans of agrarian revolution -- to the agricultural labour (to a greater extent) together with poor peasants, there is no need to organise them separately.

VII

In towns, we have to work well not only among workers, but also among students and build the revolutionary movement.

Internationally, students are playing a most revolutionary role in the anti-imperialist struggles. The struggles waged by American youth and students opposing the American imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam, Cambodia (Kampuchea) are historic.

The revolutionary struggles waged by French students in 1968 had stirred the whole of France. The entry of students and youth into revolutionary struggles in capitalist countries is a symptom of the severe crisis in which the capitalist class is caught, and of maturing revolutionary situation.

In our country too, the students are coming into struggles every day. They are carrying on the struggles by facing any amount of severe repression. These struggles are not only against pro-imperialist education system but also against police repression.

These struggles are proof of the fact that the illusions formed in students after 1948 about the government are blown away.

If we do not build student movement with clear cut revolutionary objectives, there is the danger of their being used by counter revolutionary forces. Already casteist and communal forces like Jansangh have taken roots in students. We should not have any doubt about the counter-revolutionary role of these forces. We will be able to understand this danger clearly, if we take lessons from the counter-revolutionary role played by Muslim communalists in Indonesia. That the reformist student movements under the leadership of revisionists and neorevisionists can not face these counter-revolutionary forces is indisputable.

Revolutionary student movement is only a part of the revolutionary movement we are building to achieve people's democratic revolution. Revolutionary student struggles against pro-imperialist and pro-feudal education system and for peoples' democratic revolution are necessary. The revolutionary student movement can be organised only by mobilising them into revolutionary struggles but not by mere resolutions or deputations or by attacks on educational institutions. For this we have to widely propagate among the students the objectives and programme of people's democratic revolution and the students' role in it. Those who follow this programme and work should be regarded as activists of student organisations and be given the necessary political and organisational training.

When viewed in this angle, it is correct for our activists to work in different organisations. But as these organisations belong to different political parties and groups, and as there is no democratic functioning it is completely wrong for us to believe that we can revolutionise them by working in them. Our work will only help us to have day to day contacts with the limited following they have and with any democratic forces in them.

These efforts will not be enough to build revolutionary student movement. We can build revolutionary student movement only by mobili-

sing students into revolutionary struggles and by building party among them. Reformist student organisations can not lead these struggles. During the struggles we must give organisational shape to those militants among the students with revolutionary consciousness and see that the movements are led by them. If they are left to the reformist student leaders, they water down the struggles.

Agrarian revolution and armed struggle will be protracted in our countryside. Throughout this period, ruling classes will concentrate their armed forces in urban areas which are centres of education and enforce their counter-revolutionary repression. Revolutionary student movement should be developed effectively in such a way as to be able to face this repression and advance.

In many villages there are high schools and new schools are also being opened. We must build student movement by working among the students.

Ruling classes have formed caste associations to see that urban and rural poor do not get organised against them. Student and youth associations as well as student's hostels are also among them. They are under the influence of the upper strata of each caste. Economic and other facilities are extended in the name of developing the backward castes and tribes, but in fact to buy over the vocal sections among them. They are helping the ruling classes, openly as well as covertly, by being election-oriented organisations.

Our comrades joined in them and worked on the plea that poor people are behind these organisations but all that proved to be in vain. Most of the comrades who worked in them were swayed away by the caste associations and they were not left with the party. And the others joined the revisionists and neo-revisionists, the election parties. These experiences clearly prove that caste organisations are disrupting the revolutionary party and the movement and are helping the ruling classes. It would be mere opportunism to work in these associations.

VIII

It is natural for our comrades to get a doubt whether we are not alienating ourselves by trying

to form in practicable and unnatural mass organisations in the name of building a revolutionary peoples movement. But there is no scope for that in the explanation given till now.

We are not refusing to work in reformist mass organisations as does the CPI (ML) leadership. In order to have contacts with and work among workers, students and youth in towns, we will be working in them to the extent it is necessary. With this, we will not be alienated and will have opportunity to have live contacts with the people during the initial stages of revolution and during repression. But it would be wrong to think that we will be able to transform the reformist organisations into revolutionary organisation or that we can build revolutionary movements through them.

For this, militant and struggle-oriented mass organisations have to be consciously developed during struggles. In some cases this change can be brought about in local reformist organisations. But often they need to be developed independently. The strike committees formed by reformists during struggle are replicas of reformist committees formed for the sake of mediation.

We should not be content with them. We must make efforts to form an organisation consisting of conscious militants and capable of working independently.

Further, we refuse to join and work in revisionist and neo-revisionist peasant and agricultural-labour organisations and caste associations. Their organisations are not only nominal, but have unnaturally divided into two the poor peasants and labourers, who belong to the same class, and thus they are disrupting the class that has to play the main role in agrarian revolution. The caste and communal organisations are disrupting these poor classes as a whole in another form. Because of this reason, we refuse to work in them. Even if we are isolated by this there is nothing to fear. We refuse to work in them, only to build mass organisations with a stable base and develop live relations with the people.

In our country, which is semi-colonial and neo colonial, the bourgeois democratic revolu-

tion under the proletarian leadership is itself the people's democratic revolution. In the course of this revolution, bourgeois democrats and revolutionary democrats who are against imperialism and feudalism are expected to work with us. Not all those who work with us today and who are to work with us in future, can be communist revolutionaries. Many who don't come along with us today will come along with us as the revolutionary movement advances. Revolutionary democratic groups or parties that are likely to go with us today are not yet formed in the country. There is a possibility of such groups and parties emerging in the course of revolution. Till then such forces will join us only individually. We should be prepared to build revolutionary movement by rallying them.

Bourgeois democrats who are anti-imperialist may work with us on some issues and to an extent. We should join forces and work with those forces to the extent they join us. Some of them may remain neutral. Sometime such neutrals may also be useful to the movement.

When viewed in this angle, between communist revolutionaries and those opposed to revolution, there will be bourgeois democrats and revolutionary democrats with various attitudes but useful to revolution. We can work with them in only mass organisations we are working in, and in the revolutionary movement we are building. If, we do not recognise this specific feature of people's democratic revolution, we will have to remain isolated all the time.

According to the path of people's war, first we liberate the countryside, then encircle cities, and after liberating them also, establish people's democratic state in the country. As a first step to liberate the countryside, we should start armed struggle in hilly and forest areas. It does not mean that we will leave out plains without developing them as armed struggle areas. If we leave out like that what is the difference left between urban and rural areas?

Plains are less favourable for armed struggle than forests and hilly areas but they are not completely unfavourable. In fact population is more concentrated in the plains areas. So only

when armed struggle starts here, it will develop as a country-wide armed struggle. We should start mass movements, specially peasant movements, in plains areas, and work with the aim of developing them into armed struggles. Only when we build revolutionary movement in the countryside, we can develop in into armed struggle.

Peasant and agricultural labour organisations under the leadership of revisionists and neo-revisionists are not only nominal but are dividing into two. The poor peasants and agricultural labour who play the main role in agrarian revolution, thus they are disrupting it; so the question of building the peasant movement through them does not arise.

We can begin and develop agrarian revolution only by developing structure of a mass organisation that can unite poor peasants as well as agricultural labourers behind it.

Such a mass organisation structure will be formed only after some spade work through party organisation in a village or in a belt of a few villages. Thus it will start as a struggle-oriented organisation and will remain so. They will be so, wherever party organisation is there. Under their influence, such organisation may develop even in areas where there is no party organisation.

When we mobilise people on economic and political issues with a mass programme, they will come into struggle. At such times, the struggle-oriented mass organisations lead the people. Through such frequent struggles in rural areas, the limited stability of feudal classes will be weakened. Gradually these struggles will reach a higher level and will help in building revolutionary movement. At such a higher stage, these struggle-oriented mass organisations will work as revolutionary mass organisations. Thus they will work as struggle-oriented mass organisations when the rural mass movement is in the stage of ordinary struggles, and they will work as revolutionary mass organisations when the movement reaches a revolutionary stage. Armed

struggle will start only when mass movement reaches a revolutionary stage. *

There are developed and backward areas in plains. There are areas where work was done in the past and some new areas. Anywhere and at any time struggles may start because of our efforts. Party and mass organisations should be so organised as to be able to lead them.

Until they are liberated, towns will be centres of government armed forces. During this period we must develop secret party organisation in towns, prepare workers, students and other middle class people for struggles and they should be led by struggle-oriented mass organisations. In the beginning, we will not, on our own, organise such revolutionary struggles as will directly confront the armed forces of the government except spontaneous movements. We should not try to do so. We must keep advancing by developing our revolutionary organisation and creating revolutionary consciousness among the people through ordinary day-to-day political and economic struggles.

The apparent passivity in the rural areas today is not due to lack of revolutionary situation. It is only due to the lack of a revolutionary party that can give the shape of struggle to the discontent in the people, this situation has arisen. If we set up minimum party organisation and start working among people with a revolutionary programme and practice, then that stage of developing a militant mass movement will not be much far. This militant mass movement ** will develop into revolutionary movement and the conditions necessary for armed struggle will be created. It is only when communist revolutionaries start working with this understanding that armed struggle will start in plains also at a certain stage.

We have to gain experiences in building revolutionary movement. The organisational problems of mass organisations, which help in building revolutionary movement, will be solved only during the course of revolutionary movement. We can go forward with only a broad understanding, but it is unnecessary as well as impossible to evolve a detailed plan now itself.

IX

All the aspects explained above can be summed up as follows :

1. Today the Indian revolution is in the stage of People's Democratic Revolution, which is bourgeois democratic revolution in character. Though this revolution is led by communist revolutionaries, revolutionary democrats also come forward to work in this. At present they are not organised in any party or group; they may form in future. But presently there is a possibility of their working with us individually. We must make all efforts to rally such people with us. We must utilise every opportunity for this.

2. Mass organisations are necessary so as to have day-to-day contacts with people and to organise and mobilise them into struggles. The character of a mass organisation will change according to that of mass movement. When the movement is in initial stages they will be ordinary mass organisations capable of leading them. When the movement reaches the stages of struggle they will be mass organisations of struggle and will help to prepare the people for armed struggle and carry on that. Thus, mass organisations will be necessary in all stages of the movement.

3. In principle, we accept to join and work in reactionary and reformist trade unions. In accordance with this, we make efforts to develop day-to-day relations with workers by working in revisionist neo-revisionist and other trade unions. As democracy in these trade unions is nominal, and because counter revolutionary repression is severe in urban and industrial areas, it is totally wrong and contrary to reality to think that we can revolutionise them. We can revolutionise

* Armed Struggle starts with land distribution.

** It should be noted that an ordinary mass movement, even if it is militant, is within legal bounds. In certain special circumstances this also can be regarded as a revolutionary movement.

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