

## IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME

*[Adopted by the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Committee at its convention held on April 10-12, 1969.]*

We, the Communist Revolutionaries who have broken from revisionism, are striving for the victory of Indian - revolution in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought.

India is a neo-colonial country. The Indian people are being subjected to the neo-colonial exploitation of the American imperialism, the British imperialism and the Soviet revisionism. Together with imperialism, feudalism is the main

exploiting force in the country. Seventy to eighty percent of the population live in the countryside. They are being subjected to various forms of feudal exploitation. In view of these conditions the Indian revolution would be completed in two stages. Today we are in the stage of New Democratic Revolution. Immediately after the completion of this, the stage of Socialist Revolution would begin. Since there are two different stages, the tasks of these two different stages would also be different. The task of the New Democratic Revolution is to establish the New Democratic State in the country by smashing imperialism, feudalism and comprador and bureaucrat bourgeoisie i. e., the big bourgeoisie. The task of the Socialist Revolution is to establish the Socialist system by abolishing private property. For the successful completion of the New Democratic Revolution, which is our immediate task, we should formulate a general programme. In the stage of the New Democratic Revolution the basic points of the general programme would remain unchanged.

These basic points are :

1. The comprador and the bureaucrat bourgeois i. e., the big bourgeois feudal State should be smashed. In its place the New Democratic State should be established.

2. Feudalism should be abolished. The land of the landlords should be distributed among the poor peasants and the agricultural labour.

3. The foreign capital as well as the capital of the comprador bourgeoisie and bureaucrat bourgeoisie in collaboration with it in the industries and banks should be confiscated.

4. For the working class, increment of wages, reduction of working hours and other facilities should be secured and the problem of unemployment should be solved.

5. The middle class people should be given the guarantee of employment.

6. For defence of the country the existing mercenary army should be abolished and a revolutionary people's army should be built up in its place.

7. The basis of the foreign policy should be the formation of a united front against the world imperialists, especially American imperialism and British imperialism and its collaborator, the Soviet social-imperialist clique. India should be party to this united front.

8. Various nationalities in the country should have the right of self-determination.

9. All types of unequal treaties should be abrogated. India should quit the 'Commonwealth'.

10. Anti-imperialist and anti-feudal education, science and culture should be promoted. The problems of unemployment among the middle class people should be solved.

11. Integration of the country should be based on complete independence and democracy.

The revolutionary programme based on these eleven points would constitute the New Democratic revolutionary programme. Having a revolutionary programme alone is not enough. We should also have a revolutionary path in order to achieve this programme. This path is totally different from the parliamentary path of revisionists. One of the main aspects of Mao's thought is people's war. The essence of the path of people's war is to establish guerilla bases in the countryside, to encircle and liberate the cities and to ultimately liberate the country. It is the task of the revolutionaries to apply the path of people's war to the revolutionary practice in India and to carry it through to the end.

The formation of a United Front is very important for the successful completion of the Indian revolution. This United Front should be formed against imperialism, feudalism and their collaborator, the big bourgeoisie. Under the leadership of the proletariat, this United Front should be formed of the working class, peasantry, middle class and the national bourgeoisie. Unlike the electoral united fronts of revisionists, this would be a Front for struggle which would emerge and develop in the course of revolutionary struggles and armed struggle for liberation.

To build and develop the United Front for the implementation of the programme of people's war and the New Democratic Revolutionary programme, a Communist Party capable of applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought to the revolutionary practice of India should be built. This should be a Communist Party formed of the revolutionaries. The revolutionaries of today should come forward to build such a revolutionary Party. We should realise that this Party should be totally different from the revisionist parties that have betrayed the Indian revolution. It is with this basic understanding we should formulate a clear cut programme suited to the present conditions.

We have already stated that this general programme of ours would be such that it would be applicable for the entire stage of New Democratic Revolution. Following the path of people's war, we are and will be implementing this programme in different regions. The vital aspect of this programme is to liberate the villages, encircle the town and then gradually liberate the urban areas. We should, in accordance with this, formulate our programme for rural and urban areas.

The mass movement of the Agency areas of Srikakulam district has reached the stage of armed struggle. The mass movement in the forest areas of Warangal and Khammam districts has passed ordinary legal confines. The peasantry, especially the landless poor peasantry and the agricultural labour, is coming forward not only to occupy the forest *banjars* but also to reoccupy lands illegally grabbed by the landlords. Hundreds of militants from these classes are participating in the day to day activities. In the Agency area of East Godavari district, the Agency peasantry is coming forward to fight for the abolition of the *muthadari* system and to reoccupy the lands illegally grabbed by the landlords. The movement is spreading to the neighbouring areas of Vishakhapatnam Agency, Bastar area, Karimnagar and Adilabad districts.

During the months of July and August last year, there was a tremendous mass upsurge in the plains areas of some

districts adjacent to the forest areas and reached the stage of confiscation of foodgrains from landlords. This position still continues. The mass movement in Khammam and Madhira taluqs of Khammam district and Janagaon and Manukota taluqs of Warangal district is thus marching forward, reaching the stage of direct resistance against the landlords. The movement in Nalgonda district had been subjected to a severe government repression and once again the peasantry is getting prepared for struggles.

### *Our Immediate Programme*

With the peasantry constituting more than 70 percent of the population in our country, the agrarian revolution would play the main role in the New Democratic Revolution. The abolition of feudalism and the distribution of land to the tiller is the main task of the agrarian revolution. Together with this, the emancipation of the rural masses from all forms of feudal exploitation would be the main task of the agrarian revolution. In Andhra Pradesh, the land belonging to the landlord class and the government is mainly in the following forms :

1. The landholdings of the landlords cultivated through farm servants. This is known as self-tilling.\*
2. The lands cultivated by the tenant-farmers paying the rent in the form of grain or money to the landlords as well as the lands cultivated for landlords by some of these tenant-farmers.
3. The pastures and other similar categories of lands.
4. Temple and endowment lands under the occupation of landlords.
5. The cultivable government *banjar* lands. ( This includes the government *banjar* lands under the cultivation of landlords. )

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\* For the sake of clarity, the term 'self-tilling' is introduced in place of *self-cultivation*, the term originally used in the English version of the document.

6. The forest lands needed for the cultivation by the peasantry.

The land issue could be solved only by re-distribution of these lands to the poor and landless peasantry and the agricultural labour. Therefore, the communist revolutionaries in different parts should study the land issue and carry on, among the people, especially the peasantry, the propaganda about the importance as well as the urgent need for the land re-distribution.

While thus carrying on the propaganda, we should, from now on, make the preparations for the occupation of lands by the peasantry in the next year. All the land that should be occupied immediately, would come in for cultivation from June, this year. Therefore we should take detailed decisions as to the areas, villages and the lands that should be occupied, and prepare the peasantry from now on.

We should, for the present, concentrate only on the big landlords, the main enemies of the people. It is only these big landlords that we should keep in view when we occupy the lands under 'self-tilling'. Keeping the question—of whether all the lands under the item 'self-tilling' should be distributed or not—open for discussion, it is essential to distribute the land to the extent available.

Where there is no preparedness among the poor peasantry and the agricultural labour, the distribution of the lands under 'self-tilling' and the pasture of landlords, the land that the landlords had grabbed from the poor peasantry and agricultural labour illegally or with nominal compensation or towards debts, can be restored to the people belonging to the respective families in case they still remain poor peasants or agricultural labour. But owing to this there should not arise a situation where some would get such land while some would not. We should, in such a situation, see that others do also get a portion of such land. Thus it should be possible for all the poor peasants and agricultural labour to get the land equally (inclusive of the land they have already in their possession).

At present, we are only concentrating on the lands of the big landlords. The question of ceiling would arise at the time of distributing the landlords' lands. We should recognise the land needed by a middle peasant who cultivates the land by himself as the maximum ceiling limit. It is possible that this may differ from area to area. As the agrarian revolution advances, it would as well become necessary to distribute a portion of the land from the small landlords also. In such a situation, depending upon the needs of the agrarian revolution, it is to be decided as to where and how the distribution should be carried out. We should trace out the temple and endowment lands under the occupation of the big landlords (they are often concealed) and make preparations for their distribution among the poor peasants and agricultural labour. We should, wherever possible, take it up as an immediate problem.

The common people are not in a position to make use of common *banjar* lands as well as forest lands since a major part of these lands is under the occupation of the landlords. The cultivable lands from among them should be distributed among the poor peasants and agricultural labour. The rest of the lands should be taken over by the people.

The poor peasants and the agricultural labour would need cattle and other implements for the cultivation of lands thus distributed. At the time of land distribution itself, the cattle and the implements of the landlords should also be distributed among such of those that are in need of them.

Moneylending, *Nagulu*, *Khandanalu*, these should be abolished in whatever form they may exist. But it is only on the big landlords, moneylenders (*shahukars*) and the rich peasants, who carry on exploitation in this way, that we should concentrate. The common people would lose the credit facilities if we are also to concentrate on petty individual moneylenders. It would be necessary to promote the credit facilities to a certain limited extent till the liberated areas are established and credit facilities are arranged for the people. Therefore, credit facilities are permitted in such a way that they

continue on reasonable rate of interest, either the bank rate or the lowest reasonable rate in vogue in the respective regions.

Besides, forced labour (*vetti*), tips, tilling of land (of the landlords without any payment) by the peasants with their own cattle and such other feudal exploitation should thus be abolished in whatever form they may exist. We should mobilise the people on all other problems because of which the rural people are facing difficulties owing to the domination of landlords. We should concentrate on the problems specially in villages where the conditions of the people are the worst. The conditions of the people in some villages may be better than those in other villages owing to the work of the Party over a number of years. But it would, however, be wrong not to mobilise the people into struggle on the presumption that the conditions of the people in all other villages are also better. The problem of toddy-tappers is serious in the Telengana region. The degree of exploitation by the Govt. contractors (who include local landlords) is very high. They are put to untold sufferings due to corrupt practices of the Govt. officials. Against this exploitation we should organise and lead them into struggles on the slogan of "Tree to the tappers". We should carry on propaganda among them that their problems would be solved only with the establishment of the New Democratic Government and that for this the path of armed struggle should be taken up.

Similarly, the agricultural labour and the poor and middle peasants in all the regions are suffering for want of house sites. We should take up this problem. This is a programme which should be extended to all parts of Andhra Pradesh. Now let us work out a programme on problems pertaining to different regions.

#### *Forest Areas*

The importance of forest and mountainous regions would be crucial in the people's war. In these regions not only the enemy is weak but also these are areas favourable for

the people's guerilla squads to carry on resistance against the armed forces of the enemy for a long period and are ideal for establishing guerilla base areas. The landlords, the money-lenders, and the forest officials are exploiting the ordinary people and the Girijans inhabiting the forest and mountainous region in ever so many ways. In these regions, the masses have become conscious and are revolting against the government and the exploiting classes. Srikakulam Girijan struggle is a prelude to it. In all these areas, especially in the forest areas of Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar, the land with irrigation facilities as well as a major portion of the fertile cultivable land is in the hands of the landlords. For the purpose of grazing, usually hundreds and thousands of cattle belonging to these landlords are left off in the forest itself. They earn lakhs of rupees in the cattle-trade. Besides the distribution of *banjar* lands, under the occupation of government as well as landlords, among the poor peasants and agricultural labour, we should, in these areas, carry on a struggle for the fertile dry lands as well as the irrigated lands under 'self-tilling' of the landlords and distribute them. The cattle, available in thousands, should also be distributed.

For this, we should make preparation from now on. Ploughing should commence with the commencement of monsoon.

In the coming months, the contractors would employ the people as coolies to move out the forest produce. We should, therefore, intensify the struggle on the question of coolie rates in the next month. Thus, by intensifying the mass activities, we should, by the end of April, advance the movement to a higher stage. In this period, a good amount of work has been done to organise and mobilise the Girijans in the Agency area of East Godavari district. The *muthadari* system, the worst kind of feudal exploitation, is in practice in this area. The remnants of it are also found in the Agency area of Visakhapatnam. The people themselves should go in for revolutionary actions to abolish this system.

The fertile lands and the fruit gardens that were grabbed from the Girijans are in the hands of the landlords. The people are very eager to take them back. We should prepare the people for occupation of these lands. The occupation of land should commence with the commencement of monsoon.

By allotting the land needed by the Girijans for *podu* cultivation, we should create opportunities for their cultivation. The government, grabbing away the lands from the Girijan peasantry, is raising coffee and other big plantations. We should study the problem of these plantations. We should examine this problem, taking into account the extent of these gardens that needs to be distributed, in order to solve the land problem of the peasantry.

All the corporations set up for the purpose of purchasing forest produce are nothing but a means for the exploitation of the people and for filling the pockets of the officials with the people's wealth. They should, therefore, be abolished and the Girijans should be given the opportunity of freely selling to whomever they wish to.

We should not, while implementing this programme, permit Girijan and non-Girijan discrimination. Rallying all the non-Girijans, including poor and middle peasants, a United Front with the Girijans should be formed and the struggle carried on. The division on the basis of Girijans and non-Girijans would only prove helpful to the enemy. This applies equally to different tribes among the Girijans themselves.

The tips, forced labour (*vetti*) and bribes to the forest officials and employees have ceased by now. We should not permit them in any form or to any extent.

### *Plains Areas*

There are dry and wet lands in the plains areas. To this day, the exploitation and atrocities of the landlords continue to be a serious problem in the dry lands. The food problem is a serious problem here. Vast areas of banjar lands are available for distribution. There are opportunities in these

areas to organise and mobilise the people on ever so many problems such as land, coolie rates, food problem, and against the domination of landlords and so on.

Despite the fact that in terms of armed resistance this area is less favourable than the forest and mountainous regions, it would be wrong to conclude that this area would not be useful for resistance. Under the present conditions, a limited guerilla resistance would be possible even in these areas. Though it would take time for an incessant resistance to take off in these areas, these are highly important since they include areas adjacent to forest areas and the Telengana area where the armed struggle was carried on in the past. It is very essential to develop revolutionary movement in these areas in order to send the cadres and procure help needed in the forest areas.

### *Wet Lands*

In view of social conditions and geographical features, there are no possibilities for immediate development of guerilla resistance here in these areas. Yet from these areas cadres, funds and other help should be sent to the areas of resistance. Ceaseless class struggle against the exploitation of the people should be carried on in these areas. These areas should also be liberated gradually.

Here, among the struggles of the agricultural labour as well as the struggle against the general domination of the landlords, we should mainly concentrate on the struggles of the agricultural labour and the tenant-farmers. We should launch struggles for the abolition of Government Farming Societies and for the distribution of lands under their control among the poor peasants and agricultural labour. We should study where the possibilities for developing such struggles exist and make efforts to develop the struggles there.

### *Political Propaganda*

We should propagate, while implementing the above programme, that the people are waging struggles for their liberation,

that the liberation could be achieved only through their armed struggle and that the people should seize the political power into their own hands. We should make them realise the fact that we could seize the political power only through the path of people's war. Despite the fact that the need for achieving a People's Raj safeguarding the gains achieved through the struggles and that for our liberation from the exploitation of the exploiting classes is being propagated, a comprehensive political propaganda is however not being carried on. We should especially propagate the politics of armed struggle much more extensively than what we are doing now. We should carry on comprehensive propaganda about the revolutionary struggles going on in different parts of the country as well as the Srikakulam struggle. In addition to the propaganda by our cadres through speeches, we should organise local cultural squads and carry on propaganda through them.

*Boycott Panchayat Elections—Establish Village Soviets*

Panchayat elections are due in the month of May. We have resolved to boycott them. We should immediately take steps to implement this decision. We should give no room for entering the Panchayat Boards by back-door methods.

Our experience has proved that in the anti-feudal struggles the Panchayat Boards could not be the instruments in the hands of the people. It is because even in the villages where we had been a majority in the Panchayat Boards during this period, the landlord class got only strengthened and not weakened. What is more, by way of collection of taxes and other means, the Panchayat system has only proved helpful for the further strengthening of ruling classes.

We should, from now on, make the people realise as to how the Panchayat system and the election system is proving useful for the ruling classes as a cover to safeguard their power. We must convince the people that they should not participate in the elections and thus make them boycott. We should make the people, especially those who follow us, boycott the elec-

tions. For this we should strictly rely on the consciousness and the organised strength of the people. But we should not resort to any shortcut methods. We should make it clear to the people that it is not merely boycotting the elections, that there is the path of people's war for them to follow, that it means establishing the Village Soviets and the People's Committees, that it is under their leadership that we should implement the agrarian revolutionary programme and that these are the foundations for the New Democratic revolutionary State.

(There will be no change in our programme despite the postponement of the Panchayat elections for the present. We should carry on an extensive propaganda about the need for boycotting the elections.)

We should, in all the villages of the forest areas where we are working, mobilise the people to boycott the elections. In the villages where the elections are thus boycotted, the question of how to manage the affairs of the village would arise. Then all the people, the adults of the villages, should assemble and elect the People's Committees. These Committees should assist the people in all problems connected with the life of the people. In the plains areas, District Committees should take steps to boycott the elections in the villages where we are strong. Boycott by the revolutionaries alone does not mean the boycott of elections. In the village, where the elections are thus boycotted, the People's Committees elected by all the people should come into being. These Committees should function as alternate committees to the government Panchayat Boards. These would be the Committees empowered by the people. They should provide leadership in all the affairs of the village and stand by the people. They should implement the agrarian revolutionary programme.

They should take the responsibility of law, revenue, defence of people and so on. These Committees should be prepared to carry out the given responsibilities at the given stage. As the struggle reaches the higher stage in the countryside, the People's Committees would transform into Village Soviets.

Against the feudal system and the elections, the Village Soviets and the People's Committees would act as United Front Committees to launch and successfully conclude the agrarian revolution. In these Committees, led by the revolutionaries and dominated by the poor peasants and agricultural labour, the others who rally round us should also be given proper representation. As the agrarian revolution advances, a few of the representatives, especially of the rich peasantry can also be given representation.

These Committees should have a clear-cut class and political outlook. We should educate them in the understanding of the path of people's war and develop their political consciousness. We should not permit the opportunists, careerists as well as the representatives of the rich classes to join these Committees.

### *Volunteer Squads*

With the mobilisation of people on the boycott of elections, on food problem and the problem of forest areas, the problem of people's self-defence would arise. For this we should build the volunteer squads. In the forest areas where the people have already been mobilised into struggles, the volunteer squads should be organised on a large scale. All the youth of the villages should be the members of these squads. One squad if it is a small village, and as many squads as necessary depending upon the feasibility of work if it is a large village, can be organised. Each of these squads should have a commander and an assistant commander. They should be politically conscious and disciplined. They should be elected for these posts. For the purpose of self-defence the ordinary volunteers can use any weapon that is locally available. They can have sticks only if they cannot procure any other weapon.

These squads should assist the Village Soviets and People's Committees in the implementation of their decisions. In case of attacks from the armed police and military, these squads must assist the people in all possible ways.

The volunteer squads should be organised not only in the villages where the Village Soviets exist, but also in the villages where the People's Committees exist. Only when there is a volunteer squad, can the activities of the People's Committees be carried on effectively, the decisions can be implemented, and confidence in the Committees can be created among the people.

We should, in a simple language, educate the volunteer squads in our political line, path of people's war and current politics. The party should take steps for this.

### *Local Squads*

The government armed police attacks would begin with the implementation of agrarian revolutionary programme. With this the resistance should also begin. For this it would be better to have local squads along with the regular squads. Depending upon defence needs, these squads could consist of seven members. They can arm themselves with bows and arrows, spears and axes.

Usually the local enemies are terrified by the very sight of the people and the volunteer squads. These bullies are still more terrified if there are local squads. It should be the task of local squads to deal with the people's enemies, who cannot be dealt with by the people and volunteer squads. The local squads should provide leadership in the mass actions against the landlords. They should render necessary assistance to the regular squads. They should be given good military training and political education.

### *Mass Organisations*

We mobilise the people for the implementation of the agrarian revolutionary programme. We should recruit these masses into the peasant organisations. As in the past, we should not, for this purpose, print membership books and collect membership fees.

In the meeting of the village people, we should, by show

of hands decide as to who are willing and who are not willing to join. We should take all those who are willing to join. All those people who join thus should elect the People's Committees and Village Soviets.

We should also hold meetings among the women and organise them. This task would be easy where there are female comrades. The women should also join the men and fight in the agrarian revolutionary struggle. For this they should be recruited into the women organisations in the same manner as above. They should also be gradually recruited into the volunteer squads, local squads and the regular squads. In a situation when there is severe repression, and when it is not possible to openly recruit the people into the mass organisations, the cadres should go door to door and recruit the members secretly.

### *Intensify Mass Activities*

We should, in the next month, intensify our activities both in the forest areas as well as plains areas. By May, not only these activities should be intensified and the Village Soviets and the People's Committees formed—and these should start functioning—but we should also get prepared for counter-attacking the landlord class. It is at this higher stage of these mass activities that we should implement the agrarian revolutionary programme. For this we should politically and organisationally get prepared from now on.

### *Extend to New Areas*

At present the movement is, to some extent, being extended to areas adjacent to the forest areas. But the pace is very slow. The shortage of cadre is the main reason for it.

We should quickly bring the Vishakhapatnam Agency area which is adjacent to East Godavari into the movement. We should cover the centres and areas left in Khammam and Warangal districts. We should intensify our activities in

Karimnagar and Adilabad districts. The units of the revolutionaries have already begun to function in these areas.

Steps are being taken to begin mass activities in Mahabubnagar district.

In Rayalaseema district, it is decided to convene a meeting of the district leaders and intensify the anti-feudal struggles. Steps are being taken in this direction. We should also begin to intensify the activities in other districts.

### *Work in Cities*

Notwithstanding the fact that our units are functioning in the cities, we are not putting well-concentrated work here. Even though the forest areas are of importance, it is not correct to leave out the cities. The armed struggle that we are conducting should have the support and solidarity of the urban working class. The help of the transport workers as well as the workers of various other branches of industry would be needed for the transportation of materials and other technical assistance. We should give proper importance to the students as well as to our work in the cities. Influenced by the revolutionary ideas, today's students and youth are being fast attracted to Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought.

Ours is a path of people's war, i.e., to liberate the villages and then to liberate the cities. For this we should carry on our work in cities from now on. At the same time we should, on the one hand, smash the enemy's plans to suppress the peasant armed struggle, and should, on the other hand, prepare the Party and the people to seize political power by the time we liberate the cities. We should, keeping this in view, plan our work in cities.

### *Support the Srikakulam Armed Struggle*

An armed struggle is going on in Srikakulam. We are releasing a separate document explaining as to how this movement has developed and what are the problems that arose in the course of the development of this movement.

We should take lessons from the experiences of Srikakulam movement. We should carefully study the experiences that the comrades are gaining at present. We should take lessons from these experiences. We should pass on our experiences to the comrades taking part in that struggle.

We should not only support the Srikakulam armed struggle but should also attack the vile propaganda that the enemies are carrying on against it.

### *Consolidate the Organisation of the Revolutionaries*

We should have well-organised and disciplined organisation to implement the programme explained above, to build a revolutionary movement through it and to carry on the armed struggle. Even though the State Committee and all the District Committees work as Co-ordination Committees, they are often taking majority decisions and are functioning as Party Committees.

Should we, the revolutionaries, and our Committee function like this as Co-ordination Committee? Or should we, based on the principle of democratic centralism, go in for the organisation of the Party? This is the point of discussion now.

We are unable to centralise our activities due to the lack of discipline and concentration in the nature of Co-ordination Committees. As a result, they are not acquiring revolutionary character. In the areas where the Committees observed discipline and functioned as Party Committees, the revolutionary movement acquired a definite form and is marching forward. Since our activities in other areas are being confined to mere discussions, they are not taking the form of mass movements. In view of these experiences, our Co-ordination Committee has decided to take necessary steps for building up the Party.

In the light of this decision the Party building is going on in the struggle areas. The Committees are deciding as to who should be the Party members. To carry on the Party activities effectively, the Area committees and the Zonal

committees have been constituted and are functioning. Necessary steps are being taken for the functioning of these units in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism.

The Area committees have been formed and are functioning in the Jangaon, Mulugu and Khammam area of Warangal and Khammam districts. We should further consolidate and develop them so that they would be capable of leading the armed struggle. Further, we should take steps for all the units in all the districts to function in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism. Only then could the necessary conditions for building the Party be secured.

These steps are necessary for the future advance of the revolutionary movement.

The question, as to who should be recognised as party members, still remains a problem. As our cadres accept the path of people's war, we should mainly examine as to whether their practice is in accordance with it or not. From the time we began our work in the struggle areas to this day, we should examine the activities of each of the cadres and decide as to who should be and who should not be given the membership.

Those who should be given membership need not necessarily be whole-timers. But they should be prepared to go underground when there is repression. The membership of those who are not whole-timers should be kept secret.

We should see that the Party members through their exemplary and revolutionary work, emerge as members of the Village Soviets and People's Committees as well as the leaders of the regular squads, local squads and volunteer squads.

### *Get Prepared for Armed Struggle*

It is our opinion that we should, after quickly completing the political propaganda, mass mobilisation as well as the above tasks on the organisational front, get prepared for the armed struggle by the coming monsoon. We could, with the first drizzle, begin the land distribution programme, the main

item of the agrarian revolutionary programme. By co-ordinating the guerilla warfare with this, a strong and broad mass base would be secured for the struggle. The rainy season is a favourable period for resistance. During this period—by the land distribution and the functioning of the Village Soviets on one side, and organising the resistance on the other, by implementation of all of them simultaneously, the revolutionary movement would be strengthened and it would be in a position to withstand and march forward in the face of the enemy's counter-offensive that would follow. The comrades should bear it in mind and march forward.

As part of these preparations, a militant mass mobilisation against the landlords becomes necessary in the end of the summer season. Such a mobilisation would prove helpful for the launching of the armed struggle.

Comrades :

Today there are favourable conditions for the implementation of the above programme. The ruling classes are frightened out of their wits at the activities of the revolutionaries. Because of this they are resorting to ruthless repression. At such a time any complacency on our part would be unpardonable.

In accordance with Mao's thought, the liberation struggles are going on against imperialism, feudalism and reactionary forces in various parts of the world. Following the path of people's war, the liberation struggle has also started and is advancing in Thailand.

In China, the Communist Party under the leadership of Mao has victoriously concluded the cultural revolution, liquidated revisionism and is marching forward.

Taking advantage of all these favourable conditions, we should, along the path of people's war, strive to take the agrarian revolution forward. Only then could we march forward.

*Long Live Mao's Thought.*

*Long Live Peasants' Armed Struggle.*