

An Extract From
Note To The English Translation of
Right Opportunist Trend Inside The Party

If someone becomes revolutionary simply because they claim to be revolutionary and their adversaries become revisionists simply because they brand them as such, no ideological struggle will be required to defend Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought in India. There will be no need to make serious effort to build up revolutionary party. It is obvious from the attitude of these people that they are using the word revisionism only as an abuse but not as a part of principled ideological struggle.

This is not all. While they themselves have sunk in the quagmire of neo-revisionism, they are resorting to self-deception as well as deceiving others by slandering their opponents as "brand new revisionists".

In their booklet "*Some Problems Relating to the Path of People's War in India*", criticising Charu Majumdar group, C.P. Reddy group has written as under:

"Past Heroic Telengana Struggle has for the first time brought this question on to the agenda: What is our path of revolution? Is it Chinese path or Russian path? Andhra communist party has argued as in China, Indian revolutionary struggle will also have to traverse the path of protracted armed struggle if it has to achieve complete victory. It has led the struggle in accordance with Mao's writing. It is also clear from the Kishan document that comrade Stalin has also suggested this path as the path of Indian revolution in the main" (Retranslation from Telugu version P.43).

As far as the present issue is concerned, the last sentence is important. We have discussed some of the issues related to *Kishan document* in our document, *The Fundamental Line and the Question of Unity*. Here we have to explain one more point.

a rousing and galvanising effect on the peasant masses in all areas and raise their own struggles to a higher level".

This para stresses the need for a peasant revolutionary movement, leading to seizure of the land for starting a partisan war. Organising the peasantry, raising their consciousness has been given prominent place. It also stresses the need for other forms of struggle while carrying on armed struggle for land. C.P. group shuts its eyes to this important aspect of the document it mentions.

The said document deals with the subject of partisan warfare as a form of partial struggle. The C.P. group is said to have interest over this point only. The point is dealt in the form of a question and an answer which is as follows:

Question : Have we to take up partisan struggle only when the peasant struggle for partial demands reaches the stage of land distribution and establishing village peasant committees? Or can we take it up when the movement is still in the stage of struggle for partial demands, as for example rent reduction?

Answer : The partial struggle has also stages. It starts with small demands. Let us say reduction of rent. It is not yet a partisan struggle. If the enemy refuses to grant the demands and the peasant is eager to win it by force then the partisan struggle can start. True it is not the struggle for seizure of land but only reduction of rent. Still it will be a partisan struggle.

Hence it does not depend on us. If the masses are ready and eager, we should assist them.

We do not find the last sentence in the given quotation of the C.P. group which is of some significance. We will explain this point later.

A cryptic question and a cryptic answer as mentioned in the quotation can never resolve any of the problems arising out of this subject. Can the armed actions of the groups of the militants during partial struggles be equated to the partisan warfare? Are partial struggles for increase in wages and anti-feudal struggles one and the same? Do the partial struggles provide the necessary organisation, level of consciousness and continuity of the mass action to carry on partisan warfare? These are the basic questions though they appear to be secondary. Neither the question nor the answer tries to go into them. Obviously, the questioner does not know anything

about these points.

To come to the last sentence which the C.P. group deliberately omits. After advocating partisan warfare as a form of partial struggle the answer says:

".....it does not depend on us, if the masses are ready and eager we should assist them". Here there is a mass approach to the issue. *The readiness* and *the eagerness* of the masses mentioned here denotes embryonic form of organisation and consciousness which is enough for armed actions but not for partisan warfare.

We are not opposed to armed actions in accordance with readiness and eagerness of the masses during partial struggles. In fact, we have been advocating such militant type of organisation of partial struggles. Our documents* *Lay Foundations for a Struggle-oriented Mass Movement* and *Immediate Programme*, contain formulations to meet the requirements of the situation. In our subsequent documents we explained our position in unequivocal terms. But the point of controversy is whether such militant and armed actions are to be called partisan warfare? or partisan warfare is to be organised to conduct a partial struggle?

We are unaware of the partial struggles where militant and armed actions are characterised as partisan warfare. Whereas we have ample experience to show that, if properly and correctly conducted, all anti-landlord struggles will reach the level of land seizure in short time. And that is the time to start a partisan warfare.

We are firmly of the opinion that certain armed actions themselves do not constitute partisan warfare. On the other hand, it has an ideology, programme, organisation and mass character. It has strategic and tactical principles militarily. Mao dealt the subject in all its aspects. Instead of taking up the position in accordance with Mao's directives, C.P. group has departed from them and reduced them to armed actions. All this is going on in the name of scissored and trimmed quotation from a document which we reject.

It is also a dishonest and cunning step on the part of the C.P. group to delete the last sentence in the answer which is its basis, though the word *eager* is found in the earlier part. Here the answer clearly says that it is the consciousness and organisation of the masses

* The documents mentioned here, also by D.V.Rao, are published as part of *Agrarian Revolution and our Tasks*, Proletarian Line Publications, Hyderabad.

expressed in the form of '*ready' ness* and '*eager' ness* that should decide the question but not the pressure of police nor the desire of the party leadership.

Subsequently they changed this formulation into "*armed struggle to resist the police repression*" without reference to the level of consciousness of masses. In practice, it has degenerated into assassination of individuals.

Thus the C.P. group, while claiming that their line is in accordance with *Kishan Document*, departs even from it in all its aspects.

Now we will deal with some aspects of experiences of armed struggle and agrarian revolutionary movement in Telangana upto 1951.

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..... (March, 1973)