

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE TARIMELA NAGI REDDY LINE

by Srinath Reddy Tarimela (from <http://tarimela.blog.co.in/>) (2006)

On 28th July this year the Indian Communist Revolutionary Movement will be observing the 30th death anniversary of Comrade Tarimala Nagi Reddy. His contribution to the Indian Communist Revolutionary Movement was invaluable.

He was born in a wealthy family on February 11<sup>th</sup> 1917. His schooling was done in the Theosophical and Rishi Valley schools which were renowned for their discipline and all-round development of personality. Here he learnt about the dignity of labour, which was professed by the schools. This teaching set the trend for his revolutionary career. He meticulously studied Marxist –Leninist theory and moulded himself with revolutionary consciousness. Remarkably he launched a struggle against the landlord of his own family.

Comrade Nagi Reddy's political ideas were not tolerated by the governing body of the Madras Loyola college, thus he moved to Benares Hindu University, where he had greater avenues to express his political thought. Making untiring efforts he led the student masses towards nationalist politics, socialist ideas and proletarian revolution. In spite of carrying the burden of leading the student's movement and participating in the secret organization of the party, his upper-class background prevented him from attaining party membership early. In 1939, the Communist Party of India had full faith in Nagi Reddy's proletarian revolutionary qualities and awarded him party membership.

Marge Grower, the then vice-chancellor of Delhi University, openly challenged the national slogan for the formation of a constituent assembly. Comrade. T.N. openly opposed this, being the leader of the Students Union. Fascinatingly, the Indian Congress leader Gandhi opposed him. Gandhi wrote a letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the B.H.U. to demand an apology from T.N. T.N. opposed it and was thus failed in his law examinations.

Angered T.N. left the college and returned to his village. He started organizing students and youth into the Communist Movement. Several youth were attracted to Comrade T.N.'s simple, down-to-earth style of explaining politics and economics. This made the Congress leaders helpless. (They opposed the Communists in the Freedom Struggle)

A booklet by the name of "Economic Effects of War" was published by T.N. which explained the economic crisis caused as a result of the 2nd World War. He used it to propagate an anti-war call given by the Communist Party. The British government were now on a hunt for T.N. and thus he went underground. The Government was forcibly collecting levy from the poor and middle peasants, while leaving the food grain stocks of landlords untouched. Comrade T.N. drew out a programme opposing the levy and collected the details of food grains stocks of landlords and exposed it before the people. The government issued an arrest warrant on him under the charges of sedition and

treason. The owner of the press that published the booklet was taken into custody and Comrade T.N. sentenced to one year imprisonment. Just after he was released from Thiruchirapalli jail, the government re-arrested him right in the jail premises under the defence of India act.

The Country-wide post World War rising shook the British Imperialists and their servants and the Congress Govt. In the Madras province unleashed repression on the Communists. An ordinance was passed banning the Communist Party. Comrade T.N. was arrested and released in 1947.

Comrade T.N. played a major role in the Telengana Revolutionary Armed Struggle against the Nizam of Hyderabad. Taking meticulous care of saving the secret party organization and the families of several comrades who came under repeated raids by the police, Comrade T.N. worked day and night. Party literature was secretly circulated by T.N., who multiplied them when copies fell short. His wife Laxmikanthamma also went into underground life and helped the movement.

In 1952 Comrade T.N. came out of underground life when the Telengana Armed Struggle was withdrawn and contested as a candidate in the 1952 general elections. The Govt. arrested him and released him only after elections. Neelam Sanivareddy was defeated from prison. Nagi Reddy played a key role in the Madras assembly as the leader of opposition.

In the 1950's the state of Andhra Pradesh was formed with its headquarters at Kurnool. The Congress conspired with other opposition parties against the Communists and were supported by many sections of feudal landlords. In the Puttur constituency, Comrade T.N. heroically resisted these reactionary forces. He received great co-operation from the cadres who spread the politics of Marxism-Leninism.

T.N. lost the elections, but continued a series of meetings, exposing the politics of the reactionary parties. This defeat demoralized the Communist Party which now felt the need of tailing behind the bourgeoisie. The C.P.I. began to support Nehru as well as Khrushchev's class-collaborationist line in the Soviet Union. Comrade T.N. combated these consolidating class struggles and people's movements in Ananthapur district of Andhra Pradesh.

In 1957, T.N. was elected to parliament, which provided him with a platform to study the political, social and economic situation of India. He made a meticulous analysis of how Imperialism controlled India's economic and industrial spheres, concluding that the Imperialist countries still had affirm grip over India's economy. The Central leadership of the C.P.I. ridiculed this.

From 1959-60 Comrade T.N. fought against the expansionist designs of the Nehru Govt. and the national chauvinist trend in the C.P.I which rejected friendship between India and China. This resulted in T.N. being arrested under the National Security Act. In 1964 the C.P.M. was formed, on account of differences on the Chinese situation. The

Government launched strong repression on the C.P.M. during the 1964 Indo-Pak war on the border issue and hundreds of leaders and activists were arrested.

**TRENDS OF NATIONAL CHAUVINISM AND TRAILING THE INDIA BOURGEOISIE CAME WITHIN THE C.P.M. COMRADE T.N AND HIS FOLLOWERS OPPOSED THIS FROM JAIL ITSELF. THE 1967 DOCUMENT UPHELD IN MADURAI BY THE C.P.M. CONFIRMED THIS.**

The Naxalbari peasant movement was initiated from 1967 and Comrade T.N. passionately fought against the ruthless repression unleashed on the movement by the United Front Govt. (comprising of the Congress and the C.P.M.). He condemned the expulsion of leaders and cadres of the Naxalbari movement from the Party. Comrade T.N. felt that it was the historical task of the comrades to revolt against the central Committee of the C.P.M. and the then General secretary of Central Committee, Com. P. Sundarayya.

Comrade T.N. initiated a thorough discussion and debate on the document, 'New Situation and New Tasks', which was circulated before the Madurai document. The avoiding of a discussion by the central committee of the C.P.M. was condemned. In a plenum at Palakollu neo-revisionist policies were thoroughly defeated. An overwhelming majority of members voted in support of the resolution proposed by T.N. An uncompromising stand was made calling on the Naxalbari Movement taking up the path of the Telengana Armed Struggle. T.N. and other leaders were shouldering the responsibility of preparing people to resist the brutal landlord terror in Srikakulam, Nalgonda, Warangal and Khammam districts. As a member of the legislative assembly, he exposed the economic conditions of the people.

There was a movement in Visakha against a steel plant and brutal repression was unleashed on the people. T.N. submitted his resignation letter to the speaker in Parliament, condemning the repression.

In the Telengana districts, Comrade T.N. exposed the attacks of the rural poor in the villages of Maheshwaram, Chandrugonda, Narrakpet, Katsala, Nelamarri, Salipet, Hussenabad, Thonda, Tekulapali, Thimmapet and others. The landlords who were freely using lethal weapons against the people were not attacked by the law and were roaming freely.

T.N. played a major role in the Srikakulam Girijan peasant movement from its infant stages to its later stages. On countless occasions when the landlords unleashed terror, he toured the concerned area and stood beside the oppressed people of the area. The Girijan movement had its genesis in 1958, formed by the C.P.I. and continued to develop sharp class struggle from 1964 to 31st October 1967.

The C.P.M. leadership vociferously came down upon the Naxalbari Srikakulam and Telengana Movements and were spectators when landlords launched attacks. In a series of interviews in *Blitz* on 15th May 1968 and to Swedish journalists on 16th March 1969 he explained the reasons for the splits in the communist Movement. He said, "If

we had been carrying out the working class struggles in its revolutionary form during these 16 years, we could probably have also used parliament, even while an agrarian revolution was going on in some places. We can go in go armed struggle in a relatively large area and still sit in parliament in other areas where no armed struggle was going on. This would combine parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle." T.N. stressed on the need of combining various forms of struggle keeping in view the unevenness in political and economic spheres, consciousness of people and level of movement in India's vast semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. T.N. continued, "We will enter the assemblies to expose them, but not join any coalition govt." He stressed on the need for building a mass agrarian revolutionary movement and completing the People's Democratic Revolution."

In 1969 Comrade T.N. resigned from the Assembly making a historic speech. Shortly after T.N. resigned from the assembly, the state plenum of the Andhra Pradesh Communist Revolutionaries was held. A Document titled 'Immediate Programme' was prepared which threw light on the agrarian revolutionary movement. Com. T.N. organized the landless peasants of 28 villages to occupy the banjar lands which were in the hands of the landlords for the last 30 years. All the 3000 acres of land were distributed to the landless peasants. On similar lines, Communist Revolutionaries led movements in Kurnool, West Godavri and East Godavri districts to occupy forest banjars and lands under occupation of landlords.

T.N. took great pains to defend the importance of building a revolutionary movement in the countryside with the agrarian question being the focal question in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. He resolutely defended the programme of Peoples Democratic Revolution and Peoples War. In the course of struggle Comrade T.N. and his comrades were arrested. A conspiracy case was launched on T.N. based on the documents of the Atlapragada Plenum in 1969. In Hyderabad a conspiracy case was foisted on him and in court he staunchly defended himself by stating, "It is impossible to implement land reforms by democratic methods without an armed revolution. It is sheer deceit to say that feudalism can be rooted out without giving a call to revolutionary practice. It is inevitable that the masses would overthrow the ruling classes by means of class struggle and armed revolution. 'In the cross examination he exposed the landlords, police officers and corrupt elements. It was a virtual repeat of Com Dimitrov in the Reichstag fire case and the Indian Communists in the Kanpur and Meerut Conspiracy cases.

In May 1972 T.N. was granted bail. The veteran comrade plunged into the movement, opposing the government's policy of suppression against revolutionaries, killings in fake encounters of activists in the Srikakulam movement and illegal detention in concentration camps and emphasized the need of a democratic Rights Movement. He toured the Girijan areas of Srikakulam District with painstaking attention and gave morale support to all oppressed sections. His political campaign boosted the morale of the masses. The civil and democratic rights Movement also gained momentum. Com. T.N. professed that all types of forces could be united against oppression on girijan and peasant masses, against encounters and for release of revolutionaries. A campaign for

Defence Committee was launched for the accused in the Parvathipuram Conspiracy Case.

Comrade T.N. was the architect of the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India. Meticulously he studied various experiences and analyzed that it was not possible for the revolutionaries to come under a single committee and several problems would arise. In April 1975 the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries was formed. Since his release and during the emergency Comrade T.N. worked tirelessly for democratic rights, for legal defence of revolutionaries and rebuilding the movements in the peasants, youth, workers, literary and cultural fronts and training revolutionary cadres.

A few months before the imposition of emergency, he warned in meeting of cadres about the possibility of imposition of emergency and explained people about how to build organizational forms of struggle. He encouraged he cadres to expose the ruling classes through leaflets on every problem and to gain skills to distribute them in any form of repression. The A P State committee made extensive propaganda under his guidance and circulated secret papers. T.N. condemned the Congress leaders for their support of Sanjay Gandhi when he toured Andhra Pradesh. He published a leaflet exposing this. During the emergency, the Govt. decided to build a heavy engineering plant at Vijayawada and collect levy from peasants and middle class traders for its construction. T.N. mobilized cadre to oppose these events as it was a part of the move to loot the people in collaboration with Imperialist companies. T.N. directed the district organization to take up a programme and the party cadre responded by mobilising the people's opinion against it. In this period he toured Rajasthan, Punjab and West Bengal analyzing the political and economic situation.

Within a year of its formation problems began to occur in the Unity Centre. Those with different political understandings and orientations merged so the old understandings were reflected and differences arose. Comrade T.N. did the utmost to combat this and solve the inner-political issues democratically. One resolution, "One year Emergency and situation" was adopted by the C.C. in May 1976 and other decisions on the matters of functioning, the spirit of resolving the problems had emerged.

The contradictions of the ruling classes had reached a bursting point. The J.P. Movement was consolidating itself in all parts of India which affected the stability of the ruling Congress party. Various political groups were mobilized under one political mainstream under the J.P. leadership. Inner cracks were taking place within the ruling Congress party. The Allahabad judgement and the defeat of the Congress in Gujarat seemed to have pushed all the disgruntled groups into one mainstream. The cabinet showed inner cracks.

1. The contention between the superpowers was growing. South Asia became the cockpit of struggles between the 2 superpowers. India's actions in Bangladesh and Sikkim helped the expansionist policies of Soviet expansionism.

2. The revisionist parties were supporting every repressive act. (The C.P.I. supported

the emergency.) They gave up their programme of land reform. They supported the anti-strike policies of the Congress. The working class was blamed by them for the failure of living up to production targets. They projected themselves as progressives while in reality they supported the states actions trampling people's civil liberties and democratic rights. In trade Union struggles they supported the management. Parliamentary Congressism without an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal programme led to sections of Communist revolutionaries into following the revisionists.

3. The aid that was being offered by the World Bank was causing havoc, particularly in the rural areas. India would now become a greater debtor. The creation of anti-imperialist nationalism on every front was needed. The 20 point programme of the Congress did not have a single imperialist task.

4. The landlord classes had greatly strengthened. A lot of the landlord classes had diversified their economy into various other fields such as trade, small factories as rice mills, Groundnut factories, cinema theatres, contractors and so on. In such a situation if their lands are not touched, then the question of land distribution becomes a farce. Temple lands were the best example of this. These lands were sold in auction -landed property to be turned into monetary property. For the agrarian revolution concretized local slogans had to be given along with general slogans. The reactionary theory of forming land committees must be exposed. This was the equivalent of the landlords being asked to distribute their own lands.

5. Every point of the ruling class 20 point programme should be refuted. The policy of accepting imperialist capital had to be exposed tooth and nail. With increased foreign aid, the drain on foreign exchange in all dimensional forms – legal and illegal was the fundamental problem. With increased attacks on smugglers the government had liberalized imports on the fallacious plea of export promotion, primarily to finance import of goods which go into current consumption as a price stabilising operation. The tendency of the beneficiaries will be to import items which cater to elitist demand and maximise their profits regardless of the aims of the national economy, thereby liberalizing to an extent legal and semi-legal smuggling in the interests of the organised sector of the economy. The World Bank had been insisting on liberalised imports as an incentive to exports. Illegal smuggling was now replaced by legal smuggling.

A massive firing had taken place on so-called corrupt and inefficient officers. The Ayyub Khan Govt. which carried this out was a most corrupt regime. He carried out actions to divert the people. The manipulations of multi-national companies was a great example of corruption which in India had reached in every strata of society from the administrative machinery to the lowest level village cadre. A new cadre of corrupt backward caste youth was created. This corruption would be a great obstacle to the movement. This feature should be studied from the village level.

6. There was great singleness of purpose in the U.C.C.R.I. The adventurism of Charu Mazumdar, the disruptionism of the Chandra Pulla Reddy group, and the class-collaborationist policies of the Jayaprakash group was consistently refuted. The

recognition of Charu Mazumdar's C.P.I.M.L. by China caused problems initially but that problem had been overcome. Nagi Reddy's contribution to the formulation, development and defence of the communist revolutionary line are invaluable in an era where pragmatism in political conduct and cynicism in attitude are affecting the rank and file of revolutionary groups. Comrade T.N. always had an integral political-ideological concept and excelled in practicing it. A revolutionary journal evaluating his contribution stated, 'In analysing any political development or situation, sticking to the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, proceeding from the current development of and interrelation between fundamental contradictions, ascertaining the particular form of conduct of different political forces in relation to them, ascertaining the actual state of affairs of the revolutionary forces and working out not only practical tasks but also the concrete form of revolutionary activity in relation with them all this he did in a manner that not only corresponded to the long-term interests of the revolution but was identifiable with the long-term interests of the movement and its strategic goal.'

Comrade T.N.'s restless work culminated in heavy fever and vomiting that started on July 17th with routine treatment. However it recurred and all efforts to save him were in vain. On 28th July 1976 Comrade T.N. breathed his last in the early hours of the day. The body was handed over by the hospital authorities at 9 a.m. It was taken to the house of his beloved sister Mrs. Rama. While she was taking the body in her car to Tarimela, the police stopped the car at Kalluru and arrested the body of T.N. Thousands of people thronged to see his body and the last glimpse of their departed leader. The police thwarted all mobs and handed the body over to the relatives. Thousands of people followed his body from Ananthapur.

Comrade T.N. was an uncompromising crusader against revisionism and as well as right and left opportunism fought against the personality cult and personal vilifications and maintained discipline, sacrifice, responsibility, patience, courage and humility throughout his life.

The virtues of Comrade T.N. belonged to future generations of revolutionaries who inherited his legacy. The great Comrade Tarimala Nagi Reddy made a historic contribution by demarcating from the wrong trends and till today has made the greatest contribution towards the building of the mass proletarian revolutionary theory and mass revolutionary practice and is the revolutionary the author most admires to date in India in his contribution to Indian Revolution. (By any Comrade since the 1946-1951 Telengana Armed Struggle). His method of work reminded the author of the painstaking efforts made by Comrades of the Chinese Communist Party to develop work in the masses. However only after the proletarian party has been re-organised, mass protracted peoples war started or the revolution completed can Nagi Reddy's true contribution be judged. The other important factor is whether he adopted the correct Unity approach with other revolutionary Sections, particularly those who struggled for the mass line within the Charu Mazumdar C.P.I.M.L.

Comrade Tarimala Nagi Reddy to this day has made the most significant contribution ever to the cause of India Revolution from the Naxalbari era. From the Naxalbari period

he is the founder of the road to achieving the mass revolutionary line. He wrote a glorious chapter in the Communist Movement.

Quoting this great Comrade, "It is no wonder that after 25 years of the so called Independence that I have been arrested under an act promulgated in the year 1860- more than 100 years ago. How and why did it happen? That the so-called non-violent revolution led by the Indian National Congress under the direct management of the Mahatama capitulated India not into a living epoch of progress but into a dead epoch of stagnation with all the old laws old henchmen and names. Whatever the outward changes in political control nothing essential has changed in our social set up. Imperialist exploitation, and feudal exploitation and violence in the rural area has reached a new intensity.

"Is it not fantastic that me and my colleagues are being charged with conspiracy to change this demeaning state of affairs? Is it not fantastic that those who have sold the country's resources lock stock and barrel for tens of years to come to foreign financial interests charge us as traitors? Any citizen with a grain of patriotism in him should by nature revolt against such a degrading state of affairs to resurrect the great glory of the Indian People and the Nation." "We are in the period of Revolutionary Upheavals in India. On the basis of Mao Tse Tung Thought, on the guidelines of the people's war, the revolutionary spark from Naxalbari spread fast and wide and engulfed area of Srikakulam, Khammam, Warangal and East Godavari. The masses were roused for land in Ananthapur and Kurnool. Apart from the vast armed struggles of Parvathipuram, and parts of Khammam and Warangal in Andhra, there have been peasant armed struggles in areas in Bihar and West Bengal. Vast Revolutionary Experiences have been gathered.

"The purposeful great debate amongst the revolutionaries for the principled evaluation of successes and failures, on the basis of experiences of revolutions the world over and on the basis of our own struggles will certainly unite the revolutionary forces in the long run.

"India is a vast continent of various nationalities. Objective and subjective conditions are not the same all over the Country. With flexible tactics and adoption of various forms of Struggles, with the peasant armed revolution as the main struggle I am confident that the Indian Peoples Democratic Revolution is on the Road to success."

#### **STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM AND WRONG TRENDS AND STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTIONARY MASS LINE**

The turning point in Andhra Pradesh was the rejection of the C.P.M's central committee ideological draft by a majority vote. The Communist Revolutionaries organized the ideological debate utilising certain advantageous conditions. The State plenum adopted a detailed resolution with 158/52 supporting it. Comrade T.N. and Chandra Pulla Reddy were the architects of the resolution. The C.P.M. leadership earlier evaded the ideological debate in 1964 at the same time there were various points of view reflected

in the 1964 Calcutta Congress. In June 1966 they presented a note to the C.C. but later discouraged this by allowing the state committees to publish only 'the authoritative pronouncements of fraternal parties.' The 1967 documents of the C.P.M adopted neo-revisionist positions.

The C.R's of A.P. organized themselves into a secret organization by March 1968. They organized similar committees below. Which conducted the anti neo-revisionist struggle, organizationally consolidating the forces that rallied with the revolutionary politics and guiding the peoples movement with the aim of revolution. However the internal struggle against neo revisionism at the all-India level lacked any co-ordination and centralized leadership. There were several different types of approaches.

On November 13th 1967, under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries of India was formed. They professed to: a. develop and co-ordinate militant struggles at all levels, especially peasant struggles of Naxalbari Type; b. develop militant struggles of the working class; c. wage ideological struggle against revisionism and popularize Mao Tse Tung Thought; d. develop a revolutionary programme on a correct tactical line.

On May 14th 1968 the A.I.C.C.C.R. came out with a declaration claiming that all those revolutionaries still in the C.P.M. must be disqualified from consideration, and all those who still think there is scope for inter-party struggle must be condemned. Interestingly the organ **Liberation** refuted this stating that avenues had to be allowed for differences and that it was premature to rule out such comrades. Interestingly, although from the beginning the A.I.C.C.C.R. leadership showed trends of left adventurism, the Andhra Comrades under the banner of the Andhra Pradesh Co-ordination Committee met them and even joined them. This took place in November 1968. Earlier in June 1968 the CR's of A.P formally broke away. Comrade T.N. was the convener. In August of that year the A.I.C.C.C.R. had formed a Naxalbari Solidarity Committee and was carrying a slanderous campaign against the A.P.C.C.C.R., propagating that the Andhra Comrades were revisionists.

In the final analysis 4 major differences came out:

a. The left adventurist A.I.C.C.C.R. line viewed the struggle against neo-revisionism as a task of only organizing the top leaders or the most advanced elements of the C.P.M. The A.P.C.C.C.R felt there was need of organizing the entire party ranks.

b. The A.I.C.C.R. negated the mass line and exhibited romantic and petit bourgeois tendencies when they propagated armed struggle with no relation to the people's consciousness. The concept of 'annihilation of the class enemies' was propagated. The A.P.C.C.C.R stressed that a mass agrarian revolutionary Movement should be built up propagating the concept of agrarian revolution and relating it to the land question. They also stressed on implementing the mass revolutionary line of the Telengana Armed Struggle. It also questioned A.I.C.C.C.R's understanding of the area of Srikakulam becoming a liberated base area. Encircled by a well-knit transport and

communication system there was a long way to develop it into a liberated base area. Simultaneously they propagated that there were vast potential areas where armed struggle could be developed. and a strategic planning was required.

c. A.P.C.C.C.R propagated the need of building necessary forms of struggle and organization and the need to combine mass forms of struggle with armed struggle. The A.I.C.C.C.R. totally neglected this aspect.

d. A.P.C.C.C.R opposed the line of 'Boycott of parliamentary Elections' as a strategic path.' Elections were a question of tactics and one of the several illegal forms of struggle. In an Interview with Blitz Comrade T.N. stated, 'Revolutionaries take part in the elections and legislative bodies to expose their fraudulent character and convince the masses of the revolutionary path. T.N. told Swedish Journalists 'We can go in for armed struggle in a really a large area and still sit in parliament in other areas when armed struggle is not going on'. Comrade T.N. went on to make a most significant statement in an interview with Swedish Journalists: "The difficulties are of course our own mistakes during the last 16 years, which have naturally led to condition of disorganization. To be frank we are not organized in the way we ought to be if we are to function in a revolutionary way. We have created an illusion among the people about parliamentary action, organized the communist party's machinery in a parliamentary way. The old unselfish tendency has gone to waste, the old hard work has vanished. We must re-build. That is the greatest difficulty." If we had been carrying on the working class struggles in the revolutionary way during these 16 years ,we could probably also have used the parliament, even if agrarian revolution was taking place in other areas. India has many different organizational revolutionary requirements. As for the future we must wait and see how things develop, how successful is our organisation's work and how effective is the co-ordination of all these struggles. Then we must consider the various tactical possibilities open to us.

After the break from the C.P.M. the A.P.C.C.R sent cadre and leadership to the forest area of Andhra Pradesh in Khammam, Warangal, Karimnagar, and East Godavri districts. Although people were being organized in mass struggles on economic demands in Khammam, Warangal and Karimnagar areas, in other areas activity was still at the level of propaganda .In East Godavri area particularly god work was done. However, overall, there was a long tortuous road ahead in developing a consistent and extensive agrarian revolutionary Movement.

The Andhra Pradesh Communist Revolutionaries stood in the forefront of combating left opportunism. These were the main differences between them and the Srikakula District Committee (D.C.) which followed Charu Mazumdar and the A.I.C.C.C.R.

a. The first one was over the question of carrying out armed struggle with relation to land. The district Committee believed that mass land struggle was not needed.

b. Secondly the D.C believed that actions of armed squads would mobilize the broad masses.

c .Thirdly, the D.C rejected the idea of advanced training in guerilla war and proposed that in the course of battle all warfare would be learnt.

d. Fourthly the D.C believed that only armed struggle was necessary. Comrade T.N, in an interview explained 3 important points:

1. That Armed Struggle starts only as resistance to landlord goondas and govt. repression. This resistance will be in the form of people's mass resistance. However the C.P.I.M.L. rejected this and resorted to isolated squad actions.
2. In T.N's view Peoples War starts only as a form of resistance, not as an offensive. The C.P.I.M.L opposed this.
3. Comrade T.N. advocated the use of various forms of struggle in accordance with the prevailing conditions. The C.P.I.M.L. rejected this and only gave emphasis to armed struggle.

By 1969 an agrarian revolutionary movement had developed in a small pocket of Kondamodalu agency area of East Godavri District under the leadership of the A.P.C.C.R. The vast masses of the Girijans were drawn with the perspective of the mass revolutionary line. Comrades made a systematic study of the conditions of people's life and the forms of exploitation and oppression Extensive political propaganda was carried out against the moneylenders, forest officials, forest contractors, landlords and officials. People were organized on the basis of partial issues, including land issues. People were organized into various organizations like the girijan Sangham, Mahila Sangham, youth Organisation etc. Earlier Comrade Chandra Pulla Reddy had insisted on armed struggle for self-defence and disagreed with Comrades T.N and D.V. He felt that the enemy would not be quiet until the people consciously realize the need of adopting he form of armed struggle. Armed Struggle for self-defence can be started by armed squads only formed by the party cadre. He formulated that, 'The peasant masses could only come forward to seize the land of the landlords after they gain the confidence in the military strength of the armed squads. Subsequently Chandra Pulla Reddy left the AP. Committee and formed his own group. The A.P.C.C.R. was now under the leadership of Comrade T.N. and Comrade D.V. (Devullapali Venkateshwara Rao)

Nagi Reddy's line was followed in Punjab by the Ferozepur Bhatinda Committee led by Comrade Harbhajan Sohi that revived the mass organisation the Punjab Students Union and built the Naujavan Bharat Sabha, a popular Youth Organisation. These organizations represented the broad masses of Punjab .The famous Moga Sangram Rally constituting the Naujavan Bharat Sabha, the Punjab Students Union, the Mould and Steel Workers Union and the Wahikar Union was led by the Punjab Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries.(P.C.R.C.) On October 22nd 1974. an armed demonstration of 20,000 people took place. It is of significance that Comrade Harbhajan Sohi was earlier a member of the C.P.I.M.L. led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar. In 1974 the Punjab Co-Ordination committee brought out a significant document stating:

1. Since the socio-economic conditions differ and political consciousness varies from

place to place. The revolutionary movements have to pass through various stages and different tactics would have to be used at various places.

2. To ignore open and legal struggles is left adventurism. These will contribute to the development of armed struggle.

3. Annihilation of class enemies leads to the emergence of feelings of hero worship and retards revolutionary initiative.

4. To ignore partial and economic struggles is dogmatism. The working class will have to pass through various stages.

## **NAXALBARI STRUGGLE – GENESIS AND POST-NAXALBARI ANALYSIS**

In 1967 a historic peasant struggle took place on Maoist Lines. This was known as the Naxalbari armed Struggle. It had its origin in the Struggle of Tea Plantation Workers in Siliguri in West Bengal. In 1964 the Communist Party of India split and the Communist Party of India Marxist was formed. However within the party a set of Comrades upheld the Cultural Revolution in China and opposed parliamentarism of their leadership group. The All India Co-Ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries was formed led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar. An organ **Liberation** was brought out and the body discussed how to link revolutionary peasant struggles. Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought was upheld as the Marxism Leninism of the Era. A resolution was made advocating the building of armed Struggle all over the country. In the Co-Ordination Committee however a powerful tendency developed to behave in a big brotherly fashion to other Comrades. The A.I.C.C.R. ordered all the comrades of the Communist Party of India Marxist to join them. It acted like an all India Party. Various Comrades all around the Country were demarcating from the Communist Party of India Marxist but had not formally broken away. They were still the equivalent of an embryo in a mother's stomach and prematurely were told to quit the party.

In June 1968 finally the Comrades of the Andhra Pradesh Communist Party of India Marxist left the Party to form the Andhra Pradesh Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries. Tarimal Nagi Reddy was made the Convenor. In 1968 November they joined the A.I.C.C.C.R. however shortly later a conflict arose between the A.I.C.C.R and the Andhra Pradesh Co-ordination Committee. The A.I.C.C.R. propagated that the Andhra Committee Comrades were revisionists and opposed Armed Struggle. In the Srikakulam region they even directly called for armed actions and recruited comrades without consulting the Andhra State Committee.(Taken from Indian Revolutionary Movement "Some Lessons and Experience")

Ultimately the A.I.C.C.R. expelled the A.P.C.C.R from the Party. The reasons were on difference to 4 major Questions:

1.) The role of the Chinese Party. The A.I.C.C.R. felt that the Chinese party was the absolute leader and called Mao the Chairman of the Indian party. They used the phrase, "China's Chairman is our Chairman."

2.) That the Andhra Committee Comrades were making no attempts to intensify the peasant Struggle in the Srikakulam Region of Andhra Pradesh.

3.) .On the Question of Elections. The A.I.C.C.R. felt that the path of active Boycott was a strategic path for the Indian Revolution and opposed the use of participation of parliamentary elections as a tactical mean throughout the revolutionary period. They opposed the Andhra Committee Comrades who stated that in appropriate situations as an extra-parliamentary tactic participation in the election could be deployed as a tactic. Comrade Nagi Reddy was condemned for not resigning from the State Assembly.

4.) The Charu Mazumdar C.P.I.M.L. considered the whole section of the bourgeoisie as comprador by nature and failed to recognise the progressive nature of the national bourgeoisie who can be part of the united Front against the Enemy like in China before the Revolution in 1949.

Several Armed actions were advocated by the A.I.C.C.R. with no relationship to the level of the Peoples movement. Charu Mazumdar advocated the line of "Individual Annihilation of the Class Enemy". A major 2 line Struggle took place within the A.I.C.C.R. and the Andhra Pradesh Committee Comrades led by Devullapali Venkateshwara Rao and Tarimala Nagi Reddy. Comrade D.V believed that elections could never be used as a tactic unlike Comrade Nagi Reddy. The A.I.C.C.R. comrades claimed that Srikakulam was already a liberated base area. Naxalbari was a mass based peasant struggle where in the village of Naxalbari the peasant`s seized land from the Jotedars (Landlords). Unfortunately, due to Charu Mazumdar`s line of abandoning mass organization and carrying out Individual Annihilation of class Enemies the movement degenerated into one of armed Squad Actions isolated from the People`s movements.

Their understanding of Mao`s theory of protracted Peoples war was distorted. Comrade Charu Mazumdar called for the abandonment of trade Unions and mass organizations. Instead of applying the revolutionary mass line and developing mass revolutionary struggles, individual terrorist armed actions replaced them. Armed Squads killed landlords and attacked police stations without the mass support of the broad masses. They were popular amongst the peasant masses but prevented the broad masses from building their own institutions or revolutionary democratic power. In the Chinese revolutionary Armed Struggle Armed squads supplemented the mass movements of people and did not substitute them.

On April 22nd 1969 Charu Mazumdar formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Today historically major quarters of the Indian Revolutionary Camp uphold it but it is a debatable question whether the formation of the party should have been deferred. Some Intellectuals like Manoranjan Mohanty or Sumanta Banerjee upheld the formation. However others like Mohan Ram opposed it saying that the Party was imposed from above and not formed from below. Apart from the Andhra Pradesh Comrades a formation called the Dakshin Desh Group operating in Bengal and Bihar opposed the formation of the Party. They believed that base areas had not been sufficiently developed. In their view class struggle had not been sufficiently developed and that overemphasis was given to military armed actions. However they felt that the individual annihilation of class enemy could be used as a tactic. This organization went

on to call itself the Maoist Communist Centre. It is significant that Comrade Soren Bose, a central Committee member of the Charu Mazumdar C.P.I.M.L. visited China in 1970 and met Premier Chou En-Lai. The Premier himself stated that the policies of Annihilation were wrong and it was wrong to copy the Chinese Experience in toto and call Chairman Mao Chairman of India's party. Comrade Chou elaborated how the C.C.P. combated left adventurism. He also stated that it was wrong to call the whole class of the bourgeoisie as comprador as the National bourgeoisie can be an ally.

Historically the Charu Mazumdar line failed. Charu was tortured to death by the Indian State on July 28th 1972. By 1975 his movement was totally defeated. Thousands of cadres were killed in false encounters or thrown into jail. There were various splits within the Charu Mazumdar C.P.I.M.L. One was because of the Mahadev Mukherjee faction which upheld Lin Biao the leader who attempted to assassinate Mao. Historically later some revolutionary quarters held Lin Biao responsible for the annihilation line. Lin had advocated that it was the era of "Total collapse of Imperialism and victory of Peoples War". One theory is that it was Lin Biaoism which led to Charu's line of secret assassination and abandonment of mass organizations and mass struggle. In Punjab the group that followed the Charu Mazumdar line made a self-criticism and formed the Central Organising Committee of C.P.I.M.L. This Group was led by Jagjit Singh Johal. In Punjab hundreds of Naxalite supporters were killed in false encounters or thrown into jail and tortured.

Unlike all these groups was the Vinod Mishra led C.P.I.M.L. group, which originated from the Bhojpur movement. in 1982 called for using parliamentary means of revolutionary struggle and formed the Indian Peoples Front. He advocated armed struggle but believed that a mass revolutionary parliamentary forum could be a major belt to building a revolutionary mass movement. In 1979 the Kerala Comrades who were the followers of the Charu Mazumdar line but did not join the party formed the Central Re-Organisation Committee of the C.P.I.M.L. They also rectified the earlier line.

#### **FORMATION OF U.C.C.R.I.M.L.**

The A.P.C.C.R. made protracted efforts to tread the mass line. While in jail, the leadership concentrated on political and ideological work and wrote documents in criticism of revisionism, left opportunism, left deviation within the Party, 'Right Opportunist trend within the party' and "Fundamental Line and question of Unity." Efforts were made to initiate the mass line and a paper "Proletarian Path" was brought out together with Comrades from West Bengal. The Andhra Comrades developed relationships with the Srikakulam Comrades (inside jail). A series of steps was planned to develop political and organizational unity. Relations were established with Comrades like Kanu Sanyal and Souren Bose. Talks took place with Comrade Satya Narayan Singh but in no time the Andhra Comrades rejected merging with his organization. The A.P.C.C.C.R. prepared a draft Programme Path and Constitution for Unity Talks. There were only 4 organisations in the Unity Conference. They were A.P.C.C.R., West Bengal Coordination Committee, North Zone Committee and West Bengal Communist Unity Centre.

In April 1975 the birth of the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India took place. It was inaugurated by Comrade D.V Rao. The unity conference adopted a resolution on martyrs, programme, path, method of work, constitution and a statement on unification. The unity conference elected a Central Committee with Devullapali Venkateswara Rao (DV) as its secretary. UCCRI(ML) had as its ambition to unite all communist revolutionary forces, including people within the CPI(ML) fold. UCCRI(ML) started publishing the SPARK as its central organ.

There was a decision on behalf of the Kerala Communist Unity Centre to merge with UCCRI(ML) in June 1975, but that organization suffered internal splits and the merged was cancelled. In July 1976 T. Nagi Reddy, who had been the most important leader of the party, died. His death became a severe set-back for UCCRI(ML).

In August 1976 the same year the organization suffered a split. A conflict had emerged in the CC, and DV had been removed from the post of secretary. DV accused three other CC members (led by a CC member from the NZC) of having formed a "rival centre", and suspended them unilaterally. In the split the Northern Zone Committee (i.e. Rajasthan) and Bengal Committee had broken away, along with the "rival centre". The break-away group later developed a pro-Albanian line.

DV returned to Andhra Pradesh and rallied the Andhra organization around him. DV pushed through a merger of the Punjab Communist Revolutionary Committee with the UCCRI(ML) in June 1976. He resurrected a Central Committee including himself, the PCRC secretary (Harbhajan Sohi) and two leaders from Andhra (Madhu and Anand), which was to function until a regular conference would be held.

#### **ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE U C C R I M.L IN THE POST NAGI REDDY PHASE**

The UCCRI(ML) of DV later evaluated the split in the following way; "From whatever the discussion that had taken place, we can draw some conclusions:

1. Excepting on two issues, there reflected no divergences in the CC on political positions adopted by Com. DV in the course of whole development.
2. Com. DV viewed the whole course of development like this: The NZC and its allies did not accept the line with convictions and genuinity. This was the basic cause for the split. They were manipulators, careerists and doubtful elements. They were incorrigible. Hence the split was unavoidable sooner or later. ..." (Indian Revolutionary Movement: Some Lessons and Experiences. Red Flag Publications, 1989: Vijayawada).

In 1977 a section of U.C.C.R.I.(M.L) left the organization. Led by Ramalinachari, branches were started in Orissa and Kerala. In 1978 a group from the Debra area of Midnapore, West Bengal joined UCCRI(ML) after some rounds of discussions with the CC. The convener of the erstwhile Maharashtra State Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (which had left AICCCR after the expulsion of APCCCR) joined UCCRI(ML), leading to the formation of a unit in Maharashtra.

UCCRI(ML) split for the second time in September 1979 when the Punjab committee, under the leadership of Harbhajan Sohi, broke away. HBS had developed a criticism of Mao's Three Worlds Theory. DV, on the other hand, defended the Three Worlds Theory and the new leadership of the Communist Party of China. The Punjab committee came to establish a parallel UCCRI(ML).

Ahead of the 1980 elections, UCCRI(ML) reviewed their stand towards participation. UCCRI(ML) always saw the issue of elections as a tactical issue. Initially the party had taken the policy of non-participation. But in 1980 UCCRI(ML) came out with an appeal to "defeat pro-super power reactionary forces in elections". An article written by DV in the January 1980 issue of Proletarian Line (the central organ of UCCRI(ML) at the time) proposed the following; "We have been treating and are treating the participation or boycott ... as a form of struggle and our practice is the same Revolutionary Organising Centre.(R.O.C.)

"We do not think that "boycott" can be the slogan of present day ..... In the same way it is too premature to think of candidates in the prevailing situation in which the defective nature of electoral system is one. In these conditions our participation will be one of taking measures to advance the revolutionary movement by utilizing this opportunity. The people are being mobilised to see the real face of contesting parties who have not been serving them in any way what so ever.

"Keeping all the points in view, we appeal to the people to defeat the game of the two super powers in general and Soviet Union in particular. We appeal to people to defeat the game of landlords who are trying to survive by diverting the agrarian revolutionary movement. Almost all the election parties are connected with these forces in one way or the other."

The article continues; "Since pro-super power and reactionary forces in general and pro-Soviet forces in particular pose the main danger to our country we will mobilise all those forces who are opposed to them and see that they are strengthened so that they are able to defeat them as far as possible. In this connection, we ask the people to differentiate between genuine and fake anti-Soviet, democratic forces."

In the actual electoral campaign, however, the new policy was not consistent. In Andhra Pradesh the party promoted non-participation, in reality a boycott, whereas the party supported certain candidates in West Bengal and Orissa.

In the aftermath of the elections, a split surged with DV leaving the party with a group of followers in Andhra. DV set up his own UCCRI(ML). After DV's departure, Anand became the new CC Secretary of the remaining UCCRI(ML).now called the MuktiGami Group.

In 1988 Anand broke away from UCCRI(ML) MuktiGami Group after a long period of dissent in the organization. The rift between Anand and other surged in the preparations to hold a party conference. Anand was able to win over the Maharashtra unit. Anand

also reopened relations with Sohi's UCCRI(ML). After the split, the faction of Anand together with Sohi's faction created the Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India together with three other groups the same year.

The remaining UCCRI(ML) faction, namely the Muktigami Group led by Viswam and Madhu, merged into the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti in 1992. Madhu signed the merger agreement on behalf of UCCRI(ML).

The Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India was formed in 1988 through the merger of the Anand and Harbhajan Sohi factions of UCCRI(ML), the R.O.C. led by Chandrashekar, Revolutionary Communist Party(Takra Group) and Organizing Committee, CPI(ML). The initiative was taken by the two UCCRI(ML) splinter groups, in particular by the U.C.C.R.I.M.L. led by Anand.

In August 1994, CCRI merged together with the CPI(ML) Central Team, Communist Unity Centre of India and Marxist-Leninist Organising Centre to form the Communist Party Reorganization Centre of India (Marxist-Leninist).

### **STRUGGLES AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE POST TARIMALA NAGI REDDY ERA OF U.C.C.R.I.(M.L)**

In West Bengal under Comrade Gunadhar Murmu peasant struggles were organized on the Nagi Reddy line and attempts were made to re-organise the peasant associations that had been earlier disbanded as a result of Charu Mazumdar's left adventurist policies. (In fact the Debra Comrades were the first to launch 2 line struggle against Left Adventurism in Bengal) In the late 1970's different trends arose within the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India. In Rajasthan peasant Struggles were developed in areas.

The impact of the Nagi Reddy line was felt in Andhra Pradesh when a struggle oriented Democratic Rights Organisation, the Organisation for Protection for Democratic Rights, was formed in 1975. This upheld the practice that Democratic Rights Organisations must uphold the right to struggle against Economic oppression as a Fundamental Right and also identify with the class struggles of the toiling people. A major Cultural Organisation, the Peoples Literary and Cultural Federation, was built which fought against the trend of imposing the ideology of Mao Tse Tung Thought in a democratic mass organization. Significant Cultural programmes were done giving solidarity to rural and urban movements. A big democratic Rights Organisation was formed. In Punjab following the line of the Tarimal Nagi Reddy (Only after the death of Nagi Reddy did the Punjab Co-ordination Committee led by Harbhajan Sohi join the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India) a struggle developed led by the Punjab Students Union implementing the 'mass revolutionary line' of Tarimala Nagi Reddy (as claimed by the Punjab State Committee) in contrast to the other forces. On July 17th 1979 Prithipal Singh Randhawa (25th death anniversary year of martyrdom on July 18th 1979), the leader of Punjab Students Union was murdered. A major armed protest struggle was developed all over the state involving 20,000 People. After Mao's death in 1976 a 2 line

struggle emerged in China where Mao's line was defeated. Revolutionary Groups began to support Hua Gufeng and attributed the Dengist theory of 3 worlds to Comrade Mao. One Comrade from the Punjab Section of the Organisation opposed the three worlds theory. Undemocratically Comrade D.V attempted to impose the theory on members of the organisation without democratic reference or consultation. (Report of U.C.C.R.I section led by Harbhajan Sohi) However, in 1979 a split took place in the Organisation on account of disagreeing with the Dengist 3 Worlds theory. This was led by Comrade Harbhajan Sohi.

The Punjab State committee has earlier brought out a historic document on the essential difference between the mass organization and the party based on the Tarimala Nagi Reddy Line. The Document briefly stated, "The party must work as secret fractions within mass organisations. The secret party fractions are the main link connecting secret political work with the open mass work of the party. They must function democratically within them. They must not be turned into front organisations. The party must introduce politics compatible with the general understanding of the members of a mass organisation. It must not impose its politics.

"The party has to adapt their politics to the idiom and manifesto of the concerned mass organisation. The manner of introducing the politics should be one of concretely relating them to the life experiences and struggles of the people. The manner of formulating the demands and slogans should be such that the masses are objectively pitted, in due course against the reactionary system. There must be active involvement of the mass activists and people in making decisions. Only when the leadership or mass sections accept the party politics can a mass organisation function as a front organisation."

It must be stated that Comrade Harbhajan Sohi, who led the Punjab Group, in the view of the author, in the post-Nagi Reddy days has made the greatest contribution in developing the proletarian revolutionary theory in India. (Information from appendix of Documents of the U.C.C.R.I.M.L. In 1977 and documents of 1979 Draft Programme) Comrade Harbhajan has to date made the greatest contribution in developing the correct International line whereby he rejected the principal Opportunist trends like Deng's 3 Worlds theory. However it is questionable whether the mass line was correctly implemented by the organization led by Harbhajan as another split took place shortly after the 1979 split (from D.V. Rao section) within Punjab.

Between 1979 and the time of forming the anti-communal Front in November 1986 there was little progress in Punjab in the development of the revolutionary peasant Front and the student and youth front which was so strong in the mid and late 1970s. The trade Union movement was relatively weak too. Another factor to be taken into account was that because of a weak Communist Revolutionary-led Democratic Movement the Communal Khalistani politics got predominance in Punjab. It must however be stated that with the C.P.I.M.L. Central Team Group and the Revolutionary Communist Party of India (Takra Group) the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries section led by Comrade H.B.S was the architect of the "Front against Repression and Communalism" formed in Punjab in November 1986 to combat the Khalistani and State terrorism.

In Andhra Pradesh in the early 1980's a group led by D.V Rao split from the Manam Rama Rao led original U.C.C.R.I.M.L called D.V's group. It is debatable whether it was correct of Comrade Harbhajan Sohi to split the U.C.C.R.I.M.L, but the International line of the leadership was most defective and the correct mass line of later movement in Punjab may never have taken place without split. However it divided the movement at an All India level. The major question was whether conditions for carrying out armed struggle existed within the Movement.

### **FORMATION OF CENTRE FOR COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES OF INDIA – 1988**

The formation of the Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India had historical significance, as since the formation of U.C.C.R.I.M.L. in 1975 there were so many splits. Theoretically, it was the soundest amongst all revolutionary sections and its practice in Orissa and Punjab Outstanding. It enhanced the consolidation of the All India revolutionary movement. A 2 line struggle was undertaken by comrade Anand within the U.C.C.R.I.M.L. of Manam Rama Rao on similar grounds that Comrade H.B S split the organization. The chief architects of this organization were the 2 Comrades Anand and Harbhajan Sohi. Although Comrade Anand (from Andhra Pradesh) remained in the Muktiyami period for long time (even after the H.B.S split in 1979) in the author's opinion the revolutionary Movement has to be sympathetic with his long struggle as he remained within the original organisation with the interests of Unity in mind. One was the issue of the Chinese three Worlds theory, the other was on the question of elections and mass Organisations. There were strong tendencies in Anand's view of right deviation-like participation in elections or supporting candidates and imposition of the party's policies on mass organizations.

5 organisations after a continuous process of bilateral negotiations united. The 1977 Appendix documents written by Harbhajan Sohi were taken as the Organisation's international line. This organization made a major contribution in the revolutionary democratic movement in the Khalistani period with the Central Team of the C.P.I.M.L. and developed cores of mass revolutionary resistance against the Khalistani Terrorism.

Major mass resistance rallies were led by a mass resistance front formed by them at Moga in 1987 and at Sewawla in 1991 and 1992. Since the Telengana Armed Struggle or Naxalbari and Srikakulam Movement there was no better exhibition of implementing the mass line against an enemy force. True they were unable to work in all districts of Punjab (Their Front functioned principally in Ludhiana, Faridkot and Bhatinda districts and was inactive in many districts) and a revolutionary peasant movement had not been built statewide but their experience was a heroic lesson. It also played a major role in the building of mass agrarian revolutionary line of the Adivasi movement in Malkangiri in Orissa. In Andhra Pradesh it's forces attempted to consolidate the Srikakulam Girijan movement. The most significant contribution of this organization was the theoretical and practical correctness on the relationship of mass organizations with the Party. It stressed on the Party functioning democratically within the mass organizations and helping them develop their democratic identity. One major theoretical development was the stand on elections where they explained how conditions were not accessible for

carrying out tactics of 'active boycott' or participation in Parliamentary elections. There were also units in Rajasthan and Maharashtra where Trade Union and Democratic Rights work was consolidated and efforts made to have correct mass approach on trade Union Front. In West Bengal trade Union movement was consolidated and major trade Union struggles were led capturing the Unions. It also had revolutionary peasant Movement work in Bihar which later was absorbed by the Party Unity Section. For some time some struggles carrying the torch of the mass line were implemented, particularly against the Bhagalpur riots in 1989.

In the author's view in spite of such a theoretically strong line was unable to inspire an Effective All-India Campaign to expose the fact that it was revisionism that had collapsed in 1989 and not Socialism. A sustained campaign as a mass political level should have been organised to defend Mao Tse Tung Thought and Socialism. Also perhaps not sufficiently consolidated the mass agrarian revolutionary line at an all-India level. It is debatable whether it was premature to carry out an armed struggle in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar in certain regions considering strength of peasant movement. (It had an organization in Bihar that time which later disaffiliated itself).

#### **FORMATION OF THE C.P.I.M.L. JANASHAKTI – 1992**

The Janasahakti Group was formed in 1992 by the merger of the Ramchandran Group, the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India (Muktigami group), the Pyla Vasudeva Group the West Bengal Co-ordination committee led by Parimal Dasgupta, the CP.I.M.L led by Konkan Mazumdar. It was a most opportunist Unity. Without resolving major issues for uniting they merged into a single organization. Suddenly they said that the formation of the Charu Mazumdar C.P.I.M.L. was correct and at the same time upheld the lines of T. Nagi Reddy and Chandra Pulla Reddy! In no time this group split into 5 different Organisations. The organization although having armed squads in many areas came out openly and disturbed the mass movement. (Like in Punjab)

In Andhra Pradesh they held a joint all India Peasant Conference against Imperialist dictates of the I.M.F. In the trade Union Movement they led struggles but exhibited powerful economist tendencies. In the opinion of the author the organization today has its major sections in the revisionist camps, while has a small section in the Northern parts, which sides with the C.P.I. Maoist and may possibly merge with them. (Signed a joint statement on boycott of elections with C.P.I. Maoist as well as on anti-repression and anti-communal issues) As a result of disunity and theoretical weakness it is no more a serious revolutionary force. It still has several revolutionary cadres and the Rajanna faction in Andhra Pradesh is still a militant one, carrying armed struggle at a marginal level.

#### **EXISTENCE EVEN TODAY OF THE D.V.-LED U.C.C.R.I.(M.L)-PROLETARIAN LINE GROUP – FORMED IN 1980**

The Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India (Marxist-Leninist) is a political party in Andhra Pradesh, India. It was formed by D.V. Rao after the 1980 general

elections, as a split from the original Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India (Marxist-Leninist). D.V. Rao had been the Central Committee Secretary of UCCRI(ML). However, differences had emerged on issues like how to relate to developments in China after the death of Mao Zedong. D.V. Rao maintained that China under Deng Xiaoping remained a socialist state. They still bring out an organ called the 'Proletarian Path' Every year they hold commemoration meetings in July upholding Comrades T.N. and D.V. Although they term the Janashakti and C.P.I.(Maoist) as adventurist and opportunist, this organisation participates in elections in a substantial way. They had one section of the Student organisation, Democratic Students Organisation under their influence and a section of Organisation For Protection of Democratic Rights. I rate them as Revisionist today