CHAPTER V

PROGRAMMES
Leftists hold forth that political parties are reflective instruments of the needs of the exploited people in the society. Instead of bargaining with the vested interests of the society, they take to social-conflict as the way of progress and modernization. The programmes they initiate for the welfare of the poor are in the nature of hitting out the rich and pinpointing the inability of the government. Leftists carry out these programmes with a view to offering some solace to the aggrieved as well as to increase the consciousness of the exploited.

The ideological precision reflects itself in the building up of the organizational structure. When the organization is manned by committed leaders with specific roles to perform, a cyclical process begins: Several programmes seeking the welfare of the exploited masses are worked out by the party, and the beneficiaries in turn, support the party to fight out new issues as time marches on. While the scheming of the programmes in the interests of the masses attract the masses so much, the methodology of working out the programmes serves to increase their critical consciousness. Hence programmes, both in their content and application, are vital to the leftist parties.

But the techniques by which these programmes are worked out also has a vital bearing in capturing the imagination of the people. Violence, Terror, Guerrilla warfare, counterinsurgency
attacks, and coup d'\'e tat are some of the bloody techniques often employed by the communist parties. Parliamentary insurrection, bandh, ghato, harta\'1 and petitioning are some of the peaceful methods of agitation which are observed by the communist parties. Sometimes communist parties mix these two processes together as according to the exigencies of the situation.

As the ideologies of the Tamil Nadu communist parties are not based on the structural specificities of Tamil Nadu, the programmes conceived by them reflect a generalised pattern. Actually, there are not many differences in the programmes of the CPI and the CPI(M). The Maoist groups conceive the Indian socio-political circumstances in a different manner and hence work out their programmes in a different manner. By rejecting parliamentary struggle altogether, these groups present a contrasting set of programmes from that of both CPI and CPI(M).

Another important thing about the 'programmes' of communist organizations is that while parties undertake and work out several schemes for all the exploited masses of the society, the mass organizations are concerned only with specific groups of the exploited. It is not that the party is uninterested in the specific groups of the exploited, but that it wants to give the mass organizations their due share in the struggles for justice. However, when the parties and their
mass forums are engaged in fighting out an issue on the political plane, they concour all their energies together.

In this chapter, Section I discusses the programmes carried out by the parties, Section II touches upon the programmes of the mass organizations, Section III briefly mentions about the techniques adopted by the communists and Section IV offers a few important conclusions.

Section I: Programmes of the Communist parties.

The programmes of the communist parties are based on the principle of attaching the particular to the general and the general to the particular. The meaning of the first theme is that while every particular programme is intended to offer some partial relief to the people, it must also be made a part in the grand strategy of national democratic revolution or peoples democratic revolution. The meaning of the second theme is that while programmes are worked out for the ultimate aim of overthrowing the capitalists, every agitation and issue must be fruitfully utilised without allowing the importance of it to wane. Normally the programmes of the communist parties can be summed up under political, economic and social categories.

Political programmes: In the pre-Independence period, the communists, as individuals and as groups, had from the outset
raised the banner of national-revolutionary overthrow of the British rule in India. They built up the unparalleled record of struggle in fighting against the British Imperialism. They were second to none in taking up the cause of the unity of the motherland, of all communities, nationalities, minorities and tribes inhabiting India. They had developed a new, popular, progressive, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist, democratic culture also.

In the post-Independence period the communists had first taken up the cause of fighting the rightist ideologies. The communists consider that the rightist ideologies are responsible for the growth of casteism, communalism and economic backwardness in India. The communists oppose the Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh (a movement which stands for Hindu, Hindi and Hindustan) and Ananda Marg as the worst rightist ideologies, as well as their political consummation, Jan Sangh.¹

Secondly, the communists had advocated certain constitutional changes which can bring about greater powers to the States. Major constitutional changes required by the communists

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Parameswaran, P.P. India Indu Rajyama? (Is India a Hindu State?), (Madras : Democratic Youth Federation of India, 1980).
are: (a) abolition of the post of Governors and President's rule in the states; (b) Revision of the allocation of powers and functions between the States and the Centre; (c) Transfer of most of the subjects in the Concurrent List of the VII Schedule to the State List; (d) Greater resources to the States and to begin with 75% share of all the taxes Centrally collected to go to States and (e) Complete control by State Governments over all its officials including those who belong to All-India services. The communists had opined that the present concentration of power in the hands of the central government is a direct consequence of capitalist concentration. Further they had pointed out that the DMK's advocacy of State autonomy is a mere posture bereft of suitable activity. 

Thirdly the communist party had worked for certain amendments in the constitution of India which relate to fundamental rights and electoral laws. In the Fundamental Rights (Chapter III) the CPI(M) as well as CPI want an insertion of a subclause 19A which would read as follows:
(i) to work and to a living wage after attaining the age of 16 years;
(ii) to have free education upto the higher secondary standard;

3. Ibid. p.30.
(iii) to have State assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement;
(iv) to free medical treatment;
(v) to have equal pay for equal work;
(vi) to exercise franchise on attaining 18 years of age; and
(vii) to bear small arms.  

Fourthly the communists wanted drastic changes in Articles 19(f) and 31(1) which deal with property. The following are their prescriptions:

Art. 31(1): "The right of citizens to their landholdings, handicrafts, small-scale industries, houses, trade, profession or vocation, implements and other accessories necessary to carry on their trade, profession or vocations within the limits prescribed by law, and the right of citizens in their incomes and savings and the income derived from the above mentioned properties, articles of domestic economy and use and articles of personal use and convenience as well as the right of citizens to inherit personal property shall be protected by law".

Art. 31(1A): "All other property besides that specified in clause(1) of this article may be acquired by authority of law for public purposes or for securing justice, liberty and equality

to all citizens, without paying any compensation. No such law shall be called in question by any court including the Supreme Court'.

Art. 19(f): "The right of a person to acquire, hold and dispose of all property shall be within such limits as may be prescribed by law".

The communists had advocated several changes in the electoral laws of the country. The major changes they had enumerated were: (1) Lowering of voting age to 18 and qualifying age for membership to 21 (2) Introduction of proportional representation based on List system (3) Provision for recall of legislators (4) Loss of membership if there is defection (5) Better conduct of elections (6) Reorganisation of election commission machinery (7) Scrupulous correction of electoral rolls and speedy disposal of election disputes (8) Checking the money power in elections (9) Scrapping of the arbitrary powers of dissolution (10) Reduction of the Council of Ministers to 10 per cent of the total membership of the House and (11) Institution of an All-India Council to advise the Election Commission on various matters regarding elections. 6

Of late, when there is a wide talk about the merits and demerits of the Presidential form of government and the implication of the introduction of that system in India, the communists came out with strong opinions opposing any such move.7

Fifthly the communists strived for the abolition of feudal vestiges in the country. Immediately after the Independence they struggled for the integration of the princely states and thereafter they fought for the abolition of privy purses. In Tamil Nadu, Rudukkottai was the only princely state, and communists were organised then by the great efforts of N. Sethuraman. After his student career, Sethuraman actively participated in the formation of 'Rudukkottai State Congress' in 1944 and conducted it towards the goal of Responsible Government. Sethuraman had built up several labour organizations also. He continued the struggle of integration of the Rudukkottai state with the Indian Union after Independence in 1947. He absconded in February in 1948 to avoid imprisonment. And in March 1948, Rudukkottai was integrated with Indian Union.8 Thereafter the communists were fighting for the derecognition of privy purses. As the Rudukkottai State was granted ₹266500 per annum, the communists wanted to end that privilege. Year

after year they held demonstrations until 1970, when privy
purses were abolished by the Government of India.\(^9\)

All these political programmes were carried out by the
communists because they had been ideologically committed to
these programmes.

Economic programmes: In the economic programmes the communists
have emphasized a change in the relations of production and
distribution. These programmes were carried out for the benefit
of the masses.

Firstly the communists had demanded the nationalization
of the foreign monopolies and the unequal terms of trade with
foreign companies. Especially, the communists had advocated a
speedy nationalization in the fields of oil, drugs and fertilizers.
To show how the foreign companies are exploiting India,
P.Ramamurthi had made an investigative analysis of the process
of mortgaging Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited, a core public
sector undertaking by Government of India, with Siemens
Aktiengesellschaft, a multi-national based in West Germany.
He came to the conclusion: 'The proposed agreement, between
BEHEL and Siemens is bound to result in the exodus of brilliant

9. Mahendru, K.C. The Politics of privy purses, (Ludhiana :
engineers. It will inevitably lead to increasing surrender on the scientific and technological front. 10

Secondly the communists had pressed for the nationalization of the big monopoly combines of India. The contention of the communists that both the congress and the Janata Governments had worked only for the welfare of the Indian capitalist class, with the consequent demand that the capitalist class must be overwhelmed, had become unceasing. 11 The resolutions on the 'National situation' by the CPI, as well as the CPI(M), demand first the elimination of the capitalist class by effective nationalization programmes. 12 In fact the Bank nationalization issue was conceived first by CPI only and the Indian National Congress, after a long period of hesitation, implemented it in 1969. 13 Further the communists wanted the immediate nationalisation of jute, cotton textiles, sugar and drug industries. 14

14. Ibid.
Thirdly the communists had agitated against the food problem to a great extent. They held forth the view that all the plans of India had not led to a comfortable food position in India and that our helplessness in this matter had been exploited by the Western Imperialists who supply us with the bulk of the foodgrains, some terms and conditions of aid, which are not consistent with our national interests and declared policies. Hence the communists had opposed the PL 480 scheme in toto. 15

Fourthly, the issue of Price-rise had engaged the minds of the communists very much. They had pointed out that the reason for this ever increasing inflationary trend must be solely looked into deficit budgetary process of the Government of India. 16 Price-rise makes an assault on the living standards of the toiling masses. For this the center had sought what it had considered to be the easy way out through recourse to authoritarianism. But the real remedy lies elsewhere. 17

Fifthly, the communists had agitated for a proper distribution system in India. They ridiculed the Governments

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which had promised the people that they will be supplied consumer articles at the fair price-shops, but no tangible result had yet been achieved. Unless the Government takes drastic steps to maintain a public distribution system, people will be affected for years to come. In this context, the communists had wanted the wholesale trade of the grain and the wheat to be carried by the centre.  

The class argument of the communists had made them to work out these economic programmes with sincerity and application.

Social programmes: In the pre-Independence as well as in the post-Independence period the social programmes worked out by the communists were of a limited nature and they did not devote much of their energy and time in this sector.

First of all the minority problem engaged the attention of the communists. They advocated separation of Pakistan and after independence, they stood for the minority rights. Because of this the tensions between RSS and the communists had grown over time. Interestingly their championing of the minorities, did not bring these communities into communist fold. Yet the communists had not absolved themselves from considering minority problems.

19. Surjeet, R.S. op.cit. p.79.
20. CPI, Muslim minority and the communist party (New Delhi: CPI, 1975).
Secondly the communists had pressed for amicable solutions to the problems of backward classes and tribals. They considered that such grave issues, if left unnoticed, would lead to problems of national integration.\textsuperscript{21} Especially they had devoted their concern to the upliftment of the Harijans.\textsuperscript{22} Also, they worked for peaceful settlements of volcanic eruptions of certain national issues.\textsuperscript{23}

Thirdly, the communists had attempted a solution to the 'Language problem' in their own way. The CPI had remained lukewarm when the controversy was raging Tamil nadu in 1955. At first the CPI opposed the imposition of Hindi, to the detriment of non-Hindi speaking peoples.\textsuperscript{24} At present there is a slight change in their view point. They advocate that Hindi is

\begin{itemize}
\item[21.] Sardesai, S.G. Class struggle and Caste conflict in Rural areas, (New Delhi : CPI, 1979).
\item[22.] When 44 Harijans were killed in the communal clashes in Kilavoormani Village in Tanjore District, both the CPI and the CPI(M) had collected sizable money to help the aggrieved families. See also Subbiah, V. Harijans and their problems, (Pondicherry : N.R.Swaminathan, 1975).
\item[23.] Sundarayya, P. National Integration, (New Delhi : CPI(M), 1974).
\end{itemize}
essential for the peoples of India as a link language but should 
not be imposed. It must be slowly acculturated. On the other 
hand the CPI(M) demands the abandonment of three language formula 
and the acceptance of the two-language formula.

Finally the communists had devoted their attention to the 
more immediate problem of Tamil Nadu. For a long time the CPI 
had advocated and upheld the policy of reservation of seats for 
the backward classes in the educational institutions and in 
Government employment. When the Government of Tamil Nadu had 
brought an order on 17.7.1979, stating that the eligibility to 
the status of such reservation would arise only when the 
applicant's income does not exceed ₹9,000/- annually, the 
CPI had opposed this order tooth and nail. But the CPI(M) 
had welcomed the Government order because it saw a hope that 
these reservations may henceforth go to the really backward 
classes.

But these political, economic and social programmes of 
these communists had not drawn the attention of the masses in a 
spectacular way. The reasons are: (i) Congress had stolen

25. New Age (New Delhi), dated January 26, 1979, p.3.
26. Namboodiripad, L.N.S. Mozhiyum Nen Vazhiyum (Language 
and our path), (Madurai : CPI(M), 1978). 
27. Pandian, D. Mungetrathukku Muttukattai, (Impediment to 
progress), (Madras : CPI, 1979).
28. Parameswaran, P.R. Pirpetta vaguppinanukku Ida Othikkid 
(Reservation for Backward classes), (Madurai : CPI(M). 1979).
some of the political programmes in a big way (ii) Congress had implemented the apparent leftist programmes in the economic sphere (iii) The social programmes had been represented more effectively by the Dravidian parties of Tamil Nadu (iv) There were not many subtleties in the programmes of the CPI and the CPI(M). (v) Except for a few murders, based on the policy of individual annihilation the CPI(ML) had not accomplished much. Thus the party programmes, which have the aim of attaching the general to the particular, has not been transacted through.

Section II: Programmes of the mass organizations.

Intended for the particular sections of the exploited masses, the programmes of the mass organizations had been carried out much more regularly than the programmes of the party. During 1948-50, urban insurrections and general strikes had been observed and during 1949-51, Kisan agitations were intensified in the countryside. Only in these two periods, the mass forums agitated violently with the ulterior motive of capturing state power. Thereafter only peaceful struggles had been waged.

29. The annihilation campaign of Naxalites went on with a full swing in Tanjore district during 1968-69. Perhaps two to three dozens of murders had taken place. But the destruction of crops was high in number. The killing of Pakkirisamy Pillai in 1968 by Gopal, the murder of Muthu Thangappa in 1971 by Ganesan, and the recent killing of Gopalakrishna Naidu in 1981 are some instances in Tanjore. The Naxalites were engaged in the triple murder of Ponneri Kesava Reddiar, his wife and daughter in 1978 in North Arcot District.
A. Trade Unions: Both the TNTUC and CITU have arranged their programmes with the ultimate aim to: (1) establish a socialist state (2) socialise and nationalise the means of production, distribution and exchange (3) improve the economic and social condition of the working class (4) watch, promote, and safeguard the interests, rights, and privileges of the workers in all matters pertaining to their employment (5) achieve freedom of speech, press, association and assembly (6) obtain the right to work and strike (7) coordinate the activities of labour unions affiliated to their organizations and (8) abolish political or economic advantages based on caste, creed, community, race or religion.30

Although these objectives have been broader in scope, in reality, several of the programmes carried out by these two trade unions concern only with three major issues, viz., Wages, Bonus and Service conditions. Especially the communists have never let the interests of certain industries, eg. Textiles where they are highly organized, suffer even to a slight degree.31

Ramamurti, P. Resolution moved by him at the 27th Conference, (Bombay : AITUC, 1966).
To give a few instances of the struggles of the AITUC and CITU in 1968: 32

1) Textile workers of Coimbatore belonging to CPI(M), CPI, RPS, DMK and INTUC have had to continuously think of struggles to ward off closures, to get wage arrears, etc. There were two successful hartals on 4.10.68 and 11.5.68.

2) Wimco Match Factory (Madras) struggle of 113 days (lathi charge and Police Firing took place) for increases in wage.

3) Vadalur Ceramic Worker's struggle for 83 days for wage increase.

4) Handloom Worker's struggle for 14 days at Madurai wherein 1000 were arrested.

32. Absorption into various forms of strikes and agitations is a daily affair for the TNTUC and CITU. Therefore it is not possible to give a statistical account of all the struggles attempted by them. The difficulty is also due to two other reasons: (1) The principle of One Union, One Industry, is not yet accepted and practised in India. All central unions and regional unions function in just one factory. If there is a victory in a strike, every trade union claims that success is due to its efforts and if there is a failure, no trade union comes forward to accept the responsibility. (2) Although labour problems are settled in the tripartite meetings where labour, management and government are represented, particulars of settlement with regard to a strike are not clearly reported even by the government. Particulars of state-wise membership of central trade unions and their industry-wise activities are not at all collected. Even party newspapers do not carry full information about the beginning, conduct and termination of a strike in a chronological manner. Hence a general account of the number of strikes, mandays lost, trade unions and their membership is given in Appendices 5.1 to 5.5.
5) 40000 North Arcot district beedi workers' strike for a fortnight.
6) Dalmiapuram cement workers' struggle for a month.
7) Manali Oil Refinery, 5000 contract workers' struggle.
8) Bus workers of Trichy town struck work for 45 days for Bonus and other service conditions.
9) Seshasayee Paper Mills workers' struggle for 3 months; and
10) Firemen's struggle of Southern and South Central Railways for 15 days.

Because of these struggles the trade unions have brought about substantial changes in the day today lives of the workers. However the undesirable consequence of excessive politicization of trade unions has also led to extreme mass violences.33

B. Kisan Sabhas: In essence the Kisan Sabhas of Tamil Nadu had been very much localised to East Tanjore district and several of the programmes of the Kisan Sabhas had only the interests of Kisans and agricultural labourers of Tanjore in mind. The three main planks of the kisan movement happen to be: (a) remunerative prices for agricultural produce so as to fully cover the cost of production, including a fair remuneration

for the peasant's labour, (b) increasing agricultural production by improving the husbandry of the poor through a policy of preferential aids, inputs and cheaper credit; and (c) radical land reforms and land to the tiller. 34

First of all the Kisan sabha had agitated for the abolition of Jamindari tenure in land from 1944 onwards. They also wanted the abolition of Inamdari lands and their conversion into ryotwari lands. The first spark for these agitations was provided by the struggle in Thenparai Village in Mannargudi during March 1943. The concluding of an agreement between the peasants of Thenparai village and the Uttirapathy endowment on 15.7.1943 had led to similar agitations throughout East Tanjore. 35

Secondly better terms of tenurial relations for the sharecroppers engaged the attention of the communists. The struggle in Thenparai village extended to several villages in East Tanjore, the prominent among them being Kalappal, Konerirajapuram, Jambavanodai, Kottur, etc. After Independence, the Subramanyam Committee Report of 1951 had suggested for sharing of the crops in the ratio of 50:40 for the landowners and tenants. The landowners did not agree to this condition.

and they began to evict the tenants in large numbers. As a protest the communists had held anti-eviction conferences in 1952. Finally an ordinance was issued on 1.12.51 prohibiting evictions. 36

Thirdly the plight of the agricultural labourers forced the communists to take up their cause of better wages. In June 1956, the CPI had organized a mass forum separately for the agricultural labourers. This organization had fought for: (a) the determination of living wages (b) the issue of pattas to waste lands and (c) the issue of pattas to the hutments where the labourers lived. 37

Fourthly the communists had also fought for land ceilings and the distribution of excess lands to the landless peasants. This agitation had been started in May 1960 and this continues even today. The party had held the following, which insisted upon the land ceiling measures: 1. A padayatra campaign from Madurai to Madras on 15.8.1960, in which 1000 people participated. 2. Conferences in all districts of Tanjore during March 1961, 3. A mass rally of one lakh people in Tanjore on 23.8.1961. 4. Dharna before the government departments on 15.9.1961 etc. Finally a land ceiling act was brought on in 1961. 38

36. Ibid. p.33
37. Ibid. p.38
Finally the communists had demanded several favourable conditions from the government, so that they could produce more from the land. Important among these demands were the sharing of Cauvery waters, special privileges to cotton and sugarcane growers, etc. The communists demanded fixing of remunerative prices for agricultural produce, soft and easy credits through co-operative banks, annulment of Thakkavi loans in times of pestilence etc. were meant to boost the morale of the small peasants.\(^{39}\)

Thus the agriculturists, agricultural labourers and tenants of the Tanjore district were immensely benefitted by the agitations of the communists. The influence of these agitations were also felt in the neighbouring districts of South Arcot, Trichy and Rudukkottai to a certain extent. But they were by no means sizable.

C. Other mass organizations: In both the CPI and the CPI(M) the programmes of the mass organizations of women, youth and students do not get prominence. The programmes of these

39. CPI(M), Tamizhaga Vivadsai Makkalin Nilamai (The plight of Tamil Nadu peasants), (Madurai : CPI(M), 1976).
    Nallakennu, R. The way to end drought in Tamil Nadu, (Madras : CPI, 1976).
    CPI, Tamil Nadu cotton-growers first conference, (Kovilpatti : CPI, June 3, 1974).
organizations are considered to be routine and far fetched in time. They are held for the sake of the programme, although the importance of these programmes cannot be denied on any count.

The Women organizations - National Federation of Indian Women of the CPI and Democratic Women's Association of Tamil Nadu of the CPI(M) - have carried out only a few programmes. They have participated in anti-price rise agitations, Fair-price agitations, and agitations for employment. They have raised the slogan of 'down with dowry'. The working women have demanded equal wages and parity with men in equal work. Apart from these sporadic agitations, women have not participated considerably. 40

Likewise the youth associations have never crossed the boundaries of the agitations for employment. Perhaps, they have held one or two conferences on anti-imperialism which had no direct relevance to the aims of mass forums of the youth. 41 Also the students' demand of cheap and qualitative education has not been seriously looked into by the CPI and the CPI(M). Of late, there is a tendency to couple the programmes of the youth and the students. 42

40. DWATN, Brake the dowry scuffle, (Madurai : DWATN, 1980).
   DYFI, Resolutions of the Anti-unemployment conference,
42. Manickam, K. Student world in a changed situation,
   (Madras : TNSP, 1974).
The mass organizations are required for the communists because the Party's direct slogans of basic change - revolution, capture of power etc. - are unable to rouse these masses immediately. The wide masses are attracted immediately on the basis of partial demands, which are possible of achievement without a complete overhaul of the social order. With this aim when some of these programmes are carried out to the benefit of the exploited, the masses get satisfied instead of allowing their consciousness to tread in revolutionary activities. The result is that the communist aim of attaching the particular program to the general cause remains unfulfilled. 43

Section III: Techniques of Communist parties.

The bloody and peaceful techniques are adroitly handled by the communist parties. Ever since its policy decision of peaceful transition to communism in 1958, the CPI has never looked back to the violent days of 1946-1951. The CPI has reiterated in almost all booklets it has published about the history of the party, that the violent line had brought to the CPI great damages, decimated its membership and disabled it from rallying patriotic and democratic forces. As a result

the CPI now eschews violent methods, believing in the great part in parliamentary struggles coupled with mass actions.

For the CPI(M) the best techniques available in Indian conditions are parliamentary struggles and mass upsurges, perhaps with more emphasis on the latter course. Although B.T.Ranadive has switched over to CPI(M), he has also been drawn to parliamentary line. Such a conviction of the leftists stems from the historical experiences they had experienced during 1948-1964. Actually the CPI(M) had only ideological problems with CPI before the split took place in 1964, and not the methodological wranglings.

A close study of the two periodicals, Janasakthi of the CPI and Theekkathir of the CPI(M), reveals that several forms of peaceful struggles have been waged by these two parties. It is possible to give instances for those 'peaceful' activities. Instances are omitted here for want of space and only the techniques of struggle are mentioned. The following techniques are used by the CPI and the CPI(M) purposefully:

1. Small public meetings
2. Poster making
3. Leafletting
4. Submitting a Memorandum to the authority concerned.
5. Press conference
6. Issuing of statements to the press
7. Making announcements or short speeches through a mobile loud speaker.

8. Street corner meetings

9. Long marches on foot, holding meetings whenever there is a group of audience.

10. Mass meetings or Rallies

11. Processions

12. Celebrating a Day - asking the people of a locality or of a state to hold protest meeting on a particular day, preceded by probhat pheris.

13. Political Drama performed before a mass audience.

14. Mass deputation

15. Torch light processions

16. Demonstration en masse

17. Hartal for either a day or even 48 hours - complete stoppage of public activities like transport, shopping, office, etc. in protest.

18. Strike

19. Stay in strike

20. Picketing

21. Satyagraha or breaking of specific laws - courting arrests in batches.

22. Squatting in a group in front of a minister or office or across a road.
23. Fasting - either by one or more persons at a time - either for a limited period or till death. Sympathetic fasting by others - Relay fasts.
24. Burning oneself to death
25. Destruction of public property
26. Holding up of Transport
27. Uprooting of railway track
28. Damaging control boxes and fittings of railway communication
29. Dislocating and tampering with telephone
30. Burning of public offices
31. Disturbance of public meetings of political opponents
32. Gheresa
33. Go slow or work to rule
34. Mass casual leave - either in a City or in a whole State.
35. Riot or assault - Actual beatings, stabbing, throwing bombs.
36. Looting of property in railway wagons, godowns or in markets.
37. Localised attempts to throw off the state administration and to run an alternative administration (Telengana).
38. Declared or undeclared warfare against the Government (Nagaland).
39. Bandh
40. Burning effigies
41. Burning National Flag, Constitution and Government Order,
42. Pen down strike
43. Wearing black badges and shouting and demonstrating during non-work hours.
44. Shaving heads etc.
45. Demonstration with family members
46. Almost naked procession
47. Writings with charcoal and Tar
48. Hartal
49. Factory gate meetings
50. Obstruction of the government ceremonies
51. Lunch hour meetings
52. Broadcasts through Radio
53. Telecasts through Television
54. Narrative songs - Villupattu
55. Fasts inside the prison and disobeying prison rules

But the case of Maoist groups is different. As their principal technique is armed insurrection, followed by individual annihilation, Maoists have observed only violent techniques. They have endangered the physical security of people or property. Their terrorist methods include looting, kidnapping and bombing. They have, however, not reached the stage of guerrilla warfare, counterinsurrection or open military adventures. They deride the use of peaceful techniques by the CPI and the CPI(M) as opportunistic cowardice.
Section IV: Conclusion.

The programmes of the communist parties have attracted the masses only in a restricted manner. Though they understand the importance of the political and economic programmes of both the CPI and the CPI(M), they are not able to appreciate these. Constitutional amendments in favour of extended civil rights may be appreciable if India is to have only a restricted franchise. Nehru has chosen that option very well and his alacrity in conducting general elections based on adult franchise has silenced the communists. Again, the importance of state autonomy has been put forward in a forthright manner by the DMK than the extent to which communists can go far.

Secondly in their fight against the rightists the communists have embraced a thorough failure, as the activities of the rightist forces in Tamil Nadu are meagre.

Nationalization of foreign capital and Indian monopoly capital, Equitable distribution system of consumer goods through co-operatives, wholesale trading by the state in foodgrains, planned development and opposition to price-rise-these are the major economic programmes of CPI and CPI(M). However the bourgeoisie of Tamil Nadu has chosen its economic options correctly and it has allowed the uninhibited growth of capitalistic economy. The communists have always read the economic moves of the government in a wrong manner.
Also, the communists have become vulnerable in tackling the social problems of Tamil Nadu. The reservation of seats in educational institutions and in government employment in Tamil Nadu has been age old. In fact the entire Dravidian movement is fattened by the theme of 'Jobbocracy'. In such a situation the opinion of the communists, the CPI trying to affirm the traditional policy of reservations and the CPI(M)'s policy of introducing class relations in reservations, attract little consideration. The communists have fumbled in the language issue a lot more. When a regional movement is shaping before their very eyes, using the local grievances of the people, the pretty long silence of the communists has alienated them from the masses. Thus the communists have attained the dubious distinction of having been alienated from the masses - from the nationalist stream in the pre-Independence period and from the regionalist stream in the post-Independence period.

However the bankruptcy in the programmes of communist parties have been more than compensated in the programmes of their mass organizations. But what is more striking is that the communists still hark on the problems of industrial labour first, followed by that of agriculturists and agricultural labourers to a certain extent, thus neglecting the interests of the potentially more powerful groups like the youth and the students and the women.
The policy of the communists to stick to the parliamentary struggles coupled with mass struggles has done them several benefits. They could get legitimacy to exist. And they have avoided unnecessary suppression in the hands of the state. Hence their leadership have gained the time and energy to concentrate their attention in other aspects of struggles.

The programmes of the Maoist groups are different. However, their policy and their methods are yet to be legitimised by the Tamils and until such time they obtain legitimacy, state suppression will continue for their terroristic activities, if not for the philosophy of their movement as such.

Most of the programmes of all the communist parties - CPI, CPI(M) and CPI(ML) - have failed in the face of the real needs of the exploited. But to a large extent the programmes of the mass organizations are successful. Thus wages, bonus, service conditions, tenancy improvements have been achieved by the communist parties to the detriment of the development of critical consciousness. As a result, the party loses the confidence of the people, but gains in the confidence of members of the mass organizations, which leads to the subtle development of economism in the party.